

*MASTER
NEGATIVE
NO. 92-81116-1*

MICROFILMED 1993

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES/NEW YORK

as part of the
"Foundations of Western Civilization Preservation Project"

Funded by the
NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

Reproductions may not be made without permission from
Columbia University Library

COPYRIGHT STATEMENT

The copyright law of the United States - Title 17, United States Code - concerns the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material.

Under certain conditions specified in the law, libraries and archives are authorized to furnish a photocopy or other reproduction. One of these specified conditions is that the photocopy or other reproduction is not to be "used for any purpose other than private study, scholarship, or research." If a user makes a request for, or later uses, a photocopy or reproduction for purposes in excess of "fair use," that user may be liable for copyright infringement.

This institution reserves the right to refuse to accept a copy order if, in its judgement, fulfillment of the order would involve violation of the copyright law.

AUTHOR:

KITCHIN, GEORGE
WILLIAM

TITLE:

HISTORY OF FRANCE

PLACE:

OXFORD

DATE:

1877

Master Negative #

92-81116-1

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
PRESERVATION DEPARTMENT

BIBLIOGRAPHIC MICROFORM TARGET

Original Material as Filmed - Existing Bibliographic Record

944.02
K641

Kitchin, George William, 1827-1912.
... A history of France, by G.W. Kitchin ...
2d ed. Oxford, Clarendon press, 1877-81, v.1,
1881, .
3 v. maps, tables. 20^{cm} (Clarendon press
series)

Vol. 2-3 without edition note.

Restrictions on Use:

TECHNICAL MICROFORM DATA

FILM SIZE: 35 mm
IMAGE PLACEMENT: IA (IIA) IB IIB
REDUCTION RATIO: 11X
DATE FILMED: 2/24/93 INITIALS M.D.C.
FILMED BY: RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS, INC WOODBRIDGE, CT

VOLUME 1

Columbia University
in the City of New York

LIBRARY



CHS



Clarendon Press Series

HISTORY OF FRANCE

KITCHIN

London
HENRY FROWDE



OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE
7 PATERNOSTER ROW

Clarendon Press Series

A

HISTORY OF FRANCE

BY

G. W. KITCHIN, M.A.

Formerly, Censor, of Christ Church

VOL. I

(B.C. 58 — A.D. 1453)

SECOND EDITION

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

M DCCC LXXXI

[All rights reserved]

13-36
July
13-36

PREFACE TO VOL. I.

THIS volume attempts to avoid the dryness of a summary, while it professes to deal with a very long space of time. All the more important periods of the history have, as far as possible, been written directly from original sources, and are treated at considerable length. The parts between, connecting one stirring time with another, have been treated very briefly, so as simply to carry on the narration without a break: like a road in a dull country between a chain of ancient and historic cities.

The guiding-line throughout this volume is the growth of the French Monarchy and Kingdom: and this is here brought down to the time when, freed from foreign dangers, France was about to enter on the great struggle between royalty and the disintegrating forces of fifteenth-century feudalism. The history of that struggle, the almost dramatic rivalry between the House of Burgundy, the last great representative of the medieval world, and the House of Valois, the steadfast representative of the growing forces of European Monarchy, will form the introduction to the remainder of the work, which will attempt to follow the fortunes of France into more modern times.

I have divided the work by the natural epochs in the history, rather than by the accession of Kings: for these latter are points of time of very uneven importance, which sometimes mark an epoch, and sometimes are hardly worthy of more than a passing notice. Thus too, though this volume, ending at the year 1453, breaks off in the middle of the reign of Charles VII, we know that it is a moment recognised as an epoch, both in general European history, and specially (from the final expulsion of the English, and the close of what is called the 'Hundred Years War'), in the history of France.

As to the spelling of Proper Names, in those of early times I have chiefly retained the early Germanic forms, because the

944.02

K641

v.1

men were Germans. When the chief actors become Frenchmen, I have adopted the French spelling, except in the case of names familiar to us in an English form. It would be mere affectation to write Henri or Philippe. In passing down the book it may be noticed that some names are gradually modified; that is because the persons who owned them changed. Thus the German Hlodowig of the sixth century becomes Hludwig in Austrasian days; then Ludwig, finally Louis. I have not used such intermediate forms as Loois, Lois, &c., because they do not appear to me to have been permanent enough for adoption; nor have I spelt the word in the older English fashion as Lewis; for the modern French form is now equally common in England, and the form Lewis is a deviation from both the German and the French spelling.

The Maps and Tables of this volume are intended to indicate the actual progress of the French Monarchy. We are too apt to assume that what is now France was always France: we forget, for example, that it was not till the fifteenth century that the French Monarchy found footing across the Rhone, and there thrust back the frontiers of the Empire.

My best wish for this book is that it should lead students to original authorities, and teach them to recognise the fact that history demands an honest and disciplined use of the evidence those sources supply, and that we can only grasp the inner truth of history by transporting ourselves into the scenes described by contemporary writers: the study of their works will at once sharpen our critical faculties and develop the healthy action of the imagination.

Lastly, let me here record my warmest thanks to those friends who have so kindly brought their great and accurate knowledge and their literary skill to bear on the revision of this my first historical attempt. Any value it may have will be in very large part due to their patient kindness towards it, to their sound criticisms, corrections, and advice.

Jan. 1881.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE	xiii
INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.—The Geographical Characteristics of Modern France	I

BOOK I.

CHAP. I. The Gaul	8
„ II. Gaul before the time of Caesar	19
„ III. Caesar in Gaul. B.C. 58–50	27
„ IV. Gaul under Roman Influences: the final struggle against Rome. B.C. 50–A.D. 70	35
„ V. Gaul under the Empire to the accession of Diocletian. A.D. 70–284	44
„ VI. The age of barbarian incursions, and the struggle against the Germans. A.D. 284–406	48
„ VII. The age of German settlements, to the era of Hlodowig (Clovis). A.D. 406–476	58

BOOK II.

PART I.—*The Neustrian Franks.*

CHAP. I. Of the Franks and Hlodowig (Clovis). A.D. 476–511	67
„ II. The Neustrian Kings. A.D. 511–687	79
i. From the partition at Hlodowig's death to the formation of the three kingdoms, Austrasia, Neustria, Burgundy. A.D. 511–567	80
ii. The struggle between Austrasia and Neustria, under Brunhild and Fredegond. A.D. 567–613	84
iii. Dagobert King of Neustria. A.D. 613–638	92
iv. The Royal Nonentities down to the Battle of Testry. A.D. 638–687	94

PART II.—*The Austrasian Franks.*

	PAGE
CHAP. I. The Family of Pippin, or the Carolings (Carolingians). A.D. 687-752	96
" II. Pippin the Short, the first Caroling King. A.D. 752-768	111
" III. Charles the Great, otherwise called Charlemagne. A.D. 768-814	115
i. The life of Charles	115
ii. The administration of Gaul under Charles	134
iii. The state of society in Gaul under Charles	143
" IV. Hludwig 'the Pious' and his sons. A.D. 814-843	150
" V. From the Peace of Verdun to Hugh Capet. A.D. 843-987	159
i. The Origin of the French language	159
ii. The later Carolings.	162
(1) From A.D. 843-888	163
(2) From A.D. 888-911	167
(3) From A.D. 911-987	175

BOOK III.

*The Growth of the French Monarchy.**Its Rise. A.D. 987-1328.*

CHAP. I. Tables VII, VIII, IX	180-183
Introductory	184
i. The aim of this Book	184
ii. The condition of the country at Hugh Capet's accession	185
iii. The limits of Hugh Capet's kingship	188
Table X	189
" II. From the accession of Hugh Capet to the age of the First Crusade. A.D. 987-1066	190
" III. The age of the First Crusade. A.D. 1066-1100	210
" IV. Of Feudalism and Chivalry	235
" V. Louis VI, surnamed 'the Fat.' A.D. 1100-1137	249
" VI. Louis VII, 'the Young,' and the growth of civic liberties. A.D. 1137-1180	261

	PAGE
CHAP. VII. Philip II, surnamed Augustus, and Louis VIII.	276
i. From A.D. 1180-1199	277
ii. Philip Augustus adds Normandy to his domains. A.D. 1199-1206	284
iii. The Provençal Crusade. A.D. 1207-1215	298
iv. The Day of Bouvines. A.D. 1214	306
v. To the death of Philip. A.D. 1214-1223	312
vi. Louis VIII. A.D. 1223-1226	316
" VIII. Louis IX, called Saint Louis	318
i. The King's youth. A.D. 1226-1244	318
ii. The King's First Crusade. A.D. 1245-1254	328
iii. The King's later life. A.D. 1254-1270	337
" IX. Philip III. A.D. 1270-1285	346
" X. Philip IV, 'the Fair'.	354
i. From A.D. 1285-1296	356
ii. The quarrel with Pope Boniface VIII. A.D. 1296-1304	359
iii. The epoch of the Templars. A.D. 1304-1314	377
" XI. The three sons of Philip 'the Fair'.	382
i. Louis X, 'the Quarrelsome.' A.D. 1314-1316	362
ii. Philip V, 'the Tall.' A.D. 1316-1322	385
iii. Charles IV, 'the Fair.' A.D. 1322-1328	387

BOOK IV.

*Monarchy and Feudalism.**Period of the 'Hundred Years War.' A.D. 1328-1453.*

CHAP. I. The forebodings of the 'Hundred Years War.' A.D. 1328-1337	391
" II. The 'Hundred Years War.' Period I. A.D. 1337-1360	400
i. A.D. 1337-1347	400
ii. From the Truce of 1347 to the Battle of Poitiers. A.D. 1347-1356	420

	PAGE
CHAP. II. iii. Étienne Marcel and the Bourgeoisie of Paris. A.D. 1356-1360	433
iv. The Treaty of Bretigny. A.D. 1356-1360	448
” III. The Deeds of Charles V, ‘the Wise.’ A.D. 1360-1380	452
i. As Regent. A.D. 1360-1364	452
ii. As King. A.D. 1364-1369	454
iii. The ‘Hundred Years War.’ Period II. Charles V makes war on England. A.D. 1369-1380	462
” IV. Charles VI. A.D. 1380-1422	474
i. The Great Schism	474
ii. The early years of the King. A.D. 1380-1392	477
iii. The King’s madness. A.D. 1392-1415	485
” V. The ‘Hundred Years War.’ Period III. A.D. 1415-1422	500
” VI. The ‘Hundred Years War.’ Period IV. The age of Jeanne Darc. A.D. 1422-1431	516
i. Charles VII to the siege of Orleans. A.D. 1422-1429	516
ii. Jeanne Darc. A.D. 1429-1431	522
” VII. The ‘Hundred Years War.’ Period V. Expulsion of the English. A.D. 1431-1453	540
INDEX	559

TABLES.

	PAGE
I. Pedigree of the Merwing or Merovingian Kings	(to face) 67
II. The Merwing Kings and their territories	67
III. Pedigree of the Caroling Princes	97
IV. The fragments of the Empire of Charles the Great	159
V. The origin of the French language	159
VI. The Feudal States of Southern France	180
VII. The Feudal States of Northern France	(to face) 180
VIII. Absorption of the chief Feudal States into the Kingdom of France	181
IX. Successive additions to the French Monarchy	182, 183
X. Pedigree of Hugh Capet	189
XI. The Kings of France	(to face) 190
XII. The Succession to the French throne	389
XIII. The Breton Pedigree	407
XIV. The relationships of the Valois Princes	424

MAPS AND PLANS.

	PAGE
I. Gaul about B.C. 60 (to face)	27
II. Gaul in Provinces, after Augustus "	35
III. Gaul under the Germans "	67
IV. Charles the Great's Empire. A.D. 800 "	129
V. 'Francia Occidentalis,' and the Kingdom of Aquitaine "	135
VI. France at the accession of Hugh Capet "	189
VII. Plan of Château Gaillard and its neighbourhood	290
VIII. Plan of Château Gaillard, enlarged	293
IX. France under the Valois. A.D. 1328 (to face)	391
X. The Flemish country "	401
XI. Northern France at the time of the Hundred Years War "	409
XII. Plan of the Battle of Crécy	415
XIII. Plan of the Battle of Poitiers	427
XIV. Plan of Paris in the days of Étienne Marcel ; circ. A.D. 1350	439
XV. Plan of the battle of Azincourt	505
XVI. Plan of Orleans in the fifteenth century	519
XVII. France after the expulsion of the English (to face)	553

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

B.C.	A.D.
154 Marseilles calls in Roman help.	496 Battle of Zülrich. Hlodowig (Clovis) a Christian.
122 Aquae Sextiae (Aix in Provence) founded by Sextius.	507 Battle of the Vocladensian Plain (Vouglé), in which Hlodowig kills Alaric.
118 Narbo Martius (Narbonne) founded.	510 Hlodowig sole King of Franks.
102 Marius utterly defeats the Teutons at Aix.	511 Death of Hlodowig. First Partition of the Frankish Empire.
100 Birth of Caesar.	567 Division of Frankish Gaul into three Kingdoms. Austrasia, Neustria, Burgundy.
58 Caesar in Gaul.	613 Death of Brunhild.
51 Caesar 'pacified.'	628 Dagobert King: sole King in 632.
A.D.	638 Death of Dagobert.
41 Claudius Emperor.	687 Battle of Testry won by Pippin of Heristal over the Neustrians. Austrasian period begins.
70 Fall of Civilis.	715 Charles Martel, Duke of Austrasia.
160 (?) Christians settle at Lyons.	752 Pippin the Short becomes King.
251 (?) Dionysius founds the Church of Northern France 'at Lutetia Parisiorum (Paris).	768 Death of Pippin. Charles and Carloman succeed.
274 Gaul again joined to Rome by Aurelian.	771 CHARLES THE GREAT (Charlemagne), King of France and Lombardy.
284 Diocletian becomes Emperor; the German incursions begin.	800 Charles the Great, Emperor.
312 Constantine, supported by Gallic Christians, enters Rome.	814 He dies. Succeeded by Ludwig I ('Louis le Debonaire') as Emperor.
355 Julian commands the Gallic army.	
357 He makes Paris the seat of Roman government.	
497 The German settlements begin.	
451 Attila (Etzel) defeated in the Campi Catalaunici.	
476 Fall of the Roman Empire.	
486 Battle of Soissons.	

- 840 Charles II (*the Bald*) becomes King of Neustria and Burgundy.
 875 Becomes Emperor.
 877 Ludwig II (*the Stammerer*), King of France.
 879 Ludwig III, King of Northern France.
 882 Charles (*the Fat*) Emperor.
 884 " " King of France.
 892 Charles III (*the Simple*), King of France.
 923 Rodolph of Burgundy, created King.
 929 Death of Charles III, his rival.
 936 Ludwig IV (*d'Outremer*).
 954 Lothar.
 986 Ludwig V (*the Do-naught*).
 987 HUGH CAPET.
 996 Robert.
 1031 Henry I.
 1060 Philip I.
 1066 Conquest of England by William the Bastard.
 1095 Council of Clermont. First Crusade preached.
 1099 Godfrey of Bouillon made King of Jerusalem.
 1108 Louis VII (*the Fat*).
 1122 (Close of the Investiture struggle.)
 1137 Louis VII (*the Young*).
 1147 Second Crusade, joined by Louis VII.
 1152 Eleanor, divorced from Louis, marries Henry of Anjou, afterwards Henry II of England.
 1154 (Henry II, King of England.)
 1180 Philip II (*Augustus*).
 1189 (The Third Crusade, headed by Frederick Barbarossa.)
 1202 (The Fourth Crusade.)
 1203 Philip reduces Normandy.
 1204 (The Latins take Constantinople.)
- 1206 Albigensian Crusade.
 " University of Paris founded.
 1212 Innocent's Bull gives the kingdom of England to Philip Augustus.
 1213 (King John submits, and does homage for his crown to the Papal Legate Pandolph.)
 1214 Battle of Bouvines.
 1215 (King John signs Magna Charta. Frederick II crowned King at Aix la Chapelle; Emperor at Rome 1220.)
 1216 Louis (son of Philip) lands in England.
 1223 Louis VIII.
 1226 Louis IX (*Saint Louis*), under regency and tutelage of Blanche.
 1228 (Fifth Crusade, under Frederick II.)
 1242 St. Louis defeats Henry III of England at Taillebourg and Saintes.
 1248 Fifth Crusade, headed by St. Louis, to Egypt.
 1254 St. Louis returns to Paris.
 1261 (Latin Empire of Constantinople ends.)
 1270 Sixth and last Crusade, headed by St. Louis, to Tunis.
 " Philip III (*the Rash*).
 1273 (Rudolf of Habsburg elected King of the Romans.)
 1282 The Sicilian Vespers.
 1285 Philip IV (*the Fair*).
 1296 Philip resists the Papacy. War in Guienne against Edward I.
 1301 Philip's quarrel with Boniface.
 1302 Battle of Courtrai.
 1303 Boniface taken prisoner by Nogaret.
 1304 Philip defeats the Flemings at Mons-en-Puelle.

- 1307-9 Trial of the Templars.
 1312 Abolition of the Order.
 1314 Louis X (*'le Hutin,' the Turbulent*).
 1316 Philip V (*the Tall*).
 1322 Charles V (*the Handsome*).
 1328 PHILIP VI (House of Valois).
 1337 Beginning of the 'Hundred Years War.'
 1340 Sea-fight off Sluys.
 1346 Battle of Crécy.
 1347 Edward III takes Calais.
 1349 Charles, eldest son of John, son of Philip VI, takes the title of *Dauphin*.
 1350 John II (*the Goodnatured*).
 1356 Battle of Poitiers.
 1358 The Jacquerie. Murder of Étienne Marcel.
 1359 Open war between the Regent and the King of Navarre, Charles the Bad.
 " Du Guesclin appears.
 1360 Treaty of Bretigny.
 1361 Burgundy, on death of Philip de Rouvre, the last Duke of the first House, falls to the Crown.
 1363 It is ceded as an apanage by John to Philip (*the Bold*), his fourth son.
 1364 Charles V (*the Wise*). War with Charles the Bad, of Navarre. Battle of Auray.
 1366 Du Guesclin in Spain.
 1369 War with Edward III renewed.
 1376 Death of Edward the Black Prince.
 1377 Death of Edward III. Charles conquers all Guienne except Bordeaux.
 1379 The Great Schism begins.
 1380 Death of Du Guesclin.
- 1380 Charles VI.
 1382 Battle of Roosebek. Death of Philip van Arteveld.
 1387 Death of Charles the Bad, King of Navarre.
 1392 Madness of Charles VI.
 " Disputes begin between the Houses of Burgundy and Orleans.
 1399 (Revolution in England. Henry IV of the House of Lancaster proclaimed King.)
 1404 Death of Philip the Bold of Burgundy; succeeded by John the Fearless.
 1407 Assassination of the Duke of Orleans with approval of John of Burgundy.
 1410 Burgundians and Armagnacs. The Cabochians appear at Paris.
 1413 (Henry V of England.)
 1415 Battle of Azincourt.
 1418 Henry V occupies Normandy.
 1419 Takes Rouen. Duke of Burgundy assassinated by the Dauphin's friends.
 1420 Treaty of Troyes. Henry V heir to the throne of France, and Regent of France.
 1421 Battle of Baugé, in which Scottish and French troops defeat the Duke of Clarence.
 1422 Henry V returns, occupies Paris, dies at Vincennes.
 " His brother, the Duke of Bedford, Regent in France for Henry VI.
 " Charles VII (*the Well-served, the Victorious*).
 1424 Battle of Verneuil.
 1427 Dunois, 'the Bastard of Orleans,' appears.
 1428 Siege of Orleans by Bedford and Burgundy.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1429 'Day of the Herrings.' The Maid of Orleans, Jeanne Darc, appears. Siege raised 8th May. | 1438 Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges. |
| " Battle of Patay. | 1440 The Praguerie, under the Dauphin Louis. |
| " Charles VII crowned at Rheims. | 1441 Pontoise taken from the English. |
| 1430 The Maid of Orleans taken by the Burgundians at Compiègne. | 1444 Charles VII helps René against Metz; Louis takes an army into Switzerland. |
| 1431 Trial and martyrdom of Jeanne Darc. | 1445 Institution of a standing army, and of fixed taxation. |
| " Council of Basel begins its sittings. | 1448 War renewed with England. |
| 1435 Peace of Arras, between Charles VII and Philip (<i>the Good</i>) of Burgundy. | 1450 Battle of Formigny. Normandy finally taken from the English. |
| " Death of the Regent Bedford. | 1453 (Taking of Constantinople by Mahomet II.) |
| 1436 Paris retaken by the French. | " Final submission of Guienne to the French crown: end of the 'Hundred Years War.' |

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

The Geographical Characteristics of Modern France.

ABOUT three miles beyond the little town of Mentone the highway from Nice to Genoa, the famous Corniche road, crosses a torrent, which dashes down from the Alps into the Mediterranean. And here begins the arbitrary border-line between France and Italy, as the frontiers are now adjusted¹. The line runs northward to the ridge of the Alps; and when it has reached the watershed, turns north-west, dividing the territory of Nice from Piedmont. Following the summit-ridge of the Alps, it skirts Dauphiné, going northwards as far as the Pass of Mont Cenis. Then it bends suddenly to the east, so as to embrace the new French territory of Savoy. Still rising and falling with the Alps, it climbs at last to the summit of Mont Blanc, where France now shares with Italy the possession of the highest spot in Europe. Thence northwards again, till it gradually drops down towards the shores of the Lake of Geneva, a short distance west of the point at which the muddy Rhone falls into that lovely inland sea. The lake lies between Savoyard France and Switzerland, except just at its foot, where the territory of the Swiss Canton of Geneva drives the line of the French frontier southward, and makes it fetch a circuit round that ancient home of liberty. Then falling with the old boundary of France (as it was before the cession of Savoy),

¹ That is, since Nice and Savoy were ceded by Italy to France in 1859.

it climbs the Jura, and passes along its ridge, north-eastward, to within a few miles of that other Swiss frontier-city, Basel. Here it no longer meets the Rhine, as it did before the war with Germany in 1870, but turns reluctantly from that river so passionately desired by both Gaul and Teuton; seeing it, but no longer permitted to touch its banks. Hence, the border keeps to the hills; running across the Trouée de Belfort, that all-important pass and gateway from France into Germany, or from Germany into France, according as the one or the other people holds the key,—the famous stronghold of Belfort. Thence it seeks the ridge of the Vosges mountains; follows that line northwards to a point nearly opposite Strasburg, where it abandons the hills, crossing the plain-land to the north-west, so as to cut Lorraine in half, and leaving the great fortress of Metz to the Germans, together with Thionville (Dietrichshofen) and some other frontier places. Then along the Luxemburg and Belgian frontiers, by an arbitrary line, through the Ardennes forest, across the more level lands of Hainault and Flanders, till it meets the sea near Dunkirk, the most northerly town of France. If a straight line be drawn from Strasburg to London, it will almost coincide with this west-north-west portion of the frontier. Thence the sea bounds France along the west. The British Channel, then the open Atlantic, lastly the Bay of Biscay, wash first the shores of Picardy and the rocky coasts of Normandy and Brittany, then the plains of La Vendée and the Landes, till the peaks of the Pyrenees come in sight, stretching due east and west. A little below Bayonne the frontier, which here divides France from Spain, leaves the coast, and mounts the Pyrenean ridge. Along it runs the line, till it drops down on the Mediterranean, south of Perpignan. Then comes again coast-line, past Narbonne and Montpellier, along the uninhabitable swamps formed by the Rhone, past Marseilles, the great southern port of France, along the sunny coast of Provence to the river Var, the old limit between France and Italy. Thence by Nice, under the bold mountains of western Liguria, till it is suddenly arrested by the rock of Monaco, where

an independent Prince, the smallest in Europe, rules over a single promontory, crowned with a little city, which boasts an unrivalled site, a palace, and a gambling-house. Here for a mile or two the line runs away from the Mediterranean; it soon comes down again to the water, and, passing Mentone, ends at the little stream and humble custom-house from which we started.

This line, which bounds the France of to-day, makes of her an irregular hexagon, three of whose sides are sea, and three are land. From the Mediterranean to the point where the line leaves the Vosges is the first side; from the Vosges to the North Sea, the second; from Dunkirk to Ushant the third; from Ushant to Bayonne, the fourth; the Pyrenees, the fifth; and lastly, the Mediterranean coast.

It is a land blessed with innumerable advantages and opportunities. To its ambition and commerce lie open both the Mediterranean and the Atlantic; it is compact and central; it has a delightful variety of climate, all within the temperate zone; its productions answer to the richness of the soil and the friendly temperature; it is watered by many fine rivers, helpful alike for traffic and cultivation; inhabited sufficiently, not too densely, by an intelligent, industrious, thrifty and yet vivacious race. The faults and virtues of the nation have joined to make its annals splendid. Seated in the heart of Europe, touching, or nearly touching on one side or other, England, Germany, Italy, Spain, influencing them by the force of her cleverness, taste, love of approbation, and ambition, France boasts with some show of truth that she leads the ideas of Europe. She has influenced our politics, philosophy, mathematical sciences, literature, habits, and dress. In a century she passed from one absolutism, through many successive stages, to another. Other nations, beginning centuries earlier, have not yet travelled so far. The France of the Franks, of Feudalism, of the Crusades; the France which raised the Papacy to its highest, and then curbed its towering ambition for power, and held it captive at Avignon; the France which was the centre of scholasticism; which first

built up a great absolute monarchy as a pattern for Europe; first turned the Reformation into a purely political movement; first led the Continent along the perilous path of revolution and re-construction; and helped to destroy that idol of Europe, the Balance of Power;—the nation that could do and be all this surely has a right to claim a place among the foremost. But in the deeper movements of mankind, France has not been so prominent. Paris was the Schoolmen's School, but the dim gigantic figures we discern therein were Italian, German, English, rarely French. The Reformation, in its deeper aspects, took little hold on the French mind. France has often shown herself careless of individual freedom. Her movements, moral, mental, or theological (like the onslaughts of her armies in old times), are rapid, fearless, overwhelming; but perhaps deficient in endurance. Consequently she is little fitted to achieve the slow work of colonisation. Her people are not venturesome on the high seas; it is at home only that the Frenchman is at home. His race increases slowly; and away from France does not increase at all. His influence, out of Europe, is not great. There are forces daily growing up outside the European circle, which will one day change the whole balance of the world's politics: these feel little or nothing of French influences, and care little for French ideas. But it is not our task to forecast the future, but to chronicle the past; and as we look along the pages of French history, we may readily grant that the 'great nation,' as she loves to style herself, has played a very brilliant part in the drama of national life. We cannot concede all the admiration she vainly claims, or re-echo the words of a French historian¹, who calls his fatherland the 'Centre of life, heart of Europe, France of Charlemagne, St. Louis, Napoleon!' Still, even deducting the great Corsican and greater German from this trio of her heroes, we gladly grant to France high place among the nations, and will try to trace her history, not from an English point of view, but as we might conceive it told by those who live in some neutral city across the sea, far

¹ La Vallée, *Histoire des Français*.

from the disturbing influences which we feel; who can trace the onward course of affairs without prejudice, and with no desire to write on every page the self-conscious comment 'quorum pars magna fui.'

France is in the main a level land, save to east and south. The Alps, and, north of them, part of the Jura chain, and, farther north, the Vosges, form the eastern frontier: on the west of the Rhone run the Cevennes, from the sources of the Garonne to near Lyons, whence they stretch in lower ridges in an almost continuous chain, parallel to the Alps and Jura. Detached from them, on the west, rise the volcanic mountains of Auvergne¹. Far the largest part of France lies to the west of these ranges; and lesser lines of hills, running out nearly at right angles to the westward, divide the great plain of France into three parts, the districts of the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne. The northernmost of these offshoots looks over the beginnings of that vast plain of Northern Europe, which stretches hence to the Baltic.

Four great streams drain the surface of France. Of these, the first, unlike the others, runs from north to south, and falls into the Mediterranean: between the Alps and the Cevennes, the Rhone rolls its rapid stream through a land of vines and olives, under the walls of many ancient towns, chief of which is Lyons, second city of France, with her silk manufacture and busy trade; then come Vienne, Orange, Avignon, Arles, with Nîmes and Marseilles in the valley, though not on the river,—all cities of the past, rich in relics of Roman power and dominion. The other rivers run from east to west, and fall into the ocean. The districts drained by them lie parallel to each other, separated by the above-mentioned lower lines of hills. Of these, the southernmost is the Garonne, which drains Gascony and Guyenne, passes by Bordeaux through the Landes, and widens to a broad estuary, opening into the Bay of Biscay.

¹ Brittany, a land by itself, lying out of the general system of river valleys and of French characteristics, is hilly and wild, but can scarcely be called a mountain district.

Next comes the Loire, which waters the central plain of France, and runs from the Cevennes past Nevers, Orleans, Blois, Tours, and Nantes, to the south of the Breton coast. North again lies the basin of the Seine, which flows through a level country from the Vosges past Troyes, Paris, Rouen, till it meets the sea at Havre.

The Rhone valley may be divided into two districts; that above and that below Lyons—the valley of the Saone, and that of the Rhone. The former is famous for its wines; and its population is in the main Gallic, with a certain fusion of Burgundian or Teutonic blood. The latter is the ancient Roman Province, a land of sub-tropical products, the olive, the fig, the prickly pear: its inhabitants have strongly-marked peculiarities of speech, habits, and appearance. They are mostly Iberian, with some Greek and more Roman blood in them. Ethnologically speaking, they have little or nothing to do with the French race. On the western slope of France we have, to the south, another marked variety of man; it is the Euskarian¹ land, peopled by an Iberian race unmixed with other blood; untouched by Roman or other civilisation. This race dwells in the south-western corner of France, in the angle between the Pyrenees and the sea. Beyond the Garonne northward the true Gallic race begins. The basin of the Loire and Brittany contain the purest Celtic blood in France. This is specially the case with Brittany, where Celtic race, speech, customs, remain almost unchanged to this day. The rest of France, the France of Paris, the corn-growing district, has also a large proportion of Celtic blood, but of the Belgic, not the Gallic stock², modified by a great influx of Germans and Northmen; as may specially be seen in Normandy.

Thus it is clear that the French are mainly Celtic in origin. If we would appreciate French history aright, we must begin with this branch of mankind. The qualities which so strongly marked that race still mark the Frenchman. Two thousand

¹ Eusk—, Vasc—, Gasc—, Basque.

² For the difference between Belgic and Gallic, see below, p. 9.

years ago a Gallic chief stood as victor on the Roman Capitol. From that day to this, whether conqueror or conquered, the Gaul has been the same man; his history is one history. Therefore it is not enough to begin French history with the Capets and the Dukedom of Paris: we must go back to the first picture of the French people, drawn for us by Caesar. In the pages of that maker and narrator of history, we may read passages which might have been written of the Frenchman of to-day¹. His graphic picture of his Gallic foes and friends—the earliest trustworthy record that we have—is as fresh and as true now as it was when it was first written.

¹ Thus in the *De Bello Gallico*, 6. 20, we read, 'Magistratus quae visa sunt occulant; quaeque esse ex usu iudicaverint, multitudini produnt. De re publica nisi per concilium loqui non conceditur.' Might not this have been penned at Brussels of Imperial France?

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

The Gaul.

GADHEL, or Gael, says an old Irish tradition¹, was the son of Neim-heidh, whose name appears in such names of places as Nîmes (Nem-ausus), Nantes (Nam-netes). But tradition knows nothing of this parent of a race which has written its name on many shores; nor is Gadhel himself more than the shadowy hero, the naming-father of a widespread family of men.

At the opening of history this race is found dwelling in many lands. The British Isles, Jutland, part of the Baltic shores, Northern Greece, Italy, Spain, parts of Germany, and lastly Gaul, are filled with different branches of the race, under many names,—Belgians, Gauls, or Celts.

There is uncertainty as to the name by which those who dwelt in Gaul should be called. Are they Celts or Gauls? Or are these names two forms of one word, and Celt only the Greek way of spelling Gallus². Perhaps we shall do well to use the word Gaul for the race, so far as the inhabitants of ancient Gaul are concerned; for the words Celt, Celtic, are more commonly used of the race generally.

¹ See Martin, *Histoire de France*, i. 1, note 1.

² Κελ-τοί, Gal-li (cp. Galat-ae, Ammianus Marc. 15. 9. 3), Gael. Martin derives it from Gallic *koille*, a forest. It appears also in the Spanish Celtiberia. Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* i. 1, says, 'qui ipsorum lingua *Celtae* nostra *Galli* appellantur.'

By the side of these names we find another, whose place must be assigned—that of the Belgae¹. It is almost certain that long after the Gaul had settled in France, even within historic range, he was attacked by vast hordes of savages, also of Gallic blood, who were thrust westward by some cause or other. Passing into Gaul over the Rhine, they filled all the valley of the Seine, and part at least of that of the Loire². In the very South of France, along the Mediterranean, there were two tribes, the Volcae Tectosages and the Volcae Arecomici, whose first name is held to indicate that they were of the Belgic stock³. These later comers seem to have been a finer race than the Gauls, taller, longer in the head, fiercer in war; but still blood-relations, and no more unlike the Gauls than the Teutonic German is unlike the Swede. It is thought by some that the name Belgae is rather the title of a confederation of warriors than the name of a race of men.

These later comers seem to have thrust the older settlers into the eastern and southern hill-countries. Though many stayed—as is always the case after an invasion of men who need both wives and slaves—and though no marked line can be drawn at which the Belgae end and Gauls begin, still it is certain that in Auvergne and the Cevennes, in Savoy and in Switzerland, the Gallic type is common, while the longer-headed Belgae may to this day⁴ be distinctly traced as dominant in the rest of France, except in the district below the Garonne, in which dwell a totally different race, shorter, darker, lovers of sober clothing, with less of dash, but more of resisting power, kinsfolk in blood, appearance, and character to the Spaniard across the moun-

¹ The name Armorican (Ar=on, mor=the sea) is local, and peculiar to the Western Celts who peopled Brittany and its neighbourhood. It is true that Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 4. 17) uses the name Armórica for Aquitaine; but he is probably in error in this statement, as it stands quite alone.

² The districts in Map II marked Belgae and Galli show how far they spread.

³ Volc may be the Latin form of Bolg=Belg. Caesar says that a part of this tribe was left behind and settled in the Hartz.—*Bell. Gall.* 6. 24.

⁴ See M. W. F. Edwards' valuable monograph, *Des caractères physiologiques des races humaines*, pp. 48, 62.

tains. These southerners, Aquitanians,—whose name still lives in Gascony and the word Basque,—clinging to their mountains, and showing something of a fondness for guerilla warfare, carried the principle of clanship to its utmost in the custom of 'devotions,' in which warriors, sometimes by hundreds, attached themselves to a chief, to fight for him, and lay their lives at his feet.

The points of distinction between the Gauls and the Belgae are worthy of study. For the Gaul we should visit Dauphiné, Burgundy, and Savoy; for the Belgae, Rheims, or any part of France north of the Seine. The Gaul's head, we shall see, is round, almost bullet-shaped, his forehead of average size, rounded, receding at the temples; his eyes large and open, nose nearly straight, not very long, rounded at the tip, chin not strong, also rounded at the end—a face blunted like a well-worn river pebble. He was spare of habit, counting fatness a disgrace; of average height, taller than the Latin, shorter than the German; his colouring fair, with blue eyes and long yellow hair, which, like some later tribes, he coloured red, to add to his attractions.

The Belgae were taller, and generally more like the German. Head longer, forehead high and square at the temples, nose long, slightly curved, pointed, with a rather distended nostril; chin sharp and well-defined. In colouring he was like the Gaul. In character more staid, less vivacious and active, more confident in his own powers, less easily disheartened, more thoughtful, less the victim of impressions. Merchants and their luxuries, so welcome to the Gaul, found no footing among the Belgae¹; they retained much of their old savageness. It is not unlikely that they had in them a good deal of Teutonic blood, though this is uncertain².

Again: the Gaul seems to have been content with a gross

¹ Minime ad eos mercatores saepe commeant atque ea, quae ad effeminandos animos pertinent, important.—Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* i. 1.

² Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* 2. 4, says, 'Reperiebat plerosque Belgas esse ortos a Germanis, Rhenumque antiquitus traductos,' &c. But this may only mean that they came originally from the other side of the Rhine, without indicating that they were Germans.

worship of the powers of nature; but the Belgae apparently introduced the more refined worship of Druidism, with its awful ceremonies and tendencies towards a centralised, almost a national, system of religion. The former was the rudimentary worship of savages, the latter shewed some reflection, which marked the superiority of the incoming over the yielding race.

These differences having been noted, we may now go on to sketch the general characteristics common to both branches of the race, so far as we can make them out across the ages, or read them reflected in the modern Frenchman.

An eminently intelligent race: open to every impression, touched by heroism and greatness, by intellect and genius; a people of rare sensibility, who readily received the civilisation imposed on them by their masters. Theirs was a frank and open disposition, scorning subterfuge: if they lied, it was through vivacity and heedlessness, rather than of set purpose. They knew nothing of strategy and despised it: a fierce onslaught, straightforward, summed up their tactics. They could easily be circumvented. Caesar knew this, and acted on it. They had a vigorous imagination; their poetry was full of feeling, and dealt with nature and man, love, war, and the world unseen, in strange proportions. Ossian's poems may not be what they profess to be; but they have the true Gallic spirit. Merlin, Arthur, Guinevere, and the like, with whom we are now familiar, though retouched by the fashions of a later chivalry, are yet true Celtic figures, embodying the real characteristics of the race. Theirs too is the sense of honour, taking the form of passionate bravery, bitter feuds; they were fearless even against the powers of nature¹, despised death in battle, even slew themselves, if their chieftain perished, on his funeral cairn. To them, rather than to the Germans, belongs the sense of chivalry. Theirs were the Gawains and the Lancelots, and theirs the 'Round Table,' at which all were equal, and none could

¹ The Celts fear not even the ocean-waves.—Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 12. 23, and Aristot. *Eth. Eud.* 3. 1.

quarrel for the higher or lower seat. But with these splendid qualities were weaknesses which undermined their strength. They were fickle; 'knew when they were beaten,' their very intelligence working them evil; they could make no long efforts or patient combinations; were ostentatious and vain; greedy of glory; apt to boast; very self-conscious, and sensitive as to praise and blame; 'unbearable,' says Strabo, 'as victors, hopelessly dejected if vanquished.' Added to this, their genius led them to group themselves in clans, each round its family chieftain; and endless were the feuds handed down for generations. This clannish feeling made any true national effort impossible. To this Caesar owed his triumph over Gaul. There was indeed one element of unity, Druidism; but the eastern Gaul cared little for it: it hid itself in deep forests, it dealt too little with the realities of life; its powers failed before tribe-differences: and by Caesar's time the Druid was less powerful in Gaul than the 'knight,' as the Roman calls him, the representative of aristocratic soldier-life. We should naturally expect such a race to be eloquent: and in fact we find that Gaul provided even Rome herself with teachers of rhetoric. The love of speech is innate in the Celtic race. Their sensibility, imaginativeness, quickness, all joined to give them the 'true genius of France, the genius for oratory'.¹ As in speech, so in appearance: the Gaul loved a light and picturesque costume. His was the genius for display in every sense. Splendid apparel², fine horses and arms were dear to him. His usual dress was a sleeved shirt, with a rich embroidered overcoat of colours; and underneath this were breeches or trews (the words are Celtic) reaching to the foot. The wealthier sort wore collars, bracelets, rings, of gold; silver also and coral were set much store by; altogether a Gallic gentleman was a splendid sight. Such an one was Luern, described by Poseidonius; who drove full-dress through the crowd of his Arvernian

¹ The more singular, as we know that the Gaul prided himself on an abrupt address and harsh guttural speech. Diod. Sic. 5. 31 (p. 213).

² Witness the brilliant tartans, used as distinctive dresses by the clans of northern Scotland.

subjects, scattering gold and silver as he went; a brilliant specimen of the ostentatious, praise-loving Gallic character. But when he went forth to war, the hero was still more splendidly barbaric. In earlier times he fought stripped, but finding this neither convenient nor brilliant, he devised for himself a splendid fighting-dress. He adopted the Latin body-armour, and combined with it his own peculiar notions as to costume. A metal helmet crowned with horns of ox or stag, or bearing, as a crest, some dragon or monster, above which waved tall plumes, raised his stature to superhuman dimensions. On his buckler was emblazoned some figure or symbol, origin of the coat of arms (just as his head-gear was the origin of the more modern crest); beneath it, a Roman cuirass; girt at his side was a long two-handed sword, a great 'excalibur,' of which the chain of copper or iron clanked on his breast: a rich embroidered belt and golden bracelets completed his costume¹. But the short thrusting sword of the Roman, in the iron hand of that strong-willed race, proved too much for all this bravery. The Latin soldier knew that, if he could but hold out against the first onset, the day was won; and in this faith he fought and conquered.

Another figure must be dressed up by us—that of the warrior's rival, the mysterious Druid. We all know the circles of stone, silent memorials of the faith of those who dwelt here and in Western France. They are open-air temples, centres of Druid-worship. No image or work of art or beauty is there. The circle may mean eternity; the open heavens immensity; the two together may symbolise the unlimited in time and space. Here dwelt Hesus, 'the Terrible,' 'the Unknown.' In its early purity, Druidism knew no bodily form or qualities attributed to this mysterious being. To him the oak was sacred, his the deep forests, in whose recesses the mistletoe was cut with awful ceremony. The territory of the Carnutes², nearly the very centre of Gallic France, was also the centre of Gallic worship.

¹ Diod. Sic. 5. 30. (p. 213).

² Who gave its later name to Autricum, the modern Chartres.

Thither the Druids went yearly, and under primeval forests performed their most sacred rights. It is probable that, before the historic age, each different confederation of Gaul, perhaps even each tribe, had its own centre of worship. Alesia, afterwards the scene of the last struggle of Vercingetorix against Caesar, was the centre-point for the older Gauls; and it seems probable that all those ancient towns, which were named *Medio-lann*¹, were centres of Druid worship. But at an early time the Druids had concentrated all on a point near Chartres (Autricum). Here they held solemn assemblies, at which the great confederations of Gallic blood were represented. Justice was done, and religious rites performed. Excommunication was launched against any turbulent chief who disregarded the decrees of the assembly. At their highest point of power the Druids seemed to have ruled over all Gauls; the chiefs, for all their fierceness and bravery, bowed for a time before these mysterious possessors of unearthly powers.

These Druids, whose religion and philosophy have perhaps been overrated of late years, were certainly far above the rest of the race in intelligence and knowledge. They were sole depositories of such religion and learning as existed; they were the poets also, and the teachers of a warlike and imaginative race, who sang the prowess of their ancestors, and roused their sons to like deeds. Thus they were not only the clergy, but the clerks. They were not a class marked off for sacred life and religious functions; not an hereditary caste, like the priest-hoods of India, Egypt, or of the Jews; nor again mixed up with civil life, like the priests and augurs of Greece or Rome, who merged the priestly office in the general duties of society. They held a position peculiar to themselves, though not altogether unlike that of the clergy in the earlier middle ages. They trained the Gallic youth in colleges, by teaching them to learn by heart the verses which contained their philosophy.

¹ *Medio-lann* is 'middle-town,'—*meadhon*=middle, and *lann*=enclosure, walled place, city. There was one among the Santones, one among the Eburonices, near the Seine, a third in the Aeduan territory, as well as the great Milan of Lombardy.

This exclusive possession of education may be reckoned among their chief sources of power. They paid no tribute, nor service of war; they administered justice; they communed with another world, without withdrawing themselves from this. Their dreadful excommunications struck terror into every heart, and enabled them to cope with the fierce warriors among whom they moved. They had also power to offer up, on great occasions, even human sacrifices.

In their later time at least the Druids were divided into a graduated hierarchy, consisting of three orders—the *Ouadd*, or *Ovate*¹; the *Bard*; and the *Druid*, rightly so called.

Of these, the *Ouadd* held the lowest grade, that of the sacrificing priest. He studied the facts of nature, and acted as augur and medicine-man. But his work was all practical and in detail. He might slay the victim, and note its last agonies, but he could not rise to heights of inspiration, or study the causes of things.

The next grade is that of the *Bard*, the inspired and sacred prophet of his race. The divine power entered into him, though he was not permitted to hold communion with it. Herein lay his superiority over the *Ouadd*, his inferiority to the *Druid*. For the *Ouadd* had no inspiration, while the *Druid* held converse with the Divine. The *Bard* with his harp sat in chieftains' halls, pouring forth God-inspired strains, singing of heroes, or the wisdom of great men of old. His it was to rouse to war, or still the passions of the people. He was the historian, the poet, the teacher of a people greedy of glory. He was the link between *Druid* and chieftain. It was an evil day for *Druidism*, and a convincing proof of degeneracy in Gaul, when the *Bard* became the mere flatterer and parasite of the great.

But the crown of the edifice was the *Druid*² himself; awful, seldom seen, a religious mystic and a philosopher, he dispensed wisdom from the depth of some sacred wood, under the oaks,

¹ A name probably connected with 'vates.' Ammianus Marcellinus (15. 9. 8) writes the word *Euhages*; perhaps connecting it with *εὐαγής*, holy.

² *Druid* is the Gallic form, meaning the oak. Zeuss, in his *Grammatica Celtica*, gives us the Welsh *derw*, the oak, whence *derwydd*, a *Druid*.

or from some grotto, where dimness added solemnity to his person and his words. When he appeared in the outer world, it must be on some occasion worthy of him. Without his awful sanction no sacrifice could be done. The Ouadd or sacrificing-priest did not dare to lift his hand till he vouchsafed his presence. At times, when the spirit was on him, he sang, like the Bard, of things mystical; and thus his order embraced within itself both the others. He came forth to cut, at due time, and with much solemnity, the golden bough, the sacred mistletoe of the oak. But the chief part of his life passed in strict seclusion. He was supposed to commune with the unseen world, to learn the will of God, and to act as mediator. He contemplated the mysteries of nature, and uttered dark sayings as to the destinies of man, the life to come, the Deity himself.

Over the whole presided the Arch-Druid, as he is sometimes called, whose authority was supreme over all the grades. He was elected by the votes of the Druids alone¹.

The Druid lore was not committed to writing till a later date; and consequently whoever aspired to join the priestly ranks was obliged to learn the sacred verses off by heart, spending sometimes as long as twenty years at the task. These poems seem to have shadowed forth the doctrines of God as a First Cause, and of the immortality of the soul and its transmigration, according to that fine verse of the Latin poet², who tells us they regarded death as 'the middle point of a long life.' To this they added speculations as to nature, its origin and powers. This was their inner philosophy. All outward nature they held to be symbolical of this inner world; and they appear to have given special honour to the qualities of the circle. All this, no doubt, was a later development of the religious sense among them; the early Druidism cannot lay claim to more philosophy than is contained in that sense of wonder and curiosity which the Gauls certainly had in common with other wild races of men.

¹ Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* 6. 13.

² Lucan, *Phars.* 1. 457. The whole passage deserves study.

And, indeed, the cruel human sacrifices, the butcheries of men, which characterised Druidism in its full power, destroy any illusion as to the ennobling character of the religion. It was, at best, barbaric, in spite of all its striking features.

These were the main elements of Gallic society:—the Chieftain,—an elected not hereditary head over his clan,—with his followers, the 'Knights' and freemen; and, at his side, the Priest-Philosopher: beneath these lay the usual herd of slaves. There seems to have been a time when the whole nation was subject to the Druids, who formed a kind of aristocracy of priests, with a lay-democracy, headed by its strongest and most popular members. In time this national unity (if indeed it ever really was such) perished; the chieftains became almost independent sovereigns, each with his own aims and feuds, an easy prey for the Roman aggressor.

But we must not regard the Gaul of this time as a civilised member of a fixed body politic. The warrior-chief was almost a savage; the Druid-philosopher very like an impostor. Warrior and priest had few arts of peace, and had made little approach towards civilisation. Nor can we describe the steps by which they passed out of barbarism¹. It must suffice us to have drawn the Gaul as he was long before his real history begins. We may imagine him living in open villages, in clearings of his forests, or beside the rivers, in circular wattled huts, each hut sheltered by a large roof, each family apart. Sometimes the Gauls built themselves fortified towns, surrounded with rough earthworks, traces of which still remain²; sometimes they hid themselves in retreats of wood or marsh, protected by palisades and ditches; or in strong natural positions, hill-tops, like Alesia or Gergovia. There they dwelt, by their clans; a social, community-loving race: for while the German was the man of independent life, and the Italian the man of cities, the Gaul was the man of tribal life, in clans whose bond was supposed to be that of blood.

¹ See M. Edwards' admirable pamphlet, quoted above.

² There is one not far from Dieppe.

The family usages of the Gaul are obscure. The marriage tie does not seem to have been much honoured by the men: the women were remarkable for high virtues: writers who blame the men most yet praise the women. They had little or no polygamy; nor is it clear that Caesar was right in saying that the wife became the husband's chattel. The clan, thus composed of rather indistinct families, was under one chieftain, selected by them. He was not absolute, but must listen to the ancients, and obey the armed council of his tribe. There appear to have been two classes of men enjoying freedom: the 'high man,' or horseman; and the simple freeman. One discerns, at least at first, no barrier between them: the 'high men' were a pure aristocracy of merit; that is, of prowess. Under these were, first, degraded members of the tribe; and then, at the bottom of the social scale, the slaves of the sword.

There exist vivid descriptions of their splendour and squalor, of excess of revelry, and want: but these belong to a later time, the period of decay, which must next occupy our attention.

CHAPTER II.

Gaul before the time of Caesar.

'It would seem,' says Martin, 'as though the Gauls could neither live apart nor together¹.' They clung to one another in clans, while each clan was in ceaseless commotion; personal quarrels within, clan-rivalries without. Even Druidism could not cure this evil, which at last laid Gaul prostrate at the conqueror's feet. Druidism, in course of time, fell from its pre-eminence. The chieftains wrested the power from the Druids' hands², and established a despotic rule over the clans, with (for a time at least) hereditary succession. The Druids proper, not being of this world, hermits who neither lived the village life, nor attached themselves to the tribe, were powerless against these representatives of a more active existence. The other sacred orders, the Bard and the Ouadd, sank into contempt. The Ouadd became his chief's domestic chaplain; the Bard the humble ornament of his feast. The Ouadd did sacrifice, as it were, in his master's interest; he went with him to war, or gave religious sanction to his despotism at home: such was his clerical life and duty. The Bard, at the chief's table, struck his harp and sang his master's deeds of war, his open hand, his ancestry. He was repaid in cash or in victuals³. Poseidonius, a philosopher of Caesar's day, tells us the following tale of

¹ Martin, *Histoire des Français*, tom. i. p. 34.

² See Amédée Thierry, *Histoire des Gaulois*, tom. 4. ch. i.

³ Athenaeus, *Deipnos*, Bk. 6. p. 246 D (ed. Casaubon).

Luern, a Gallic 'king.' He gave a feast, and bade his bard be there. By some mishap, he did not come in time; when he arrived, Luern was mounting his chariot to go forth in state. The bard, to do the best he could, girt up his robe, struck on his harp a sad chord, and as he ran sang his master's praises, and bewailed his own ill-luck in being too late for the feast. The chief flung to the dusty breathless singer a purse of gold. He picked it up, struck a joyful note, and now in jubilant strains sang that the honoured ground over which his master passed blossomed with flowers of gold. So they moved on, Luern in his glory, the bard in the heat and dust by his side¹.

Meanwhile, wealth increased; villages grew into towns, and the despot-chiefs had to give way. Thus in 121 B.C. the Arvernians had a 'king'; but in 60 B.C. they were ruled by a magistracy, who actually condemned a man to death for grasping at kingly power. This change, though in itself probably a change for the better, lessened the power of resistance. Caesar's best opponents were not councils of magistrates, but single heroes, who rose above the tribal feuds, and held a sort of dictatorial power.

From the time of the decline of the Druids foreign expeditions had ceased: the Gaul was either struggling against his brethren, or lapped in peaceful, even luxurious, ease. Wealth and poverty increased: the passion for display grew, and, with it the love of pleasure and self-indulgence; the low-toned moral sense of the Gaul and his great vivacity laid him open to many degrading influences. He lost barbaric virtues, and took up the vices of civilised life. No high ideal of duty or national existence came in to save him. He began to traffic; sent his goods through Massilia to Rome, his woollen robes, Sequanian hams, and the like; and bartered them for casks of wine and other luxuries. Merchants passed through the land, corrupting all they touched. They were set down at the feast, and bidden to tell their traveller's tales to the Gaul, who was never weary of hearing some new thing. They taught the

¹ Told by Athenaeus, *Deipnos.* Bk. 4. p. 152 E (ed. Casaubon).

natives to look up with awe to the splendour and vices of Rome. The Gaul was a ready scholar. He began at once to assimilate himself to the Imperial race; borrowed their ideas and habits, and at last their speech. Thus the process began; nor has it ever ceased since. The influence of Latin institutions and ideas has ever been supreme in France.

At first the Gaul caught only the love of outward splendour. He must be moulded by the great conqueror's hammer before he could accept that Law and Order which it was the mission of Rome to preach in all the Western world.

Thus then, at this early time, Gaul began her education in the world: began it in the eager seeking for national splendour and enjoyment. She invented 'German silver,' to make a greater show at less expense; she found out bright dyes, forged armour for parade, not for battle; she cured unrivalled hams; her cheeses, prepared in her highlands, sold well in Italy; her beer was good; she invented yeast, employed sometimes to make bread, and sometimes to improve the complexion; she grew fine wines, and invented wooden casks to keep them in. The old honourable equality of neither wealth nor poverty departed: debt and slavery and wealth, squalid and splendid vices came in: property was insecure; but all tended to strengthen the strong, to enrich the rich. Strongholds were built, to defend not the nation, but its property. In Caesar's day the state of Gallic society was very bad. 'In all Gaul,' says he, 'there are but two classes of men who are of honour and account; for the common folk are reckoned as but little better than slaves, dare nothing of themselves, have no voice in council. Most of them' (the old freemen of Gaul) 'when overwhelmed with debt or taxation, or with gross injustice done them by the stronger, make themselves slaves to the nobles. The two classes left are Druids and Knights¹. Of these the 'Knights,' sole remnant of the original chivalry of Gaul, were still powerful: the Druids were a picturesque relic of the past.

This was the enfeebled and degraded society which was

¹ Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* 6. 13.

summoned to resist the solid practical Roman, led by the chief captain of ancient history.

It is time for us to trace the early relations between the two races. About 388 B.C. a Gallic host under its 'Brenos,' or Chief, took and sacked Rome, in spite of Camillus. For half a century the Senonian Gauls threatened the feeble little republic, and Rome could barely make head against them. In 349 B.C. there is a Gallic war going on in the Pomptine district. Early in the next century the Senonians support the Etruscans against Rome: in 283 B.C. they meet with their first great check from the Consul Dolabella. In the subjugation of Gallia Senonensis (Sinigaglia and Rimini) we find proof that the tide has turned. After a half century of quiet, the struggle recommenced. Rome ever advanced, added post to post, stretching towards the white barriers of the Alps. But in 218 B.C. came a new enemy. Hannibal, as he passed through Gaul, found the natives generally eager to count him their champion; they helped him forwards, they swelled his ranks. Through Gallic help alone could his grand schemes succeed; their inability to follow up and sustain a great movement was one chief cause of his failure in the end.

While Hannibal was ascending the Rhone valley, a Roman army under Scipio landed at Massilia. For the first time a Roman soldier set foot in Gaul. Massilia, rival of Carthage, favoured the Roman side: and through her interested action the Romans gained their first foothold. Massilia had been founded by Phocaean settlers about six hundred years before Christ. It was the first foreign settlement on Gallic soil, and for four hundred years we cannot trace its influence on Gallic history. The traveller, when he visits the 'southern doorway of France,' looks with interest at a city which has now stood nearly 2500 years, and at the critical moment opened its gates to the Roman invader, who came to lay the foundations of Modern France.

Hannibal failed; but Rome did not fully subdue North Italy till 191 B.C. Then the Cisalpine Gaul, with national docility,

soon took Roman dress and habits, and his land became the 'Gallia Togata' of Roman history. Massilia became the second seaport city of the Mediterranean, Alexandria alone surpassing her. In 154 B.C., much vexed by her old Ligurian neighbours and foes, she called in the Romans to help her. They came gladly. Opimius penetrated into Celto-Liguria, subdued the Oxybii and Deceates, who dwelt near the Var, just above Antipolis (Antibes), and handed them over to Massilia. Thirty years later the Salyes were conquered, and the whole seaboard from Var to Rhone was given to the Massiliots, while Rome took the interior; and Caius Sextius, proconsul, founded the first Roman city in Gaul, (122 B.C.) and called it by his name, the Aquae Sextiae (Aix in Provence); a city standing in a lovely valley, blest with hot and cold springs, and girt in with tree-clad mountains. Thus began the Roman occupation, which soon spread northwards. The Cavares, a race dwelling round Arausio (Orange), and the Vocontii submitted. The Romans touched the Isara. Here they met a brave and powerful tribe, the Allobrogi, who dwelt in the land between Vienne and Geneva. But here too were those feuds which were ever so helpful to them. The Arvernians and Aeduians led the two parties of eastern Gaul. The latter were at war with the Allobrogi, who accordingly were in alliance with the Arvernians. Massilia stepped in and arranged terms between the Aeduians and Rome. They became 'the friends of Rome,' and the storm of war burst on their Gallic rivals. Bituit¹, head of the Arvernian league, was beaten in battle by Domitius and Quintus Fabius Maximus: it is said that he lost 120,000 men. Bituit himself, decoyed by Domitius to a conference, learnt as a captive the 'more than Punic perfidy' of Rome. He was sent to Rome, where his painted armour, silver chariot, and strange looks made a show for the sovereign people. The Romans treated the Arvernians well, but, finding it convenient, confiscated the lands of the Allobrogi. The whole Rhone-valley, on its eastern side, from Geneva to the mouth, except the Massiliot territory,

¹ Son of that Luern who has been already mentioned on p. 20.

became a province, *Gallia Braccata*; that is, the Gaul whose people wore the native 'brecks,' as opposed to *Gallia Togata*, in which they had donned the Roman toga. The God *Terminus* moved forward along the western coast, as far as to the Pyrenees, and inland to the Cevennes. In 118 B.C. a new capital was founded for the province, indicating its changed dimensions, at *Narbo Martius* (Narbonne), famous as the first Gallic *municipium*, or city enjoying all rights of Roman citizenship except the suffrage. Thus there arose on the seaboard a proud and famous city, with a station for the fleet, good harbourage, and proconsular residence. From that day the political splendour of Marseilles waned.

The same *Domitius*¹ also built the great highway, the *via Domitia*, along the Ligurian Alps: it was the first great 'Corniche road.' Colonies multiplied throughout the Province, cities sprang up with Roman forms and different degrees of Roman citizenship, destined to bear fruit long afterwards in the influence of town-life over the southern districts of France.

Not long after this time a terrible earthquake in Northern Europe is said to have set the *Cimbrians* of Jutland and the *Teutons* of North Germany moving southwards. They streamed on till they reached Gaul; they overthrew the legions sent to resist them. In 107 B.C. they reached the west bank of the Rhone. The *Volcae-Tectosages*, impatient of their Roman neighbours, seized *Tolosa* (Toulouse), and joined the Gallo-Teutonic alliance. *Caepio* retook *Tolosa*, and carried off all the vast treasures he found in the temple of *Belen* and elsewhere, among which were said to be the spoils of the temple of *Delphi*, sacked long before by the Gauls. But as *Caepio* withdrew, he was overtaken on the Rhone, his army utterly destroyed, his treasure lost².

Marius remained to make head against the Gallo-Teutons.

¹ Surnamed *Ahenobarbus*, 'bronze-bearded.'

² A Latin proverb as to accursed gains long commemorated this mishap. 'Habet aurum Tolosanum' was said of any one whose wealth—the wealth so often of rapine and extortion—seemed to carry a curse with it.—*Aulus Gellius*, 3. 9.

While they, careless of the worth of time, delayed, he drew his forces together, established himself near *Arelate* (Arles), cut a deep canal (the *Fossa Mariana*¹) from Arles through the district of the *Crau*² to the sea. The barbarians crossed the Rhone, and offered battle, which *Marius* refused. As they passed on towards *Aquae Sextiae* they shouted into his camp 'What messages for your wives!' But the Romans held their peace. When, however, the great host was past, *Marius* broke up and followed. In the hills not far from *Aix* (102 B.C.) he forced them to fight one of the world's decisive battles. Had he failed, they would have penetrated into Italy, and joined the *Cimbrians*, descending from the Tyrol; and who knows what might have been the end? As it was, *Marius* defeated them with horrible carnage; and afterwards, on the other side of the Alps, fell on the *Cimbrians* and crushed them also.

Not long after this, in 100 B.C., *Caesar*, in more than one way the great successor of *Marius*, was born.

The social and civil wars of Rome brought great trouble on the Province. But another danger impended: about 62 B.C. a mixed horde of Germans, under *Ariovistus*, were called in by the *Sequanians*; for they wished to use them as a counterpoise to the *Aeduan*³, who, thanks to Roman friendship, lorded it over the other tribes, shutting off from the *Sequanians* the commerce of the *Saone*, and that of the *Loire* from the *Arvernians*. The combined Gauls and Germans fell on the *Aeduan*s, defeated them, and drove them to submission. *Divitiacus* the Druid alone refused to yield. He hastened to Rome and prayed the Senate to help his people. Rome was ready enough, but for a time lacked the power; and meanwhile the Germans kept pouring in through this new opening into eastern Gaul.

¹ This canal has given its name to the village of *Foz*, situated at its mouth. The French government has proposed to reopen it, so as to avoid the dangerous navigation of the Rhone mouths.

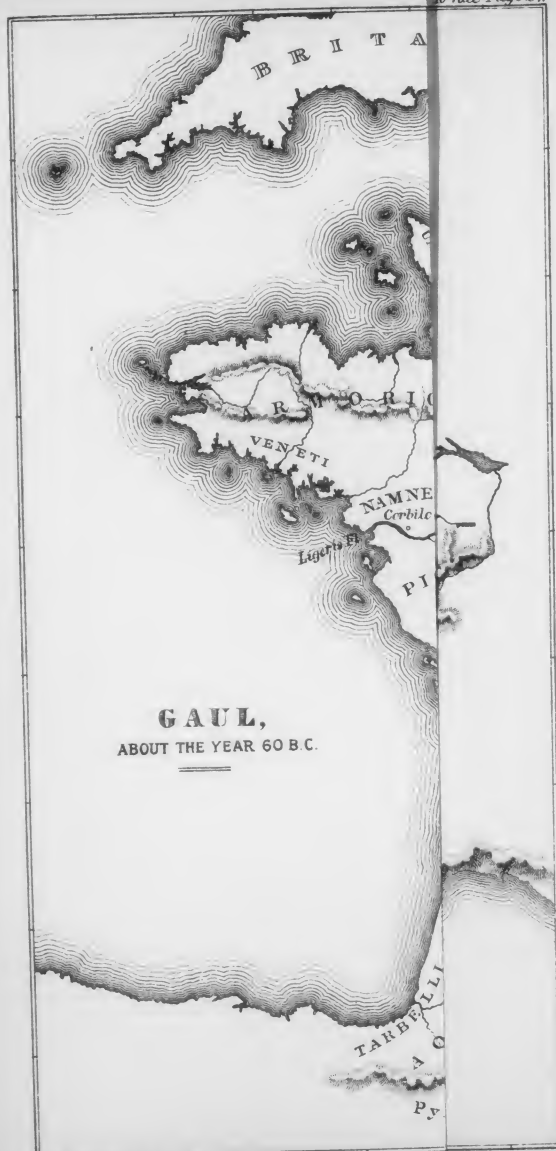
² The *Crau* is a strange flat district below Arles, covered thickly with rounded pebbles. Its name is Celtic. *Crau* is the Celtic *kraeg*, whence our 'crag,' and the Alps *Craiae* or *Graiae*.

³ The *Aeduan*s were much under Druid influences, and kept up the old elective headship; the *Sequanians* had a hereditary succession.

Through this same opening, where the land drops between the Jura and the Vosges, one of the most vulnerable portions of the frontier, poured in later days the Allemans, the Huns, the Burgundians, and in modern times the Allies on their way to Paris in 1814. By 58 B.C. Ariovistus could boast that Germany, like Rome, had her province in Gaul. Gaul at this time leant on three external powers. The older tribes of the south-east depended on Roman civilisation; the Gauls, all the central and western tribes, and especially the Armoricans, leant upon Britain; while the purer Belgae of the north, proud of their more barbarous state, drew towards Germany. The Nervians and Trevirans, a little later, affected a German origin, though they were really Gallic. The Aquitanians, after their natural bent, stood aloof, on the defensive. Lastly, the Helvetians, a Gallic race dwelling in Switzerland, retained their warlike habits, and were straitened for room. Their chieftain Orgetorix, seeing that his country lay between Germans and Romans, and that if Gaul fell it must also fall, conceived the bold plan of a great Gallic confederation, headed by the Helvetians, who, to be in a more central position, should emigrate to the shores of the ocean, in the territory of the Santones. There, under one chief, they should direct and reinspire the whole Gallic race. But Orgetorix fell a victim to his plan. The Helvetian chieftains, jealous of his genius, called him to judgment. He appeared, with all his clan, his friends, his debtors, above ten thousand men in arms, behind him. The chiefs were fain to let him march away free. But the opposition to him was too strong; and the great Helvetian, to withdraw from among them the cause of civil war, slew himself in the year 59 B.C.

His emigration plan did not perish with him. The Helvetians made ready to move. Then Rome heard of it, and sent forth her greatest general to resist it. Caesar was made Proconsul of Gaul first for five years, from 58 to 54 B.C., and afterwards his command was prolonged for five years more, from 53 to 49 B.C.





For the Clarendon Press.

J. & B. Blades, London.

CHAPTER III.

Caesar in Gaul B.C. 58-50.

THE social and civil wars did three things for Rome. They destroyed the old breed of citizens; they taught men to regard the army as the only remaining power; and they paved the way for Caesar.

Caesar saw clearly the position he was in. He was the darling of the people, the deadly foe of the aristocracy. The people thought him the successor of Marius, his kinsman. But the Senatorial aristocracy was still strong; and there was only one power that could overcome it—the army. He therefore shaped his course towards the possession of that power. In 60 B.C. he formed a secret agreement with Pompey and Crassus, to divide equally the authority at Rome. The Triumvirate was hollow; but it sufficed for Caesar's aims. He had need to prove himself a great soldier; this could only be done at a distance from Rome, and it was necessary for him to leave his rear, as it were, defended, by putting Rome into friendly hands. Pompey and Crassus were, for the time, willing to remain at home; and Caesar, who already had fought with credit in Spain, got for himself the legions destined for the West. In B.C. 59 the people voted him Illyricum and Cisalpine Gaul as his provinces, with three legions, for five years; and the Senate, thinking to remove him farther from Rome, added Transalpine Gaul as well, with an additional legion.

In the spring of 58 B.C. he set forth. He knew of the move-

ment going on in the high Alps, and went straight to meet it. Eight days after he left Rome he was at Geneva. The Helvetians had two lines of exit; one through the Sequanian land, the other by Geneva and the Rhone. They first tried the Sequanian line; but Caesar, when Consul in 59 B.C., had secured the Sequanians in the interest of Rome, and the Helvetians were refused a passage. They then turned towards Geneva; but here Caesar headed them, breaking down the Rhone bridge. Their ambassadors came, asking for peaceful passage through the province; he replied that he must take a few days to reflect on their demand. His reflections took the shape of earthworks along the Rhone; for he was specially great as a spade-soldier; he gathered troops (for in his haste he had outrun his army), and when the Helvetians came for his reply, he refused them passage, and was able to enforce his refusal. Again they turned towards the other route; by help of the Aeduan Dumnorix they got leave, and safely crossed the Jura. But the Aeduans resisted them at the passage of the Arar (Saone), and though their opposition was but slight (for there were among them the usual factions), they wasted precious time, and enabled Caesar to hasten into Italy, to gather five legions, and to return and catch the Helvetian rear in the act of crossing the Saone. These he fell on and defeated, then passed the river and followed them. At Bibracte (Autun) they faced round and fought. After a tough struggle they were utterly routed, and driven northward into the Lingonian country, where Caesar again came up with them and reduced them to submission. The Boians were permitted to settle in Gaul, in consideration of their bravery: the rest returned to their old homes, and are the ancestors of the French-speaking Swiss. Not a third of their numbers recrossed the Jura.

Ariovistus and his Germans, fairly settled in the northern Sequanian lands, ought in prudence to have joined the Helvetians. But they stood by, awaiting their time. It soon came. Caesar, who hitherto had flattered the German chieftain, sent him a message that he must stop the flow of Teutons into Gaul, and give up the Aeduans he held as hostages. The

proud German defied Caesar and Rome,—little knowing what he did. He thought he had all Germany at his back; it was rumoured that the hundred Suevian cantons were crossing the Rhine into the lands of the Trevirans to help him. But Caesar gave them no time. He marched on Vesontio (Besançon), the capital of the Sequanians, a strong position, key of the whole campaign, got there before Ariovistus, and made it his headquarters. His men began to show signs of fear. The enemy was new and fierce: all counted the Teuton as far more terrible than the Gaul. But Caesar could use words as well as spades or swords. He called his legions together, and said, 'Abandon me, if you will, you others—but give me my tenth legion—the tenth does not desert; with it alone I will conquer.' He touched the right chord; the soldiers were his tools from that moment; and his way to Empire lay open. He at once attacked the Teuton camp; forced it after a savage fight, and massacred its defenders. The Germans were thrust back on the Rhine, and perished almost to a man. Ariovistus crossed the river and died in Germany. The Suevians, hearing of the disaster, withdrew with all speed, and with no small loss.

Thus Caesar crushed two formidable foes in one year. The Aeduans recovered their threatened supremacy, and Caesar was welcomed as a deliverer. Next year (57 B.C.) the Belgae of northern Gaul were in motion. Caesar, who had gone into Cisalpine Gaul¹, returned promptly to his army, which lay in winter-quarters in Sequania. He had already secured the friendship of the Trevirans and Remi, thanks to the ceaseless tribal jealousies. The Trevirans had fallen under his influence when pressed by the Suevian Germans; and the Remi hoped, by the favour of Rome, to hold the first place in the northern confederacy, as the Aeduans did in the Eastern. They opened the gates of their capital Durocortorum (Rheims) to the Romans: and the Belgae, to punish them, marched into their country. But the Aeduans

¹ To watch over the rest of his province, and his interests at home:—*ἐν ταῦτα καθήμενος ἐδημαγώγει*, says Plutarch, in his *Life of Caesar*, p. 717.

pushed on as far as to the borders of the Bellovaci (Beauvais), in the Roman interest; and the Belgae broke up, to defend their threatened homes. Caesar followed them, took Noviodunum (Soissons), and reduced at once the Suessones and Bellovaci. The Nervians, a warlike tribe, proved themselves more worthy foes. They assaulted the Roman camp with so much fury, that had not Caesar united the skill of a general with the daring of a common soldier, all had been lost. It was his day of greatest peril. The Nervians scorned to yield: out of sixty thousand fighting men, scarcely five hundred remained unwounded. Caesar showed wisdom and generosity: he guaranteed to the wreck of the tribe its lands and goods. Then he attacked the Aduatici in the Ardennes, and enslaved the whole tribe. In the spring of 56 B.C. Armorica was overrun; and Caesar destroyed the fleet of the Veneti, who had headed a new league against Rome, while Sabinus routed their land forces. The younger Crassus overcame the Aquitanians; and the whole circuit was complete. From Provence, by Helvetia, Sequania, the Belgic tribes, the Veneti in Armorica, the Loire, and Aquitania, and so round to Provence again;—this was the triumphant course of the legions. The Morini and Menapii, people of marsh and woodland, in the north-eastern corner of Gaul, hard by the Batavian island, alone stood out unsubdued.

In 55 B.C., after a raid into Germany, he overcame the Morini. And lastly, he determined to sever the connection between Gaul and Britain, the home of Gallic traditions and faith. Hence his British expeditions that year and the next. It is doubtful whether he gained much:—some glory to himself, but little benefit to Rome. He brought back from his second expedition slaves and a few pearls, and the nominal submission of Cassivelaun. Britain remained as she was; the tribute imposed on Cassivelaun was never paid; and meanwhile the Gallic tribes had time to breathe, and organise a great revolt against their stern master. And this time the Aeduians, Rome's old allies, feeling that Caesar in attacking the sacred island was smiting Druidism

to the heart, threw off their allegiance and joined the national movement. Caesar speaks of this rising in such a tone as conquerors are ever apt to use. The love of liberty, the spirit of patriotism, are branded as the fickleness of a race which ought to know itself beaten and be quiet: a subject race, when it tries to throw off the yoke, is always counted traitorous by its masters. The Gauls seemed to Caesar to be unreasonable and troublesome. The expedition into Britain, which should have been lucrative and dazzling, and the last act of a series of splendid campaigns, proved to be but the beginning of new dangers. The triumph was delayed, who could say how long? and the fortunes of war, proverbially fickle, might change. No new glory could be won, and all as yet gathered might be lost. Returning from Britain he had met the Gallic deputies at Samarobriua (Amiens), and finding all tranquil, had put his troops into winter-quarters along the north coast and the Meuse. He was starting for Italy, when the sound of an explosion in the territory of the Carnutes, the centre of Druid faith, fell on his ear. The Gaul, too impatient by nature to wait, had broken out too soon. The Eburones rose, and destroyed Sabinus' army. Ambiorix, their victorious chief, called on his countrymen: the Nervians and Aduaticans replied. All northern Gaul was moved. Cicero, the orator's brother, who was wintering in the Nervian country, was beleaguered by them; but Caesar, with incredible speed and boldness, saved him, and saved himself. Now all Gaul began to stir. Tidings of nightly meetings in desert spots reached him from every side. The Senones revolted; the Trevirans were in motion; but Indutiomarus, chief of the anti-Roman party there, was surprised and slain. Thus, with this ominous swaying and writhing, closed the year 54.

Early in 53 Caesar had gathered together ten legions—his largest army. He ravaged the Nervian country, and held another assembly at Samarobriua. The Senones, Carnutes, and Trevirans did not appear. He moved the conference to a marshy islet on the Sequana (Seine), and there, in the poor little village of Lutetia, the site of the 'cité' of Paris, he held

converse with the Gallic chiefs. He speedily quieted the insurgent clans, as he thought, and returned to Italy.

But the moment he was gone the Carnutes rose again. They seized Genabum, the central Druidical town, and other cities in their parts, murdering all foreigners. The Arvernians also revolted, placing the young Vercingetorix¹ at their head. Young, tall, and vigorous, skilful at arms, and bravest of Gauls, he combined at their best all the qualities of the race. He inspired first his own tribe, then the whole of Gaul, with a really national enthusiasm. The noblest figure of independent Gaul, he is also the last. When he submitted, resistance was over. It has been well said of him that, 'to take rank among the greatest of men he only needed another enemy and another historian.' Unfortunately, the same consummate and ungenerous captain who conquered him also drew his picture.

Vercingetorix collected an army, and moved northwards, to crush the scattered legions and to raise the Belgae, while his second in command went south, to rouse the southern Gauls and to overwhelm the Province. Caesar returned hot-foot from Italy, and fell on the Arvernian lands; so that the Arvernians in the Gallic army, like the Bellovaci before, abandoned the general cause to defend their homes; and the legions were saved. Then Caesar hastened with only a troop of horse through the Aeduan land, and rejoined his army. Thence southwards again to Noviodunum (Nevers), which he took. Vercingetorix now saw that the time for open force was past, and induced his countrymen to take a terrible resolution. They would destroy all their towns and houses, and starve out the enemy. Over twenty Biturigan towns were burnt in one day. But when they came to Avaricum (Bourges), their hearts failed, and it was spared;—spared that Caesar might presently storm it, and put every human being to the sword—and find in it

¹ Vercingetorix means 'the great chief of a hundred kings.' 'Ver' (Welsh *vaur*) = great; 'cin,' 'kin' (or kenna) = chief; 'geto,' 'keto,' 'kedo' (Greek *ἑκατ-ov*) = a hundred, and 'rix' (Lat. *rex*) = king. It is not quite clear whether it is a proper name or a title of office. At any rate it is characteristically Gallic in its splendour.

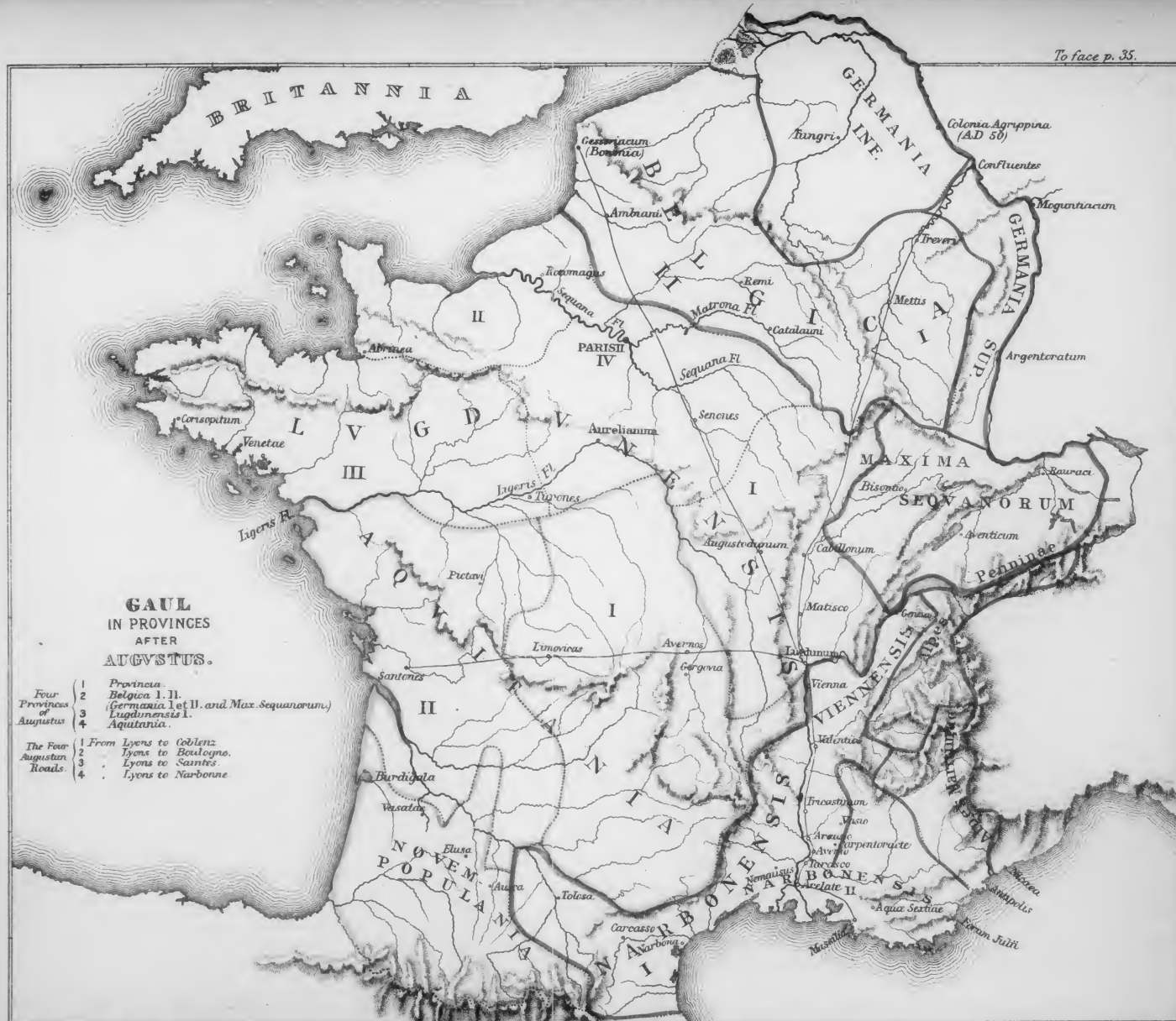
ample food and munitions of war. Thus their sacrifices were rendered null, because they had not heart to carry them out completely. Four legions were now sent with Labienus to the north; with six Caesar marched on Gergovia in the land of the Arvernians. But there Vercingetorix won a splendid victory over him; and he had to raise the siege and fall back on Labienus. The Gallic hero was now strong enough to revert to his old plan. He moved northward against Caesar, and sent a subsidiary army into the Province. But Caesar gave him battle not far from Divio (Dijon), defeated him, and broke the Gallic spirit. The heroism that would willingly have died, could not bear defeat. Vercingetorix was compelled to withdraw his weakened forces into the fortress-town of Alesia in the Mandubian country, till the Gauls had time to recover spirit. Alesia stood on the crown of an oval hill, in the midst of an amphitheatre of mountains, its feet washed by two rivers. The town and its works covered the whole plateau of the hill; its sides were steep and unassailable. Here was the theatre of the last struggle between independent Gaul and Rome, between Vercingetorix and Caesar. The Gallic cavalry were sent forth to rouse the land; the infantry held the town. It was a last effort, and all heard the cry and came, except the Remi, the old and faithful friends of Rome. Meanwhile the garrison suffered horribly; it became a question of starving or expelling the non-combatants. They were driven forth to perish between the rocky walls of the fortress and the not less stony lines of the besiegers, like the wretched citizens under the walls of Château Gaillard in 1204. Caesar's skill as a spade-soldier again served him in good stead. He drew great lines round the place, and rested in them, awaiting the supreme moment. At last the relieving army came. From within and without the Gauls threw themselves on the Roman works. There was a hill so large that the Roman earthworks could not encircle it. Two legions held it; it was the key of the position, and against it the chief efforts of the Gauls were in vain directed. After a long and terrible struggle the Roman

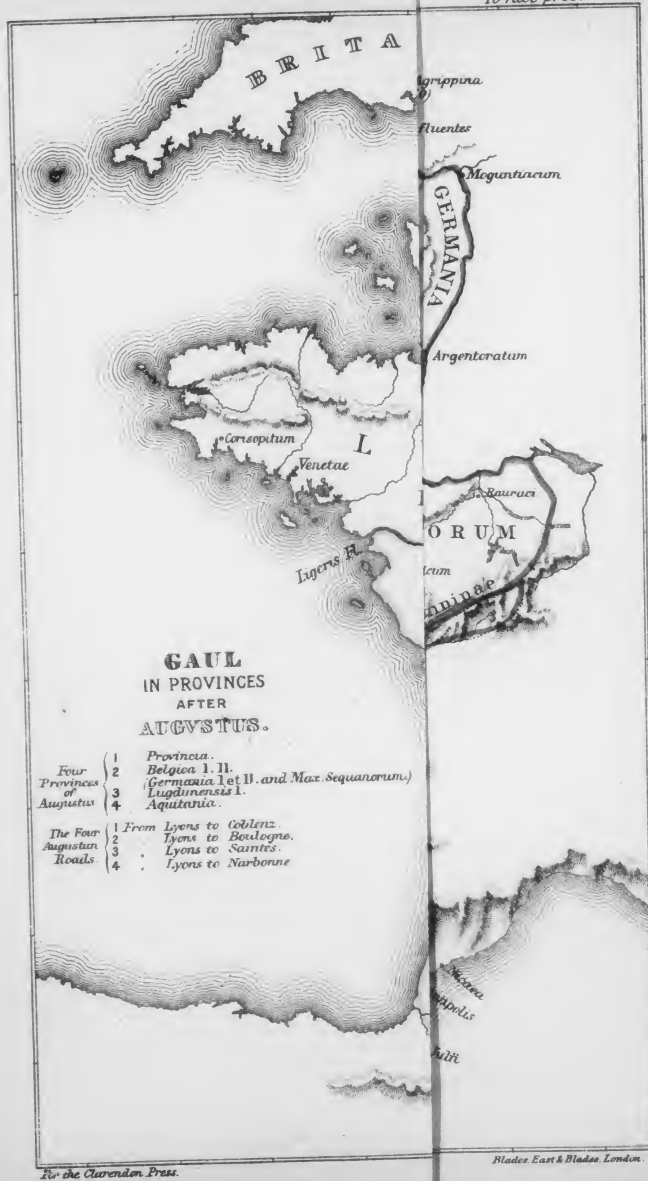
remained master of the place. The relieving army was driven back; Vercingetorix slowly withdrew into Alesia. Next day he called his men together, and told them he was going to Caesar, that by sacrificing himself he might save them. And the last scene was worthy of the rest, and curiously Gallic. Caesar sat on a high tribunal within the Roman lines. Suddenly a splendid horseman, fully armed, his steed covered with bright trappings, came in at a gallop, and reined up his horse at Caesar's feet. It was Vercingetorix, who dismounted, threw down his arms, and silently awaited his doom, beaten but not broken, before the man whose 'lines of destiny' had so cruelly crossed his own. Caesar shewed the unworthy side of the Roman character. The patriot was in his eyes only a rebel, the hero a barbarian. He broke out into bitter words, and bade the lictors seize him. Vercingetorix was reserved 'to make a Roman show'; then for six years he lay in prison, before the axe fell and released his noble soul.

But he had saved the Arvernians from ruin. Caesar set free twenty thousand captives: the war lingered on, in a petty way, through 51 B.C.; but by the winter Gaul was 'pacified,' and at the conqueror's feet.

From that moment Caesar's whole policy changed. He became kind, almost indulgent. He had read the Gallic character, and saw what great use he could make of it. With the legions devoted to him, and an exhaustless reserve of Gauls, his path to Rome was open. Ere long we have the Gallic legion, the 'Alauda' or Lark, so called from the figure of a lark, a relic of the old Gallic splendour, on their helmets; and this body did Caesar good service at Pharsalia and elsewhere. He lightened the Gallic tribute, and called it by a softer name; he did what he could to lessen the evils of debt and clientship—other names for slavery; forbade human sacrifices, and repressed Druidism, the lifespring of their national existence. The Romans grumbled; for he seemed to slight them,—as indeed he did, despising the motley crew. He seems really to have liked the gallant Gaul better than the dissolute and unworthy successors of old Rome, the mongrel occupants of the Imperial City.







CHAPTER IV.

Gaul under Roman Influences.

B.C. 50-A.D. 476.

WE shall treat of this period only so far as it is needful to trace the education of the Gaul in Roman ideas, and the growth of a certain civilisation in the country. It is not an interesting period; for it is a time of ever-increasing wretchedness, first under the Roman heel, then under the equally crushing domination of the German. It would seem as though the light and impressible Gaul needed this severe discipline before he could take his right place in history; and the modification of his ideas under Roman influences gives us the clue to much of his later character. His conceptions of universal empire, whether intellectual or martial, come from Rome; so too his habit of living by strict law, and desire for 'logical sequence,' and his tendency to reduce all things to their principles and to codes; hence also comes his delight in centralised city-life; hence his deep belief in the equality of all mankind, which again is joined with indifference as to personal freedom; hence perhaps also comes what has seemed to be an inaptness for constitutional ways of government; hence come, finally, his nomenclature and his language.

We may divide this period into four parts :

- I. The final struggle against Rome, B.C. 50—A.D. 70.
- II. Gaul under the Empire to the accession of Diocletian, A.D. 70—284.
- III. The age of barbarian incursions and the struggle against the Germans, A.D. 284—406.
- IV. The age of German settlements to the era of Hlodowig or Clovis, A.D. 406—476.

I. *The final struggle against Rome*, B.C. 50—A.D. 70.

Plutarch tells us that Caesar fought in Gaul against three millions of men : one million perished ; one was enslaved ; one remained free¹. And thus was Gaul 'pacified' ! She lay prostrate at her master's feet. But the race quickly recovered its numbers. 'They are fruitful,' says Strabo, 'and good at nurturing children.' In spite of oppression and slavery the Gaul made some progress during the five centuries of Roman domination. At the beginning they were savages, and their land a land of forests, wild hills, and waste fertile valleys, inhabited by quarrelsome clans, scanty in numbers, subsisting on precarious hunting-spoils, on the banks of desolate rivers. They had scarcely a town or a road. But at the end of the period there were fine cities ; much of the land was under cultivation ; the inhabitants wore the Roman dress, lived in large part under Roman law, and had adopted Roman arts of life, language, and letters.

It is obvious that Roman influences would naturally spread from the Province outwards, and that the Province would be thoroughly Roman long before the rest of Gaul. There is a risk lest the observations of ancient travellers, which really refer to the state of the Province, should be taken to apply to the whole country. Light came from the east to Gaul. The Mediterranean cities, Tyre, Carthage, Athens, Rome, Alexandria, were centres of learning, thought, and commerce ;

¹ Plut. Caes. p. 715.

and from them, with the Mediterranean as a highway, came the early civilisation of Marseilles, Narbonne, and other cities of the Province. From them it passed inland to Toulouse, Arles, Nîmes, Vienne. And so the South took the lead, and kept it through the early Middle Ages, till its activity of thought brought it into collision with the Church and with France ; then it fell by the hand of De Montfort¹. The struggles of the thirteenth century may be traced back to the barbarian invasions, which changed the balance of Europe ; the power of the North growing ever stronger. For the Northern and Southern influences met in France, which became the chief battlefield. At one time it might well have been a question whether Lyons or Paris should be the chief city of France ; but the northern influences were too strong, and Paris, a city lying on the northernmost of her great rivers, became the capital.

In the North the German influences were strong in after-times ; but the German never imprinted his mark on the Gallic character so deeply as did the Roman. The Roman was the first teacher ; the pupil was fresh, and eager to learn.

The year after the close of the ten years' war (B.C. 49) Massilia fell. Her evil star led her, with the Province, to join Pompey's party ; and Caesar attacked and vanquished her. To secure the unwilling allegiance of the Province and the humiliation of Massilia, he established military colonies filled with his partisans. Arles was recolonised ; he founded Forum Julii (Fréjus)², with a fine harbour which made it a formidable rival to Marseilles ; Fréjus was as detrimental to the Eastern as Narbonne to the Western commerce of the Phocæan capital. But though Caesar was suspicious of the Provincials, and masterful towards them, he had no such feelings towards the rest of Gaul. He had already granted citizenship to the whole Legion of the Lark ; and the imperial city was daily expecting some new violation of her sanctity, when the old Senatorial

¹ The corresponding civilisation of Sicily culminated and began to wane at the same time, under the great Emperor Frederick II.

² Fréjus, which lies between Toulon and Antibes, is now a poor little town two or three miles from the sea.

party, taking advantage of the jealousies of the moment, murdered Caesar on the Ides of March, 44 B.C. The foreigners at Rome made themselves conspicuous by the marked share they took in the public mourning. They knew that their friend was gone, and that old Rome had struck at them through him.

Julius had left Gaul very much to herself; Augustus set himself to tutor her. His gift of organisation there found a fine field. The Julian towns had all been built in the interests of Caesar's party; the Augustan cities had all a political aim. He centralised authority by making Lyons, a new town, the capital. His policy was to build a new city wherever it might destroy the influence of some city already venerable in Gallic eyes. Thus Lyons overshadowed Vienne; Augustonemetum, Gergovia. He also gave new names (often taken from the names of the old clans) to old cities¹. Bibracte was renamed Augustodunum (Autun); Noviodunum, Augusta Suessionum (Soissons); and, probably, Avaricum, Biturigae (Bourges). He favoured local jealousies, and crushed local patriotism. He divided the country into four provinces, so arranged as to cut across all older distinctions of race². These were the Belgica, which with a fringe of wild half-Germanised lands between its marches and the Rhine, spread from the English Channel, along the Seine, to the eastern limits of Helvetia (the Sequanian territory being reckoned in with it), and ran down to a point below Geneva: then the Lugdunensis stretching as a narrow strip from the Armorican coast to Lyons, between the Seine and the Loire; thirdly, Aquitania, which lay in a solid mass from the Loire to the Spanish frontier, and ran from near Toulouse up to Lyons; and lastly, the Narbonensis, which touched both the Spanish and the Italian frontiers, and had also its northernmost point at Lyons. Thus Lyons became the manifest centre of the system, not belonging specially to any province, but accessible to all. In fifteen years Augustus raised it from a village to a great city. It had a great market, a mint, a splendid central temple; it

¹ The reverse process to that of the '*eadem magistratuum nomina*.'

² As may be seen by comparing Maps II (p. 35) and III (p. 67).

teemed with rhetoricians, and had booksellers' shops. Strabo says it was next in size to Narbo. The central temple, built where the Arar (Saone) and the Rhone meet, was dedicated to Augustus and Rome. There stood the emperor's altar, surrounded by statues of the sixty Gallic 'cities', symbolising the centralisation and subjection of the country³. Lyons was also the centre of the emperor's road-system. Besides the way into Helvetia through Geneva, and the still more important communication with Italy over the Cottian Alps, both of which ran from Lyons, there were four great Augustan roads, the main arteries of traffic throughout all Gaul. One, to the north, passed through Cabillonum (Châlons-sur-Saone), Divodurum (Metz), Augusta Trevirorum (Trier or Trèves), and ended at Confluentes (Coblentz). The second, to the north-west, ran through Augustodunum (Autun) and Agendincum (Sens), and ended at Gesoriacum (Boulogne). The third, due west, crossed the Arvernian hills, through Augustoritum (Limoges), and came down to the ocean. The fourth, to the south, dropped down the left bank of the Rhone to Tarasco, where it split asunder; one branch to Massilia, the other to Narbo.

Under the eye of Augustus, Roman influences spread, specially among the young nobles. Provence became more Italian than Italy herself, as Pliny said; and in the 'Imperial Province,' as the rest of Gaul was called³, civic life began to supplant the old clan feeling. Centralised organisation prevailed: schools were established; for Greek learning, Massilia; for Latin, Augustodunum: and the Gaul was before long found teaching Latin to the Latins at Rome. Rhetoric, that Celtic gift, flourished. Druidism was discouraged; and the polytheism of eastern Gaul

¹ They were rather cantons, or small states.

² The temple was on the Athenaeum, a name still surviving in the church of Aisnay, two sides of whose central dome are supported by one of the huge columns of the temple, cut in two.

³ Augustus divided the Roman world into Provinces, Senatorial and Imperial. The Senatorial were those quiet countries which needed no special watchfulness; the Imperial were all border-lands, mostly newly conquered territories. Consequently, the Narbonensis was Senatorial, the rest of Gaul Imperial.

was wrought into one system with the polytheism of Rome. The rights of Imperial citizenship dazzled the ambition of the younger chiefs; Roman law was introduced, and took root in the south; though the 'brecks' lingered on, the young chieftain donned the toga proudly, and deemed himself a Roman. His quick imagination was touched by the glory, and fascinated by the impure civilisation of the Eternal City. The altar of Rome was at Lyons; she was looked on as divine as well as eternal, personal as well as omnipotent. Grand buildings, on Roman lines, sprang up. And though this foreign splendour was laden with heavy taxes, yet it spread; till by the time of Tiberius a great transformation had been accomplished in the race.

This burden of taxation, and a certain clinging to down-trodden Druidism, led to an uprising, headed by the Trevirans under Florus, and the Aeduans under Sacrovir¹, in A.D. 21. It was soon subdued; and the reign of Tiberius is only marked by the increased severity of the government. Caligula (A.D. 37) returned to a milder policy; and by his acts in Gaul poured a half-crazy contempt on Rome. At Lyons, before the very altar of Augustus, he held forced competitions in eloquence. Each victor won a prize and a panegyric, composed by the defeated competitors. The author of a condemned piece was made to wipe it off the waxed tablets with his tongue, or perhaps was beaten, or, chance times, thrown into the Rhone. The emperor also played the auctioneer, and sold to the highest bidder the heir-looms of the Empire, giving the history of each piece. 'This vase is Egyptian, it belonged once to Antony, Augustus took it at Actium;' or, 'This piece was my father's;' and so on till he had dragged the greatest names of old Rome in the mire. There is nothing more curious than the alienation of the Caesars from Rome. Claudius (emperor in 41 A.D.) was born at Lyons: all his sympathies were Provincial. He spoke Latin with an accent, and openly preferred Greek, and boasted of his Sabine origin and Gallic birthplace—he was proud of

¹ Was Sacrovir the translation of the name of a Druidical office?

anything except Rome. A speech he made in the Senate, advocating the throwing open of that august assembly to the Gallic chiefs, has been preserved in a short form by Tacitus. Part of it, engraved on a metal tablet, is still to be seen among the archives of Lyons. He visited all parts of Gaul, examining and regulating everything; he prohibited human sacrifices, and the Druid worship. In his time the sense of the equality of all men under the law grew stronger. He raised, as far as he could, the more degraded classes, and established schools. The provinces were governed by procurators, mostly freedmen; slaves were emancipated; the old Romans were taught to regard the Gauls as their equals, even their brethren, under the law.

Nero, with his Greek sympathies, cared little for 'Imperial' Gaul; but to the Province, so full of Greek elements, he was friendly enough. He rebuilt Lyons after a great fire; at his death no city mourned more sincerely for him. Gaul bore her full share of the troubles which his death entailed; and at last broke out into revolt. In 69 A.D. the old Druid party rose, under one Maric, who said he had come down from heaven; but a few cohorts scattered the loose levy of peasants, and took their leader. A greater trouble was at hand—a last Gallic war, in which the northern tribes, led by a German, gallantly resisted all the power of Rome.

Augustus had marked off a narrow strip along the left bank of the Rhine, from Basel to the Batavian island. This district being chiefly peopled with Germans, received the high-sounding names of the Upper and Lower Germanies. Here, too, the eight frontier-legions lay in a chain of strong military towns¹. These troops were largely recruited from the natives of the district; they seldom changed quarters. They looked forward to permanent settlement on the soil at the end of their service; they identified themselves with the district and its people. The officers even wore the Gallic dress: we read that Vitellius himself marched as consul before the eagles in the Gallic trews:

¹ This is why almost all the Rhine cities are on the left bank, Cologne, Bonn, Andernach, Coblenz, Bingen, Mainz, Spiers, Worms, &c.

Caecina, who commanded a legion in the Upper Germany, wore his light plaid cloak and trousers even in Italy¹. But this tendency towards combination between Gaul and Rome was ever thwarted by the stream of German immigrants from over the Rhine; and the Batavian insurrection was a protest against the influence of the legions. These declared for Vitellius; the national party for Vespasian; hoping thereby to win independence, or at least to damage the legions. The Batavian² island had been peopled by a wild tribe of Gauls. But a little before the Christian era a horde of Catti³, a German tribe, entered the island, and being men of large stature and fierce bravery, soon became interesting to Roman eyes. Tacitus calls them 'bravest of Germans.' They formed the imperial body-guard till Vespasian's time. Their valour turned the tide of battle at Pharsalia; they were exempt from taxes, being allies not subjects of Rome. Rome treated them as so many living weapons⁴. These men, Germans not Gauls, headed the last revolt. As the one race died, the other awoke: the Roman power indeed prevailed, but Civilis foreshadowed at the same moment the coming pre-eminence of the German race. All Gaul was moved except the old Province. The eastern cities sought an independent government of the Roman type—indicating to what extent Roman ideas had taken root: western and central Gaul rose in behalf of Druidism: lastly the Belgae desired freedom and a military chief, after the instincts of their half-German nature. But the eastern cities and the Remi yielded without a struggle; the central rising was easily put down; the western tribes and the Belgae would not fight away from home, and so the whole brunt fell on Civilis and his Batavians. He, who had won a Roman name and Roman skill in war by service with the legions, made a glorious resistance. He is fortunate

¹ Tac. Hist. 2. 20.

² According to their proclivities, writers derive this word from the Teutonic *Bet-au*, 'good-meadow,' or from the Gallic *Bat-av*, 'deep-water': the latter is probably right.

³ Their home was on the Weser, in the *Cassel* country.

⁴ 'Velut tela atque arma, bellis reservantur,' says Tacitus, Germ. 29.

in his historian, Tacitus, whose Histories, as we have them, break off abruptly at the very moment when Civilis, abandoned by his followers, stands on the broken bridge treating for terms of surrender with the Roman Cerealis. There the darkness suddenly closes in on his noble figure, grand even in defeat; and the independent life of ancient Gaul is ended.

CHAPTER V.

II. *Gaul under the Empire*, A.D. 70-284.

It is not always true that 'happy is the land which has no annals.' Gaul after the fall of Civilis has no history for a century: yet it is a time of growing misery. Tacitus had been struck, at the beginning of this period, with the listlessness and sloth of the race: moral degradation speedily followed. The Romanised chiefs lost their vigour, becoming rich, idle, and dissolute: the common folk sank into despair: the citizens fell gradually, with a growing outward display of civilisation, into a wretched state. Trajan, Adrian, the Antonines, were friendly towards Gaul: public buildings rose on every side; Gallic artists, sophists, and rhetoricians, were welcome at their courts. But these outward splendours did but cloak over the inner corruption. And though these emperors broke down all barriers, and gave Gaul full rights of citizenship, still the gates were only opened that the Gaul might share in decay and moral downfall. The degradation of Rome and Gaul went on with equal paces: slavery, cause and consequence, ever increased. Throughout the second century the barbarians left Gaul untouched: she was ripening for destruction. They gave her time to accept the Roman law, and the Roman dogma of the equality of all men, the basis of Roman law and philosophy. As the old political distinctions faded away with the old polytheism, this better faith gradually asserted itself. It could not arrest the downfall; but it sowed seed which bore fruit: it cleared the way for Christianity—the one prominent historical fact of this period. Druids

had taught the immortality of the soul and monotheism; so far they had helped: Rome had preached order and law, and the first rights of mankind; and she also helped: then came the Gospel, in which a new freedom and a broader equality were preached; an equality of man and woman, of bond and free. One of the first Christian martyrs of Gaul was Blandina, a woman, and a slave.

At Lyons there were representatives of many races: among them Asiatics, and doubtless Christians. In the year 160 or 161 A.D., an Asiatic priest, one Pothinus¹, settled there, and became first bishop of Lyons. With him came Irenaeus. They ministered to their countrymen, there and at Vienne. Thus Christianity first found footing in Gaul; coming not from Rome, but from the East. The Church at Lyons long bore the stamp of Greek origin; her ritual was Greek; she still retains a certain independence of worship. The Church in Rome (at that time also Greek) was struggling for life, and had no spare energies for missionary work. At first the few Christians whose names we know in Lyons are Greek; but Gallo-Roman names soon appear. Persecution followed; for Montanist opinions vexed the infant Church. Irenaeus, second bishop of Lyons, with one hand spread the faith, with the other repressed Gnostic and other misbeliefs. The orthodoxy of the Gallican Church, thus early tested, was destined to have considerable political results when Orthodox Frank and Arian Goth struggled for the mastery.

From Lyons the Gospel spread; at Augustodunum (Autun), Divio (Dijon), Vesontio (Besançon), and elsewhere, small communities formed themselves. But the progress was slow, except in the Province. Not till the reign of the Emperor Philip (244 A.D.) can any decided movement be remarked. Rome at that time sent forth a new mission. The Latin Christians had far greater success than the Greek had had. Fabian, bishop of Rome, sent seven bishops into Gaul. They would not touch at Marseilles, 'that most zealous worshipper of Roman devils,' as

¹ Pothinus, *ποθηνός*; or perhaps Photinus, *φωτεινός*. It is uncertain which.

the Acts of St. Victor call it, from its obstinate adherence to the old pagan worship. They landed at Narbo, and pushed inland. Augustoritum (Limoges) and Caesarodunum (Tours), became new centres of the Gospel. Dionysius (251 A.D.) pushed on farther, and with eleven brethren settled at Lutetia (Paris), and there founded the church of Northern France. To him the church of St. Denis was afterwards dedicated. From this time Christianity spread swiftly; so swiftly that in three generations almost all Gaul had embraced the faith: the final struggle between Christendom and Paganism was, in reality, fought out on Gallic soil.

This is also the time of what is sometimes called the 'Gallo-Roman Empire.' The provincial emperors or 'tyrants,' who tried to sever West from East, belong to Roman not Gallic history. Though Gaul was the centre of their operations, they neither affected her progress nor arrested her decay. The barbarians begin to move. Allemans make themselves felt in 214 A.D., Franks in 241. A little after the latter date, hordes of Franks pass through the whole length of Gaul, and ravage Spain:—they even take ship and make a raid on the African coast. Gaul, for the first time, is severed from Italy.

In 273, 274 A.D., Gaul was again joined to Rome by Aurelian; under Probus his successor, the barbarians were driven back beyond the Rhine. With Frankish captives Probus recolonised the two Germanies, and let Germans settle in Toxandria (Flanders), and even in Nervian and Treviran lands. These German colonists, who thus permanently thrust back the Gallic frontier, are called by Latin writers *Lacti*, a name which probably expressed the German *Leute*, the medieval *Leude*, or men-at-arms. These men held their lands by military service, and thus foreshadowed, if they did not introduce, one of the most characteristic elements of feudalism¹.

By this time the ancient names of places in Gaul had mostly

¹ This system of granting lands to Germans on military tenure had been begun by Alexander Severus; who called such gifts 'beneficia.' Those on the Rhine were called 'riparian'; a name with which we shall presently become familiar.

perished. The towns were modelled on the municipal form, and governed by a curia or senate; sometimes (in the south) under consuls. These municipal senates found the duty of government burdensome. Like the earliest holders of a seat in Parliament in England, they would gladly have escaped from a perilous and expensive honour. Unwillingly they laid the foundations of the civic liberties of their country, just as the English towns unwillingly began the political liberties we now enjoy.

The state of things was transitional. While Rome withered and the moral state of Gaul grew worse, Christianity and barbarism pushed forward from opposite points. Presently they meet, having conquered the Gaul, and their alliance begins a new era.

CHAPTER VI.

III. *The age of barbarian incursions and the struggle against the Germans, A.D. 284-406.*

It is time we turned our attention to the German—the chief figure for centuries in our history. He is described to us as a bigger man than the Gaul, gigantic in comparison with the Roman. His bright blue eyes and shaggy red hair are well-known to us. The description of the Gaul by Roman writers goes far to show that at some distant time he had been a cousin of the German; and philology also proves the claim of kin. But the likeness is almost all on the surface. In habits, character, and manners, he was very different. He wore a rough skin round his body, fastened by a coarse pin or skewer, and had none of the Gallic love of colour—a difference which distinguishes German from French dress to our own day. He had none of the Gaul's vivacity or fickleness: his tendencies were simple, constant, some will say rather commonplace. He felt the dark mysteries of the forest, but had little or none of the bright and playful imagination of the Gaul. He hated the restraints of town life. To live by hunting seemed to him to be the only true life. He was no great talker, being rather heavy than not: the Gaul, we know, could talk and boast for ever. His domestic relations were simple and pure. His tendencies were towards personal freedom, and independent life; the opposites of Gallic devotion and clan-feeling. Connected with this was his disposition to seek God in the solitude of the forest, in an independent way, each man standing in direct relation to his Maker;

whereas the Gaul had an organised hierarchy between him and the Almighty, and wished to serve Him as a member of his clan, rather than as an individual. Here is one germ of that difference of character which afterwards made the North German a Protestant, while the Frenchman clung to the more social and hierarchical system of Rome. Finally, while the slave is a prominent object in a Gallic household, the German's hearth was girt with trusty and free companions. He had his 'leudes,' his 'trusty fellows' ('antrustions'), his 'comrades' ('gesellen' or 'gesithas'), all free, and attached to him not by clanship but by a personal tie. This strong individuality was needed to penetrate the level mass of Roman society, to develop the qualities called out by Christianity, and to give to modern civilisation its many-sided character.

Such was the race, which now began to pour over the ill-defended frontiers into corrupt and unwarlike Gaul. There were great differences between the tribes: the less barbarous, coming into the more civilised districts, fell in readily with Roman ways: others retained their first simplicity and fierceness. The Franks especially affected the history of Gaul through their long retention of the German characteristics; and also from the fact that they overran Gaul at two different times; the work begun by the Neustrians being carried out by the Austrasians under the house of Pippin.

The following are the chief federations of Teutonic and kindred nations which entered Gaul:

1. The Goths; two of whose subdivisions, Visigoths (or West-Goths) and Ostrogoths (East-Goths) interest us most. They dwelt first in Scandinavia (whence Gothland, &c.), and afterwards spread across Europe to the Black Sea, and southwards even into Spain. The Ostrogoths settled in Italy; the Visigoths in Southern France and Spain.

2. The Vandals; among whom the Burgundians, Herulians, and Langobards are important to us. Their home lay between the Elbe, the Vistula, and the Baltic. They spread through Spain into Africa. The Burgundians established themselves

in Eastern Gaul: the Langobards and Herulians in Northern Italy.

3. The Allemans and Suabians (Suevi), who lay between the Main, Rhine, and Danube, threatening the very vitals of the Roman Empire. These have left but slight traces of themselves in Gaul.

4. The Franks; a confederation of Northern tribes. Their chief divisions were the Salians, dwelling on the river Sala (or Yssel); and the Ripuarians, on the banks of the Rhine. These were the chief conquerors of Gaul, and have given her her modern name.

Such were the main divisions of the barbarians who, at the beginning of Diocletian's reign, threatened the frontiers of the Empire.

It must not be forgotten that these Teutonic tribes came in as conquerors, rather than destroyers. They had learnt to respect the great name of Rome before they seized her fairest provinces. They were not at all like the Huns, whose incursions meant simple ruin. They prided themselves on Roman titles; their more ambitious chiefs entered the imperial service. The Goths especially wished to imitate Rome, and modelled their government on Roman forms.

The reign of Diocletian (A.D. 284) is important to us, because of the change of system begun by him and carried out by Constantine. Hitherto the Empire had been, in theory, a nation of equal citizens under the Emperor as their head: henceforward it began to sink into a nation of slaves, absolutely dependent on that Emperor's will. The army was no longer omnipotent. 'The reign of the legions ends: the power of the palace-domestics begins'.¹ The old names of offices disappear: dukes and counts appear. The Empire seemed to be under an Oriental despotism: Diocletian had his palace at Nicomedia, and held court in Persian fashion. The Empire was divided into tetrarchies, the provinces parcelled out into 'dioceses,' or circles of administration, each with its chief town.

¹ La Vallée, *Histoire des Français*, 2. 5.

Gaul was in two vicariates: one in the south, the Narbonensis and Aquitania; the other north of the Loire, stretching to the Rhine. The Gauls sank into great misery; and a peasant war broke out. This early Jacquerie followed the usual course: the people slew and ate the cattle, pillaged the houses of the rich, sacked the towns. They destroyed Augustodunum with her Latin schools. In some way the outbreak was mixed up with the ferment caused by the preaching of Christianity. It was easily suppressed.

The work begun by Diocletian in the east was continued by Constantine on the western side of the Empire. Born in the west, preferring it to the east, indeed to Rome herself, he was the man who, had the evils of the time been curable, would have cured them. But the curse of slavery crushed society, and Gaul went on sinking ever deeper. Yet she arouses a fresh interest, as being the field on which the battle between Christianity and Paganism was finally fought out. It was the strength which Christianity had won in Gaul that made Constantine declare himself Christian: no sooner had he done so, than he found himself, like Henry IV of France long after, able to march straight to supreme power. The Gauls flocked to him, eager to fight under the Labarum¹; and in A.D. 312 Constantine and Christianity entered Rome in triumph. He sanctioned public Christian worship: the Church modelled her dioceses on those of the civil power—they were similar in government, conterminous in extent. The Christian religion passed through a change answering closely to that of the state. The chief clergy, hitherto only private persons, became important magistrates: the Church, instinctively and unconsciously, adopted that form which best prepared it to cope afterwards with the barbarians. The bishop of each city, with his clergy, now took charge of it,

¹ It was a lance near whose head a cross-bar was fixed, from which hung a purple veil interwoven with gold threads and starred with precious stones. Above it rose the sacred monogram of our Lord, encircled with a golden crown. Its motto was 'Sub hoc signo vinces.' It was always carried near the emperor, defended by the flower of his army; the origin of the name is unknown. The Oriflamme of the Vexin was afterwards regarded with like feelings of reverence.

and laid the foundations of that grandeur of position which we find the bishops of the eighth and ninth century enjoying. The curials (or members of the civil municipality) lost their authority, and the clergy, the aristocracy of the fourth and fifth centuries, took their place. What was before a simple ministry of the Gospel under chief pastors or bishops, now became a grand hierarchical system. In many places, in which the Christian religion was dominant, the curials handed over to the Church the temples, and even the law courts or basilicas. Where the Roman law had once been dispensed, the law and worship of Christ now alone were heard; figures of Christ and the Apostles replaced the images of the Caesars. Thus the new power was strengthened to work not only on the hearts of men, but on the outer world. Public buildings were transferred and adapted to Christian uses; the outward symbols of the older faith abolished: pagan idols, tombs, sculptures, all fell before the zeal of the Christians. It is interesting to notice that this epoch, in which the Church entered into new and close relations with the State, is the moment at which there came a great severance of the old relations between Church and State. In Pagan times the emperor had been Supreme Pontiff, and head of the Church. Henceforth he ceased to have any such claim or office: he was no longer supreme head over the religion of mankind. And this separation prepared the way for the claims of the Papacy at a later date. The Pope inherited the great name of Supreme Pontiff, thus abandoned by the State, and rose to an imperial height in Rome, deserted by her emperors.

Thus, then, the Church prepared herself for her part in the future; she also did this by facing the theological questions which arose, and which especially affected the progress of Christianity in Gaul. This was the day of Arianism, which seemed likely to become the faith of Western Christendom. It was adopted by the Goths and most of the Christianised barbarians, it filled Italy, it was accepted by emperors. But it was thrust back by the Gallican Church. Athanasius, in his banishment, settled at Trèves, and was the teacher of Hilary of Arles.

Ambrose, the great Bishop of Milan, was a Gaul. The Gallic Church, during the Frankish era, smote down Arianism in a coarse and practical way, and settled the main question as to the dominant faith of Western Europe.

The state of Gallic society in the time of Constantine deserves some notice. At the head of it stood the Senatorial families, wealthy owners of at least half the soil of Gaul, sprung from the chiefs of the old clans, free from taxation. Brilliant as their condition seemed to be, it was precarious and sad. They had no power, no influence, no independence: the emperor could seize their wealth and destroy them at will. Next to them came the curials, the municipal senators: responsible for the collection of the taxes in their cities, which responsibility crushed them. In this century we hear much of their desperate struggles to escape from these ruinous honours. The Empire forbade them to change their condition; neither as soldiers nor as churchmen could they find relief. They tried to become slaves; and even that consolation was forbidden them. They could do nothing but perish; as indeed they did. The government had to step in and appoint prefects in each city, called 'defenders.' In their turn these officers disappeared, and gave place to the bishops. Next came the small proprietors, a scanty body; then the merchants; then free labourers in cities, who, almost all freedmen, were of no account or influence. Last came the slaves, closing the dreary procession: these formed the vast majority of the people: slaves of the house and field, the germ of death in the constitution of the Empire.

Standing in an independent condition, the clergy alone offered promise of the future. They were powerless to stay the downfall; but would be very powerful in building up again with new materials. This is probably the time in which the Gallic tongue perished, except in Armorica, the '*Lugdunensis tertia*.' Among the upper classes it had long gone: the towns had abandoned it; the clergy discouraged it; even the slaves lost it rapidly. For as they perished in crowds, they were replaced by others from a distance, to whom the tongue was unknown. Thus a kind of

Latin sprang up, a dialect as distinct from the Latin of ordinary speech, as that was from the classical Latin of books¹; and parent of that 'Roman' tongue which was spoken generally in the eighth century, and was in its turn parent of the French language.

Julian is the next emperor who calls for notice from us. His life was spent in struggles with the barbarians. The Allemans and Franks occupied all his energies. He was appointed head of the Gallic army in 355 A.D., and Ammianus Marcellinus, the historian, and Martin, afterwards the sainted Bishop of Tours, served under him. Julian drove the Franks back into the Batavian island: then fell on the Allemans at Argentoratum (Strasbourg), defeated them, crossed the Rhine after them, and brought them to terms.

But henceforth the Frank was irrepressible. Though one of the latest born of German tribes;—in fact no tribe at all, but a confederation, traceable only to the middle of the third century;—he was full of vigour, ambition, and wild bravery. Magnentius, who made himself an emperor in 350 A.D., was a Frank. It is said he could not read or write. Northern Gaul, Batavia, and Toxandria, were filled with Franks. The seat of government was withdrawn from Trèves to Paris, where Julian spent the winter of 357–358 A.D. Hitherto it had been a mere village on an island in the Seine; henceforth it becomes famous in history. Julian 'the Apostate' is the true founder of the capital of France. He loved the place: called it his 'darling Lutetia,' praised its situation, vines, figs, its pleasant 'sea-breezes'; he built a palace on the left bank of the Seine. Ammianus tells us that in 355 both court and army were full of Franks. The names of the officers in Gaul are often barbarous at this time; Dagalausus, Charrietto, Balchobaudus, and the like, are in high

¹ If one may trust a chance passage, there was an independent Gallic speech. Sulpicius Severus (circ. A.D. 400) speaking of St. Martin's death, says the people in their eagerness to hear tell of Martin did not care what dialect was used. '*Celtice* aut, si mavis *Gallice* loquere, dummodo iam Martinum loqueris.'—Dial. i. 20. Here '*Celtice*' and '*Gallice*' seem to refer respectively to the old 'Celtic' tongue, and to some mixed dialects of the Latin then in use in Gaul.

place. A little later (A.D. 377) *Nerobaldus*, a Frankish 'king,' appears with Gratian in the Consular Fasti. These Franks changed neither name nor dress. A little later, *Arbogast*, Frank and Pagan, became virtual Emperor of the West, though he was nominally count, at first under Theodosius (A.D. 387–394); and he filled all offices with Franks. From his time may be dated that half-contemptuous, half-respectful feeling which sprang up in the Frankish mind towards the dying civilisation of the Empire. After Theodosius, *Valentinian*, nominal Emperor of the West, was a mere puppet. He tried to depose *Argobast*, handing him a writ of degradation, which the Frank took, and tore before his face, and trampled under foot. Soon after *Valentinian* was found dead in his bed, strangled. Even then *Argobast* did not make himself emperor, but set up one *Eugenius*, who had been a schoolmaster; he contented himself with becoming an imperial 'Mayor of the Palace.'

Thus, though the Allemans were thrust back¹, the Franks entered in. Others also followed. The Saxons took ship, and sailed from their Elbe to the Seine and Loire; they even 'pulled over' their boats to the Rhone, and descended that river, none hindering them.

An entirely new invasion also followed: *Maximus* rebelled in Britain, and, followed by hordes of British, sailed for Gaul. He settled with his followers in *Armorica*, whence hence obtained the name of *Brittany*.

One more invasion took place; saddest of all:—the invasion of bloodshed and persecution into the Church. One *Priscillian*, a Spaniard, because the teacher of a strange impure Gnosticism. He and his were condemned in A.D. 380 at *Saragossa*, and two bishops, *Ithacius* and *Idacius*, travelled all the way to Trèves to obtain Gratian's judgment against the sect. Gratian died, and the same bishops, with unwearied zeal, appeared before *Maximus*, and got from him sentence of death against the heretics. The Spaniard has ever signalled himself

¹ They were again thrust back by Gratian (A.D. 378) after a defeat at *Argentaria* (Colmar).

by the activity and joy with which he has persecuted: he has the credit of having begun the system for Christianity. An universal horror seized on Christendom. Ambrose of Milan and Martin of Tours protested against the sentence, and refused to communicate with the Spanish bishops. Martin especially denounced with eloquent and Christian warmth this new 'heresy of Ithacius,' that blood should be shed by Christians. Thus the great evangelist of Gaul, the pitiless destroyer of temples, the firm foe of Arianism, shewed that he drew a line between false opinions and the men who held them. Yet, though he was the most powerful man of his time, canonised by public acclaim before his death, he could not avert the shedding of blood. Priscillian and his followers were beheaded at Trèves. Martin had prophesied that he should 'be slain by Antichrist.' If it is true that his latter days were embittered and his end hastened by this misfortune that had befallen Christendom, his prophecy was to a certain extent fulfilled. The demon of Christian persecution, which tasted its first blood in 385, has been an Antichrist throughout the after-history of the Church: opposed to Christ, in being opposed to that love for man which is the highest quality of the Gospel.

We have already mentioned Arbogast as shewing how the Frank had penetrated into Gaul. He has another side; he was the last upholder of Pagan reaction in Gaul. But Christianity, thanks chiefly to St. Martin, was too strong for him. The cry of the Christians reached the ears of Theodosius, who hastened to the rescue. Arbogast advanced to meet him: under the walls of Aquileia Christian and Pagan met (A.D. 394). There for two days the struggle raged. The first day the Frank held his own: it is said that ten thousand Goths, fighting under Theodosius, perished. But next day the western army was utterly defeated. Eugenius, the schoolmaster-emperor, was given up by his guards, and killed; Arbogast fell on his sword, and died. So ended this Pagan reaction, hopeless from the beginning. Never again could the faith of old Rome lift

its head: and Gaul itself was more and more felt to be the heart of Western Christendom.

The Roman had taught the nation equity under the Empire and the law; Christianity had taught it the equality of all men before God; yet neither had as yet lessened the evils of slavery. The Frank was to follow. His sense of personal independence was next to be infused into the Gaul: he, too, would leave slavery unmitigated. Yet the three influences were each really opposed in principle to the radical characteristics of slavery: and from their joint action, after ages of suffering, modern civilisation,—a civilisation free in the main from the curse of slavery,—has worked itself out.

It is now time to trace out the introduction of this third element,—the Frank.

CHAPTER VII.

IV.—*The German Settlements in Gaul down to Clovis.*

A.D. 406—476.

'WHERE the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together.' Roman civilisation and slavery, acting on the Gallic character, had by this time rendered the land defenceless, and rich enough to be tempting. The German, noble and keen as the eagle¹, his favourite bird, swooped down on Gaul. It is no longer some restless chieftain, or a roving band of plunderers. Settlements are made. The Goth in Aquitaine, the Burgundian in the Saone valley, the Frank in the northern borderland, sit down solidly, with no fickleness of purpose, and make the land their own.

On the night of the last day of the year 406, a great horde crossed the Rhine on the ice, and entered Gaul. Alans, Vandals, Goths, and Huns were there. They fell on Moguntiacum (Mainz), took it, and slaughtered thousands of its citizens in the cathedral. All northern Gaul fell at once. City after city was taken and plundered. The great horde pressed on across the land; they passed the Loire, and entered even Novempopulania². The inhabitants suffered terribly along their devastating line of march. The old rising of peasants, called Bagaudes³, again took place in the West, and spread across almost all Gaul; it embraced now not only runaway-slaves, but wretched cities and the wrecks of society. Hence the obscure 'Armorican Republic,'

¹ Adel, edel, *Adler*.

² The 'land of the nine peoples' lay in the extreme south-west of Gaul, from Bordeaux to the Pyrenees.

³ The Bagaudes (a name derived from Celtic *bagad*, a company, troop) revolted against Rome, first about A.D. 270, and now again under pressure of the invasions.

if such ever did exist¹. In 409 the mixed crowd of barbarians streamed over into Spain. But Gaul had no rest. In 412 the Visigoths left North Italy, and under Ataulf (whose name is Latinized into Adolphus) came down on the Rhone, to settle, not to plunder. It seemed well to him to make in Southern Gaul a kingdom and a home. He had married Placidia, sister of the Emperor Honorius, so binding himself to the social life and conditions of Rome. He dreamed of restoring the Empire, reorganising it and welding into it the new elements; joining the civilised to the barbarian, the old polish to the new vigour. He thought that nothing but the wild madness of his Goths hindered the fulfilment of the scheme². But the decay of the Empire was at least as much in fault as the rudeness of the Goths. The old government could bear no such mending as that. This dream of the Gothic king is worthy of notice, as shewing us the influence that Roman ideas had over the German, and as a forecast of that transfer of Empire, under very changed conditions, from the Latin to the German which is so prominent a feature of the Middle Ages. It slumbered till the days of Charles the Great; after him it became for centuries one of the central ideas of European politics.

At this time the Burgundians³ took the district between the Rhone and the Jura, the old Sequanian land. They were a friendly, thrifty race, not very eager to seize the houses and goods of others; large of stature, good-natured, easy-going. They treated the Gallo-Romans like brethren, as Orosius says⁴. They were Christians, mostly Arians; the Gallo-Romans were orthodox.

At this time the Franks also made raids on the northern frontier; sacking Trèves and other cities, but not settling. They are of small account during this half century.

¹ The Armorican Republic lives only in the pages of Zosimus, 6. 5. If it did exist it was but a 'republic of despair,' formed of a few cities, and troops retaining some shadow of Roman discipline, in the wild parts of Brittany.

² Orosius, 7. 43.

³ The Burgundians are said to derive their names from the *burgs* they built. If so, it indicates their more peaceful and settled habits of life.

⁴ Orosius, 7. 32. Blande, mansuete, innocenterque vivunt, non quasi cum subjectis Gallis, sed vere cum fratribus Christianis.

In 419 Honorius ceded by treaty the second Aquitania, the second Narbonensis, and part of Novempopulania, to the Visigoths. Poitiers, Saintes, Angoulême, Bordeaux, Périgueux, Toulouse became theirs by this cession as well as by occupation. It is the first example of a distinct alienation of part of Gaul from the Empire. The inhabitants were the gainers: the Visigoths did not interfere with their faith;—for the Western Arian was no persecutor:—they kept their laws and customs, and lived in peace and equality. Population increased, and the soil, ever fruitful, bore plentifully. The Visigoths were nominally under the Empire; both Ataulf and Wallia, his successor, were Roman generals. Both Visigoth and Burgundian aimed at a peaceable settlement. They shared lands and goods with the older owners; the Roman possessor was styled 'the host,' the German shared his 'lot'; his forcible taking of it was glossed over by the term 'hospitality.' He took half of all forests and gardens, two-thirds of all cultivated lands, one-third of all slaves; and so settled down in peace. And all would have been well, but for Aëtius, a Scythian and a Roman general, who, under pretext of defence, ravaged the whole of Gaul. His army war largely composed of Huns; and from them tidings of the good land spread to their brethren in the East.

In the year 450 all Gaul was filled with terror: for the dreaded Attila (Etzel'), with a host of strange figures, Huns, Tartars, Slaves, Teutons, head of an empire of true barbarians, drew near her borders. Barbarism—not the milder incursion of Goth or Vandal or even Frank, but the barbarism which lived only to destroy—now threatened the world. It had levied a shameful tribute on Constantinople; it now threatened the farthest West. If Gaul fell, Spain would fall, and Italy, and Rome; and Etzel would reign supreme, with an empire of desolation, over all the earth. Theoderic the Goth and Aëtius tried to combine all Gaul against him. Etzel reached Aureliacum (Orleans); but at the critical moment, just as the sacred city was about to be given up to destruction, Theoderic appeared;

¹ He is the dark figure in the great German epic, the *Nibelungen Lied*.

and Etzel, having the nomadic horror of towns and of being cooped up in them, dreading also a hill country, in which his cavalry would suffer, fell back into the Champagne district to the plain of Châlons-sur-Marne (the *Campi Catalaunici*) where there was room enough for his gigantic host to spread out its strength. There was fought out the supreme battle: Goth against Goth, Frank against Frank, Burgundian against Burgundian; there were even Huns in both armies. The Gallo-Romans seized the key of the position, a hill above the plain. There Aëtius and Thorismond, son of Theoderic, established themselves securely. The battle began towards afternoon, and raged with a wild fury. There were no tactics; it was a simple murderous hand-to-hand struggle. At last the Visigoths decided the day. They repelled their kinsmen, the Ostrogoths, and then attacked the main army of the Huns in flank. Theoderic was killed; but the attack succeeded: the Huns were broken, and took refuge behind their wall of chariots. Night fell, after a horrible carnage, of which the numbers given are incredible; still they attest the tremendous nature of the struggle. Not till next morning did men know that Theoderic had perished. With cries and wild clashing of shields the Goths made Thorismond their king. Etzel, it is said, made ready for death; he piled up a huge funeral-pyre of saddles, and was ready to mount it, if the Romans assaulted his camp. But Aëtius was too much exhausted to attempt it. He now took up a policy of inaction. He sent Thorismond home to the south, and Merowig, the Frankish chief, to the north, and lay watching Etzel. The Hun, after a time, suddenly broke up his camp and withdrew, still attended by the vigilant Aëtius. He moved northwards, recrossing the Rhine; and Gaul was freed, and with her all the West, from the scourge of a Tartar supremacy.

But though the Empire was saved for a time it could not be for long. The evils of the age culminated in assassination. Stilicho, the great Vandal, who had so well defended the Empire, was murdered in 408: the young Thorismond, fresh from his laurels at Châlons, perished by the hand of his

brothers: and Aëtius himself, 'the Atlas of this tottering world,' was foully murdered by Valentinian's own hand¹. These, and a crowd of others weltering in their life-blood, testify to the evil of the times, and the imminent downfall of the Empire.

Aegidius was the last defender of the Empire in Gaul: he made a gallant stand at Arelate (Arles), the southern capital. But in A.D. 464 he too had his reward; he was assassinated. Syagrius his son, 'King of the Romans,' as Gregory of Tours calls him, was half independent in the North: the hilly Arvernian district, the very citadel of Gaul, afforded the Roman party a last standing ground: Armorica, always peculiar and dwelling apart, did not fall into the hands of the Germans. Ewarik, greatest and most ambitious of Visigothic kings, undertook to reduce the Arvernians; who, shut up in rocky Clermont, defended themselves with daily 'rogations,' or penitential processions, headed by Sidonius their bishop²; and also by the stubborn wills of the hardy inhabitants. Though Rome left them to their fate, they forced the Goths to raise the siege. But finding themselves alone, they were presently obliged to cede to negociation the liberty they had so well protected against force. In 474 the shadowy Emperor of the West, Julius Nepos, granted all Gaul west of the Rhone to the Visigoths: it was the last act of imperial disgrace. All the provinces of the dying Empire lay desolate; cities were abandoned to beasts of prey, domestic animals perished, cultivation ceased. 'Gaul had been devastated: the ocean sweeping over it could not have added to the desolation.' Britain was in flames³; Greece a mere wreck; Spain and Italy fared little better. Twice had Rome herself felt the hand of the barbarian. The nominal emperor, who had long abandoned Rome, was now about to vanish. In 475 Romulus was proclaimed; the people nicknamed him Augustulus; the Greeks altered his name in jest,

¹ Martin, *Histoire des Français*, i. 380.

² He was shut up with them, and has left us an account of this war.

³ I quote from Salvian and Jerome. It is known that the Roman cities in Britain perished in flames.—Silchester, Wroxeter, &c.

and called him Momyllus. Rome began and ended with a Romulus; the last almost as shadowy as the first. Odoacer, a Herulian or Goth, seized on Rome, deposed the puppet emperor, the secretary's son¹, and sent the imperial emblems to Constantinople in 476². The Eastern Caesar received the gift, and in return repaid Odoacer with the vague title of Patrician: the Herulian took to himself the more distinct name of King. The obsequious senate decreed that one emperor was enough in the world—perhaps not so far wrong in that: and that the seat of the Empire should henceforth be on the Bosphorus. Thus fell the Imperial mistress of the West. For twelve centuries she had moved a queen among the nations; and her death had left all Europe in ruins. Yet even so her influences survived. That strange mixture of docility and strength, the German, was destined to carry on her traditions, deeply modified by his own character, leading in due time to the 'Holy Roman Empire,' of which the foundations were laid by Charles the Great in the year 800. On the other hand, the Church in her due time would build up her empire also, a spiritual 'Holy Roman Empire,' imbued with imperial ideas, parallel to and rival of the great lay-empire the seat of which was on the Rhine. Roman law, language, municipal institutions, magistrates, forms of procedure, survived, affecting the career and institutions of the German chiefs, who drew the consular robe over their national furs, and thought to combine the old civilisation with the bolder qualities of barbarians.

Before Rome had perished, Gaul had been granted by her to Ewarik (or Euric), the sagacious Visigothic king; and it seemed likely that, in the general confusion, he would succeed in securing the grant to himself. Odoacer, in 478, gave up to Ewarik all his authority over the Empire west of the Alps, and contented himself with a humane and prudent rule in Italy. Ewarik made Toulouse the centre of his system: he tried to

¹ Orestes, father of Romulus, had been Etzel's secretary.

² Gibbon, ch. 36 (vol. iii. pp. 334, 335), doubts whether the date should not be 479. I have followed the usual chronology. The very year of the fall of great Rome is doubtful!

combine the civilisation of Rome or Constantinople with the vigour of Germany. At this same moment Theoderic (Dietrich), the Ostrogoth, who had been brought up at Constantinople, fell on Italy, and defeated Odoacer. The two branches of the Gothic family seemed likely to divide between them the Western Empire. But this did not take place in Gaul; for the Goths were too polished for the work,—a conqueror of a coarser fibre was wanted; and they were also hindered by their Arianism, which made it impossible for them to be in harmony with Gallic Christianity. Add to these reasons the untimely death in 485 of Ewarik, who left behind him only a feeble boy, Alaric II. At this moment Hlodowig¹ (Clovis) a Pagan, a youth of nineteen, was already the acknowledged head of a petty Frankish tribe. He was destined to give permanent form to the German occupation of Gaul, and to begin a new period of European history.

In most parts of Gaul the whole vigour of the Gallo-Romans appears to have perished: there was no notable resistance to the invader, no public spirit, no combination. The whole of what we call the middle classes had disappeared. On the one side was despotism, all-devouring, with its administration of horse-leeches, its legions to pay, its foes to buy off, its pleasures to provide, its idleness to amuse with games: on the other side a spiritless crowd of slaves, who were the only inhabitants of the country districts, and formed also a large part of the town-populations. The Gallo-Roman could have no patriotism: what enthusiasms could he feel for Rome? and at home the excessive weight of taxation had crushed the citizens. One independent body of men alone remained,—the clergy. The Church had grown in esteem and wealth. She protected the fallen; she bettered the state of the slave. The clergy, gathering round the imposing figure of their bishop, rose in importance, until at last when the curials had perished, and the cities were like to perish with them,

¹ Hlodowig or Hlodewig, the first letter of whose name was a guttural, now lost (cp. A.-S. *hláf* = loaf) is usually called Clovis; the guttural being hardened into a *c*, gives the Latinised form Chlodovechus, whence Ludovicus. It is the same name as the German Ludwig, and the French Louis; of which the English Lewis is an old form.

the bishops assumed the command, and became both spiritual and temporal lords. Thus the medieval municipal system began to take the place of the Roman municipia; and at the same time the Church gained solidity when she most needed it for her struggle against her Pagan invaders. As head of a community the Bishop now constantly mediated between the old and the new. Invested by the simple barbarians with a strange sanctity, he was listened to with awe. His confidence in his mission, his high bearing, his dress, his education, the spiritual powers he asserted,—all deeply touched his conqueror. It is said that even Etzel, wild pagan as he was, carried Lupus, bishop of Troyes, with him to the Rhine, that he might get the benefit of his sanctity, as a kind of charm: Remigius won great influence over Hlodowig. Christianity alone seemed to retain vigour and power over men: and even her spirit was being modified. The belief in the supernatural sank into credulity; fays, spells, all kinds of intermediate powers sprang up, and grouped a fantastic and picturesque spirit-world round the simple forms of the gospel. Thus Christianity was prepared to bridge over the gulf between Roman and German, and to create the magnificent medieval Church of Germany, and the somewhat less princely, but scarcely less powerful, Church of France.

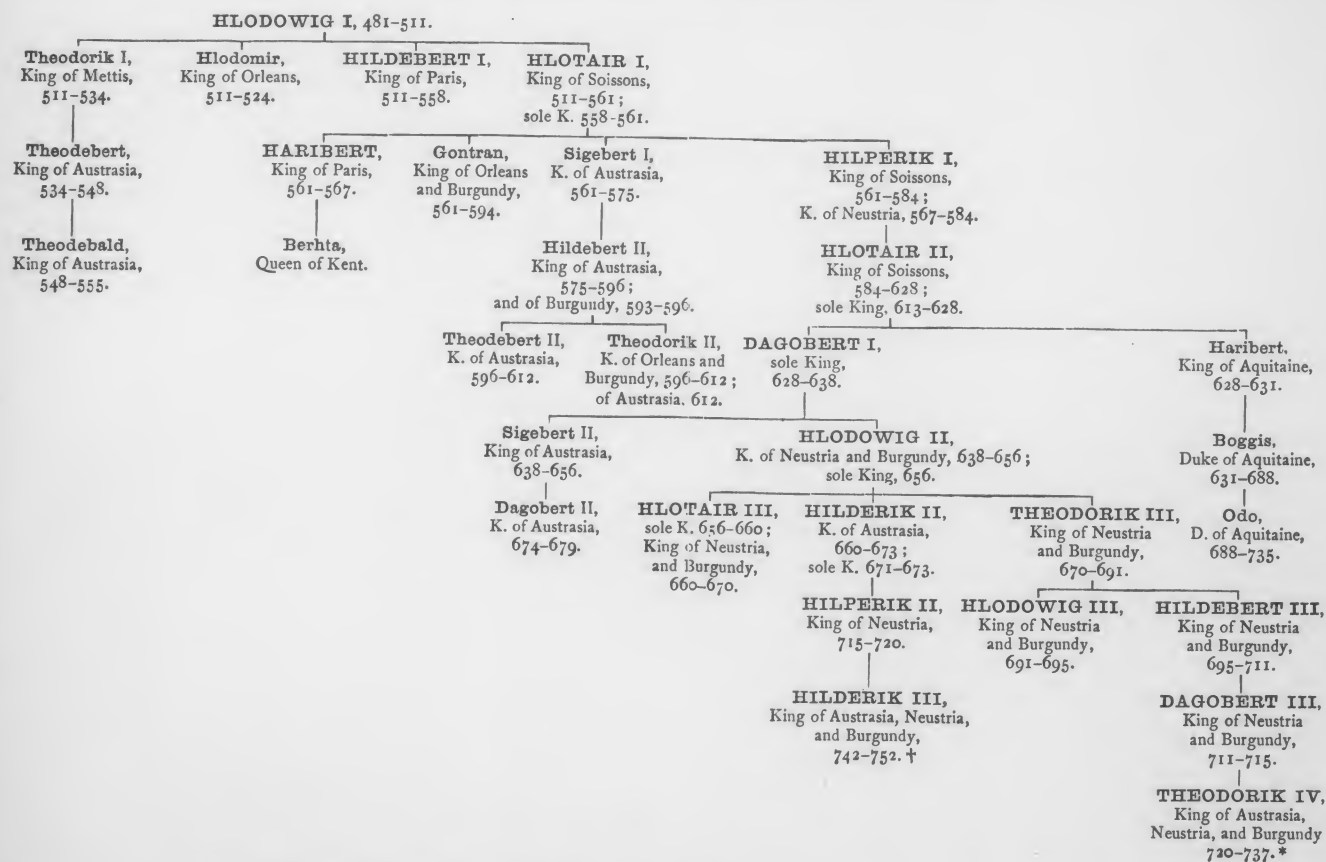
The Church also at this time developed another grand thought: that of the Monastic community. Even before the fifth century religious houses had become centres of light to Gaul. From the Isle of Lérins came forth the greatest saints and scholars of the time. The wisest bishops fostered the growing institution: Martin, Ambrose, Augustine, all helped to plant the monastic life in the West. While in Eastern Christendom monasticism had meant solitude, contemplation, and speculation, in the West it meant active life, physical and intellectual; the life of vigorous communities, which, in all respects, stood out in contrast with the decrepitude of the age, and were a protest against ignorance, against slavery, against the prevailing want of a true sense of religion in Gaul.

Lastly, this period of the decline of Rome is marked by the growth of systematic law. It is the age of the Theodosian Code (A.D. 438), that great authority on Roman Law; which was followed, after a time, by the promulgation of the different German systems. The Visigoths' code was deeply tinged with Roman ideas, and shews throughout the hand of the clergy. The most distinct characteristics of Ewarik's laws are, perhaps, the *Trust*, or grouping of warriors round their chief; and the granting of lands in commendation, one of the early rudiments of feudalism. The Burgundians also aimed at an orderly code, though they fell short of the Visigothic distinctness. The chief characteristic of their law is the anxiety shewn to place Roman and German on the same footing. The Franks also issued their law, the rudest of all, and the simplest; for it was a bare recital of their customs, and foreshadowed the later distinction between the written and the customary law.

The age was one of a certain movement of mind: there was a considerable literature, varied, though debased in style and language. When the German invasion flowed over this superficial vigour it froze it to death. A century later, there was no literature in Gaul, and all desire of mental life was at an end. Between the old world of Rome and the new life of Europe there is a dead silence: men suffered, but ceased to complain:

'Leves curae loquuntur; ingentes stupent.'

TABLE I. THE MERWING (OR MEROVINGIAN) KINGS.



To face p. 67.]

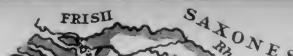
* Between A.D. 737 and 742 there seems to have been no King. See Dom Bouquet, tom. iv. p. 182.

† Pippin the Short deposed Hilderik III, King of Austrasia, in A.D. 752, and was crowned and anointed King of Franks in that year.

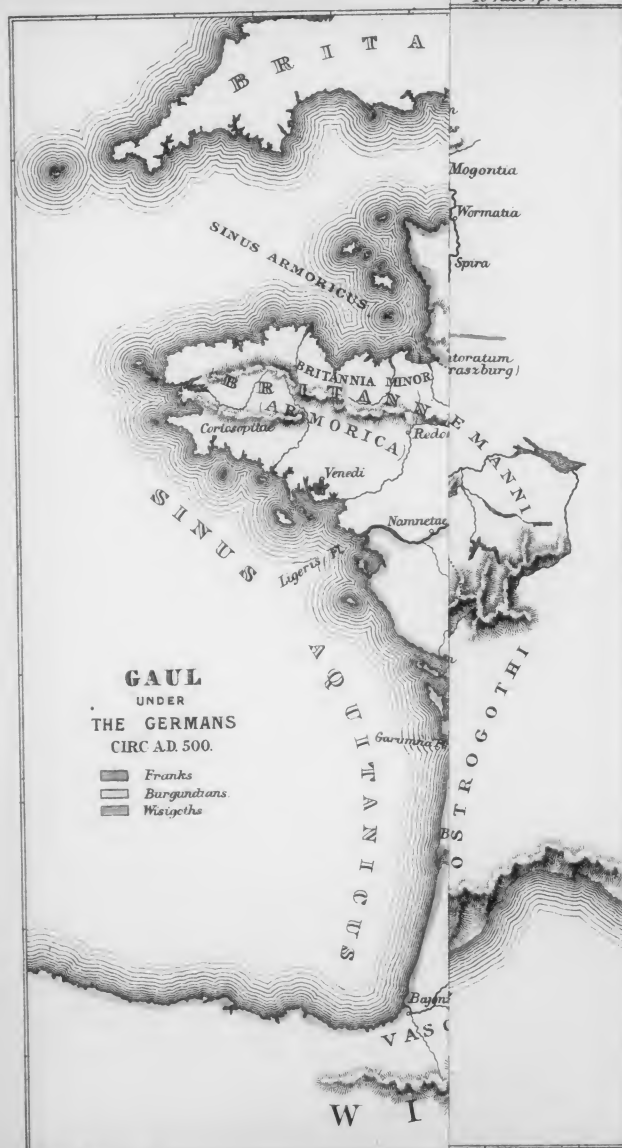
TABLE II. THE MERWING KINGS.

[To face p. 67.]

A.D.	Hlodowig sole King of the Franks. At his death (511), subdivision into:—				
510	K. of METZ (Austrasia).	K. of ORLEANS.	K. of PARIS.	K. of SOISSONS.	K. of BURGUNDY.
511	Theodorik I.	Hlodowig,	Hildebert I.	Hlotair I.	[Gundobald.]
524		lands seized by Hildebert and Hlotair.			
534	Theodebert I.				
548	Theodebald				[the kingdom seized by the Franks.]
555	died, his lands seized by Hlotair.				
558			died, lands		
558			seized by Hlotair I, sole King of the Franks.		
			At his death (561), subdivision into:—		
561	K. of AUSTRASIA.	K. of PARIS.	K. of SOISSONS.	K. of BURGUNDY.	
567	Sigebert I [Brunhild].	Haribert,	Hilperik I [Fredegond].	Gontran.	
		d. lands seized by Hilperik I.			
		K. of NEUSTRIA.			
575	Hildebert II (5 years old) [Brunhild regent].				
584			Hlotair II (4 months old) [Gontran, protector; Fredegond died, 597.]		
593	Theodebert II.			Hildebert II.	
596	Theodorik II.			Theodorik II.	
612	[Brunhild died.]				
613	Dagobert I.		Hlotair II, sole King of Franks.		
622	[Pippin of Landen.]				
628			Dagobert I, sole King of Franks.		
631					K. of AQUITAINE.
638	Sigebert II (8 yrs. old).		Hlodowig II (4 years old).		Haribert.
656			On death of Sigebert, Hlodowig II becomes sole King of Franks.		D. of AQUITAINE.
656			Hlotair III (4 years old), sole King of Franks [Ebroin, Mayor of the Palace.]		Boggis.
660	Hilderik II (7 yrs. old).				
670			Theodorik III (appointed by Ebroin).		
671			Hilderik II, sole King of Franks (elected).		
673			Theodorik III (restored).		
674	Dagobert II				
	[a monk, pretender].				
679	[Pippin and Martin, Mayors. No King.]				
680	[Pippin of Heristal 'Duke of Franks;' henceforth only nominal Kings.]				Odo.
695			Hlodowig III.		
711			Hildebert III.		
717	Hlotair IV.		Dagobert III. [714, Charles Martel.]		
719			Hilperik II.		
720			Theodorik IV [died, left no successor.]		
742			Hilderik III. [741, Carloman and Pippin the Short.]		
			[747, Pippin sole Duke.]		
752			Deposed by Pippin, who is crowned King of Franks.		



To face p. 67.



For the Clarendon Press.

Blades East & Blades, London.

BOOK II.

PART I.—THE NEUSTRIAN FRANKS.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Franks and Hlodowig (Clovis).

A.D. 481—511.

At Ewarik's death, the Franks were the smallest branch of the Teutonic stock. Visigoth and Burgundian had founded compact kingdoms in Gaul, while the Franks were still wild tribes, with no unity, barbarous, fierce, and pagan. A century earlier the career of Arbogast, Mellibald, and other Franks, had seemed likely to bridge over the chasm between Gaul and Germany, and to make the Franks the most influential of Teutons. The Roman power, defending the north frontier, came into contact with them. But they had no taste for emigration; they clung to the right bank of the Rhine, and though single chieftains had dealings with Rome, the tribes themselves remained uninfluenced. A mere loose confederation¹, they were disunited down to the end of the fifth century.

Among their tribes, the Salians, who spread down into the marshy lands near the Rhine-mouths, became known for bravery and ceaseless raids on Northern Gaul. They became the most considerable of the Franks; and their chiefs, Mere-

¹ This confederation is known to have existed in A.D. 242, when Aurelian defeated them near Mainz, and his soldiers made a song there, beginning—'Mille Francos, mille Sarmatas semel Occidimus, &c.' They occupied much of Lower Germany, between the Weser, Main, and Rhine. The district which bears their name, Franconia, was of their later conquests.

wings or Merwings (Merovingians), the most considerable among the noble families of the Confederation. They had gradually learnt to consider the left bank of the Rhine their own, as well as the right bank. 'Friends and allies of the Roman people,' the Franks had long shed their blood on behalf of that frontier-land. Slowly, as the Romans faded away, they inherited the district, and settled in it. Chlodion, a Salian chief, defeated the Romans at Cambrai, and occupied the country as far as the Somme (A.D. 428). The other main branch of the Franks—the Ripuarians—lay on the Rhine, about Cologne, and did not move as yet. The tribes shewed signs of drawing nearer to one another. About the middle of the fifth century Childeric, the Salian king, and Sigebert, the Ripuarian, were both Merwings. In 481 Childeric died, leaving a boy of fifteen to succeed him—if he could. This son was Hlodowig or Clovis. His tribe was small but renowned, counting some four thousand fighting men, sprung from those Germans who had made the Batavian island known for the bravery of its inhabitants. In the fluctuating state of the tribes any chieftain of vigour was sure of a following. We do not know how Hlodowig won his reputation; but by the time he was twenty he headed a formidable army, ready to face the only power left in Northern Gaul. This was Syagrius, who kept up at Soissons the shadow of the Roman name. He ruled as an independent prince over the district east of the 'Armorican Republic,' between the Meuse and Loire: these two districts being the only ones not occupied by barbarian settlers. Here he administered justice, mediated between Gauls and Germans, and had a plan for gathering all the North under his rule, and governing as if by Roman law. On him broke in the young Frank in 486: the spiritless legions fled before the lusty barbarians, and Syagrius had to escape for his life to Toulouse. There he claimed the protection of Alaric, the young Visigothic king; and he, not discerning the storm-cloud, delivered him up to Hlodowig, who slew him. Thus ended the last shadow of Roman power in Gaul. Hlodowig now occupied

the only open space left; and there was nothing between the Gallo-Romans and the barbarians.

Rome having perished, to whom should the Church now turn? Visigoths and Burgundians, though Christians, were Arians. The Frank was pagan; but then the Church had hope of the wild uncivilised tribes. Her instincts guided her rightly. The Frank became 'the sword of the Church'; the Church made the fortune of the Frank¹. Remigius, bishop of Rheims, became close friend to Hlodowig long before he turned Christian. To his counsel, probably, it is owing that Hlotehild (Clotilde), daughter of a Burgundian chief, niece of the Burgundian king, an orthodox maiden, became the Frank's wife. The result proved the bishop's sagacity; it led to the conversion of the Franks. 'Women,' says La Vallée², 'were the most ardent missionaries of that faith to which they owed their own new life;' and this the bishop knew.

Hlodowig was yet but a petty prince: the turning-point of his fortunes was at hand. In 496 came this great trial. The Allemans, whose home was on the Upper Rhine³, became restless, and made for Gaul. They had two ways by which they might enter—that between the Vosges and the Jura, and that through the territory of the Ripuarian Franks. They chose the latter. The Franks called for the help of their Salian kinsmen: and Hlodowig came. The united Franks fell on the invaders at Tolbiac (Zülrich), about four-and-twenty miles south-west of Cologne. The battle went at first against the Franks. Then Hlodowig, remembering his pious queen, vowed that if the God of Hlotehild would grant him victory, he would become a Christian. The battle changed; the Allemans were utterly routed, and the Franks proved that they would allow no fresh settlers in Gaul. Hlodowig was regarded as the first of Frankish captains. After some hesitation, followed by three thousand of his warriors, he was baptized in Rheims

¹ 'L'église fit la fortune des Francs,' says Michelet, i. 188.

² La Vallée, *Histoire des Français*, Liv. i. chap. 2.

³ In modern Franconia and Baden; and, generally, in the basin of the upper Rhine, from its source to its junction with the Main.

cathedral by Remigius. The Church historian, who says that St. Remi was great in rhetoric, tells us that he used a theatrical phrase: 'Sicambrian, bow the head! burn that thou hast adored, and adore that thou hast burnt'¹ With all possible splendour the ceremony was performed. It seemed to the barbarians that they were entering heaven itself. Thus did 'the Church take possession of her eldest son'; and thus began that form of warlike Christianity which marks these centuries. A vow on the battlefield; the answer, victory; the result, the baptism of an army. Such Christianity brought no softness or thought of peace to Hlodowig; but it brought him unscrupulous panegyrists and powerful friends. The clergy grouped themselves round him; under their influence the relics of the old Roman legions passed over, with their standards and their country, to the victorious and orthodox barbarian. The peninsula of Brittany and part of Western Normandy still stood aloof.

Thus Hlodowig became lord of Northern Gaul. His Franks ceased to cast longing looks on the Rhine; they settled down in the lands they had won. Historians date from this moment the beginning of French history, although true French history does not begin till the Capets were established on the throne: and even then it is the history of a part rather than of the whole. Still we must go through these times, in which the foundations of French history were laid, and shew how the dominant Germans affected the subject Gauls; how the Germans were at last absorbed, and the race became French.

The Franks were ready to follow their chief whither he would: their chief was eager to lead. First they attacked the Burgundians, who were ruled by two kings, Gondebald and Gondegesil,—the latter secretly allied with Hlodowig. The

¹ Gregory of Tours, 2. 31. We have no contemporary life of Hlodowig. Gregory of Tours, our best authority, dealt with it in the spirit of a zealous churchman, and lived full half a century after the time on which we are engaged. Gregory was born in 544, and died 594 or 595. He calls Hlodowig a Sicambrian, because that tribe (which lay between the Lippe and the Weser) was thought to have become part of the Frankish confederacy.

clergy were more than suspected of a like treason: they turned willingly from their Arian lords to the orthodox chieftain. Against these influences within, and the fierce Frank without, Gondebald could not struggle: he was defeated in A.D. 500. Hlodowig pushed on into Provence, ravaged it, and gave it to Theoderic the Ostrogoth, who was then his friend. He next levied a tribute on the Burgundians, made Gondebald confess himself his 'man,' and so withdrew to the North. Gondebald, free from him, resumed his reign, and seems to have governed wisely. The Gallo-Romans had seen enough of their orthodox friend; they returned peaceably to their old king, who treated them well, as equals with his Burgundians. Thirty-four years later, after Hlodowig's death, Burgundy became subject to the Franks.

The Visigoths dwelt in a rich land. 'It much displeases me,' said Hlodowig, in the year 507, 'that the Goths, being Arians, should own a part of Gaul. Let us go, and God helping, seize their land'. And so the orthodox Franks, snuffing at the rich booty from afar, swooped down on the Visigoths. The two kings met in single combat: Alaric was slain, his army routed. This was the battle on the 'Vocladensian plain' (Vouglé or Voulon)², south of Poitiers. Then the Frank divided his army. Part, under his son Theodoric, overran Auvergne, and went eastward to Arles; part went southward, with himself, through Bordeaux, through Toulouse, to Carcassonne. Here, as he lay before the town, Theoderic the Ostrogoth came down on the Franks at Arles and routed them; and Hlodowig broke up from before Carcassonne, and withdrew to the north. The Ostrogoth thus saved a little remnant of the Visigothic kingdom, a portion of the old Narbonnaise, afterwards called Septimania, which remained under them for three centuries longer.

The Franks treated their new conquest with barbarity, and retired, when weary of it, with rich spoil and countless captives. The Gallo-Roman natives, amazed at their orthodox friends, conceived against them a hatred stronger far than any ill-will

¹ Gregory of Tours, 2. 37.

² Gibbon, chap. 38.

they had ever borne to the Goth, an ill-will which can be traced throughout the Middle Ages.

Soon after his return to Tours, Hlodowig received an embassy from Anastasius, Emperor of the East, bringing him the dress and title of Consul Romanus¹. With the love of splendour natural to the barbarian, he celebrated his investiture with much pomp in the Church of St. Martin, his 'excellent but expensive' patron; he was invested with a purple tunic and mantle, and wore a diadem. Thus habited he rode through the streets to the cathedral². The Gallo-Romans were much affected by the show, seeing in it an acknowledgment that the sword of the conqueror conferred a good title; the Teutons regarded it as a distinction which raised their chief, by the recognition of the Empire, above all other German chiefs: while, on the other hand, by wearing the purple Hlodowig bound himself to respect the Romans under his rule, and gave a pledge that his reign should not be one of mere desolation.

He had now done with distant expeditions. It only remained for him to secure his position as sole head of the Franks. He took the simplest steps,—murdering any head of a tribe who fell into his hands. He induced the son of Sigebert, king of the Ripuarians, by whose side he had fought at Zülpich, to murder his father. Soon after, he assassinated the son. Then he came to the Ripuarians, and advised them to take him as their chief: which they did, raising him on a shield, after their custom. Ragnachar, king of Cambrai, the chiefs of Arras and Le Mans, all Merwing princes, also perished. So Hlodowig became sole head of the Franks, among whom the Saliens, whom we may now begin to call Neustrians⁴, were for more than two centuries the dominant tribe.

¹ Gibbon thinks it probable the real title was that of *Patrician*, and not *Consul*, as Hlodowig's name does not appear in any Consular Fasti, not even in those compiled by Marius, bishop of Avenches, in Switzerland.—Gibbon, ch. 38, and note 57.

² 'Bonus in auxilio, carus in negotio,' said Hlodowig of the Saint, when the clergy of Tours exacted a double ransom for his war-horse.

³ Gregory of Tours, 2. 38.

⁴ In opposition to the name Austrasian (Oster-rik, or Eastern Kingdom),

Then, says Gregory of Tours, who relates these bloody details without a word of blame, Hlodowig called together his people, and said, 'Woe is me! for I am left as a sojourner in the midst of strangers! I have now no kinsmen to help me, if misfortune comes.' But this he said in guile, not in sorrow: for he wished to see whether there were any surviving, that he might kill them also, if there were. But having said this—and finding no more to kill—he died¹ (A.D. 511). Though in all ways a barbarian, Hlodowig has won himself a place in history. Restless, ambitious, a man of living force, he still was not a great man; for he shewed no constructive power; although, as conquering head of the Franks, he is not unjustly reckoned as the founder of a great nation. He had certain strong qualities: patience under provocation, which quietly waited for the moment of revenge, as we see in the well-known tale of the soldier and the vase of Soissons; a sense of humour, grim and German, as is seen in his speech to his men before the Gothic war, and in his reflection on his patron-saint, St. Martin of Tours; an indifference as to what means he used to gain his ends,—he would not pause from murder, if that were the road. He had the savage's love of blood, of fraud and falsehood. Nor did his becoming a Christian modify his ferocity; he certainly modified the character of the Christianity of his and after ages. God became more distinctly 'the God of Battles.' As Gibbon says, 'The Romans communicated to their conqueror the use of the Christian religion and Latin language; but their language and their religion had alike degenerated from the simple purity of the Augustan and Apostolic age².' Nothing was farther from their thoughts than that 'Peace on Earth,' which was sung by the angels at our Saviour's birth. When they told Hlodowig the sad story of the Crucifixion, his exclamation was, 'Had I and my Franks been there, we would have avenged the wrong'—and the fierce thought, the thought of the Teuton triumphant by which name the Ripuarians were now designated: the word Neustria is said to be either the Neueste-rik, the latest kingdom, or Ne-oster-rik.

¹ Gregory of Tours, 2. 42, 43.

² Gibbon, chap. 38 (p. 418, Milman's edition).

over the Roman, is a fair illustration of the conqueror's view of his Christian duty. This Christianity of the sword, which now entered in, ruled religion for centuries. It was the life-blood of the Crusades; it impressed its character on even the wars of the sixteenth century. Well had Ulfilas, the Arian bishop of the Dacian Goths, read long before the risk to Christianity from his unruly proselytes. In translating the Bible into the Gothic speech¹ he entirely omitted the Books of Kings, lest his fierce converts should draw thence lessons opposed to the gentle spirit of the Gospel, and but too congenial to their own character. The orthodox Gallo-Roman bishops who crowded round Hlodowig's throne had no such scruples. For him, a ferocious robber and murderer, they found sufficient precedents in the Old Testament. God's name was used as part of the Frankish title to their conquests: 'I hold my land of God and my good sword,' was said often enough before Hugh Capet or William the Bastard. In return, Hlodowig loaded the Church with gifts of land; till it was said that the Gallo-Romans recovered through their clergy what they had lost in war. The Church grew much stronger and richer during this period: she gained perhaps almost as much as Christianity lost. The Franks, bringing into Gaul their sense of the mysterious, transplanting thither those religious feelings which they had formerly felt for their sacred groves and forest-priests, paid to the clergy of their new home an almost unlimited respect. The bishops became the advisers, and, in some sense, the educators of the chieftains. No Frank dreamed of taking orders; they left that to the Gallo-Romans, unless, chance-time, they wished to disable some long-haired prince. Then they cut off his flowing locks, and tonsured him, and he was thrust, as into exile, into the ranks of the clergy. Otherwise, the Franks held the sword, not the cross, of Christianity; and despised the life, while they venerated the sanctity, of the priesthood. Moreover, as they brought into Gaul their

¹ Few relics of antiquity are more interesting to the Christian, the historian, and the philologist, than the fragments of this great work which have come down to us; for they are almost the sole remnants of the old Gothic speech.

old dislike of town-life, they left the bishops with sole authority in the cities: and the clergy consequently continued to be the special representatives of the old Roman municipal life.

The Church gained most of all by the change from a Roman Caesar to a Frankish king. Before the emperors she had been submissive, dependent; towards the Franks, she assumed the air of a benefactor, of a superior: she had 'made their fortune'; she guided their policy, blessed their arms, partially tempered their fierceness, standing between them and the conquered inhabitants of Gaul: she lived under and administered the Roman law, not the rude Custom-law of the Franks. How highly the clergy were valued appears from the barbarian codes. The weregild or fine for the murder of a priest was the same as that for an 'antrustion,' or trusty companion of the king; that for a bishop was far above all other sums mentioned¹. Guizot has remarked that the clergy of this period had a share in all the elements of power. The bishops were sole rulers, magistrates, protectors, of the towns; they were the counsellors of kings; they were also great landed proprietors, preparing to take rank among the territorial aristocracy of the future; the clergy were the defenders and comforters of the vanquished, as well as the friends of the conquerors. Thus in every way the Church was ready to take advantage of each movement that might take place: come what might, she was prepared to rise².

Such were the relations of the Franks with the Church. Let us touch briefly on their relations to the land on which they settled, as lords and oppressors of the older inhabitants.

Their settlement was slow and irregular. They shunned the cities, and let much of the country fall out of cultivation. They forgot neither their old homes nor their old habits. The northern line of distinction between Gaul and Germany disappeared. The Franks long deemed the Rhine their home; and hence they

¹ At least this was so in the Burgundian code, in which a bishop's life was valued at 900 solidi, an antrustion's only at 600.

² Guizot, *Civilisation en France*, Leçon 8.

affected, in the end, the development of France far more than either Burgundian or Visigoth did. For their settlement was not once for all, as in the case of the others; in their case fresh Germanic blood kept on pouring into Northern France. This abolition of the northern frontier must be borne in mind in studying French history before Capetian times: for it explains the true position of the Austrasian princes, who were entirely German, and stood towards France in a very different relation from that of the Meroving kings who settled down in Neustria. Hlodowig was far more a French king than was Charles the Great.

When the Franks did settle in Gaul, it was under conditions which insured anarchy. Their older system, such as it was, perished. Neither did the German village-life, as Tacitus describes it, nor their camp-life remain. They were broken up into little knots, almost independent of each other. The kings, surrounded by their courtiers, passed from house to house; their palaces being simply large farms, or hunting-grounds with houses on them. Here they lived, consuming the stuff, and rejoicing in their idleness, hunting or carousing till their food was spent: then on to another manor. His large territories were also in another way useful to the king: he granted fiefs or benefices out of them to his friends; gifts which he, it seems, intended to resume at pleasure, but which gradually became first life-holdings, then hereditary possessions. This was the earliest and simplest form of feudal tenure. But the greater chiefs, who had followed the king with independent service, who were often more powerful than he, and eventually reduced him to nothing, were not likely, in the partition of lands, to submit themselves to the vague claims and authority of the king. As he took his share of conquered lands, so they took theirs; took it as their right, with full and independent power over it. Theirs was the 'alodial'¹ tenure, tenure of 'God and their good swords,' as

¹ Alodium is probably the Latinised form of the old Teutonic *odal* or *edel*, noble, by metathesis: see Vigfússon's *Icel. Dict.* s. v. *odal*. The Latin 'sortes,' by which the Gallo-Romans rendered the word *alod*, seems to countenance the notion that it is connected with Germ. *Loos*, a lot. *Feud* is probably fee-od, i.e. good in payment for value received, or for personal services rendered.

has before been said. Each of these chiefs had his followers; to them he granted benefices, as the king did, and on similar terms. In all this it must be remembered that, according to the German way of thinking, the man is everything, the land nothing. The condition of the holder determines that of the land. Lords of territories, kings of countries, are things unknown in this period, and for long after. 'King of Franks,' not 'King of Gaul,' was the title. Territorial designations came later; it was long ere men felt that they drew their nobility from their lands, not from themselves. The commoner sort of Franks took what they could get: their lot in the spoil,—their captives, share of cattle, dresses, vessels, ornaments, money. With these they sheltered themselves under some powerful chieftain, formed part of his followers, perhaps got a benefice from him, or perhaps sank to a lowly condition in his household. A considerable part of the land remained with its old possessors, and became tributary, under very various conditions. These lands were also granted to chieftains, who took tribute for them. The cultivators of these lands were on the high road to serfdom.

Such was the state of the land. Part of it held as *alod*, independent of all service or duty; part as *benefice*, by favour of the king or chief who had granted it; part as *tributary* farms, cultivated by Gallo-Roman rustics.

The conquerors, being thus scattered over the face of the land, soon lost their interest in the old assemblies, the 'Fields of March,' and the 'Malls,' so characteristic of the old Frankish life. They were no longer a compact aggressive body of warriors, with common interests and passions. The annual Fields of March¹, at which they used to debate their affairs of state, plan their expeditions, pass their fighting power under review, fell into disuse: these parliaments of free men languished on the soil of France. The Malls too, in which justice used to be done in the heart of the tribe's life, were greatly modified; and were at last held in every district in the kingdom. Counts,

¹ These great assemblies were held about the beginning of each year (as the year was then reckoned) in the month of March.

bishops, abbots, sat in the greater assizes (the *Placita majora* as they are called), and in the lower courts sat official judges, named by the king. Here, too, the old centre-point of Frankish life was lost. In fact, they bartered their old wild freedom and tribal unity for a rich and broad territory, broken up into many half-independent districts. Instead of a simple state of society, chiefs, followers, and captives, they now had the rudiments of monarchy and aristocracy, with a town-life and a church-life beside them—the rudiments of modern Europe. But in its first stage it was little but a dreary chaos of all anarchic vices and crimes.

It is difficult to get at the state of the Gallo-Romans at this time. What records have we? Probably, their condition was somewhat bettered. Domestic slavery was almost unknown among the Germans, at least at first. But before long slavery grew frightfully, until we can see that there remained hardly any middle class at all, except perhaps in a few cities. But at first the Gallo-Romans, though conquered, were freed from the rapacities of the Roman Court. The Franks, in the matter of fiscal exactions, were not severe masters. The clergy too, being exclusively Gallo-Romans, doubtless protected their kinsfolk; and we know also that in some parts of Gaul the older inhabitants were on an equality with the incomers. They were also, to a large extent, ruled by the Roman law, in itself no slight boon. But their condition, though at first it rather improved, ere long fell from bad to worse, during the anarchy which followed the conquest.

CHAPTER II.

The Neustrian Kings.

A.D. 511—687.

WE come now to two centuries and a half of incessant and uninteresting struggles. History there can be none: a few essays on the time, a few biographical sketches, would give the best conception of the dreary waste¹. Even the very terms we use require a caution: they have not their present significance. We are easily misled, when we talk of monarchy, aristocracy, the people; for the words do not bear their modern sense. The same is true of bishop, monk, churchman: the Gallo-Roman bishop, and the monk, the protestant of his age, must not be dressed up in the clothes of modern life.

The guiding lines through this historical desert are (1) the struggle of the Merwing kings with their chieftains; (2) the struggle between Neustria and Austrasia; (3) the movements of the Church.

It must also be remembered that towards the end of the time, the struggle between monarchy and the chieftains changed in character, and became a trial of strength between the Merwing kings and their Mayors of the Palace, represented by the great house of Pippin of Landen; absorbing into itself the struggle of Neustria against Austrasia; for Neustria went with the Merwings, while Austrasia supported the family of Pippin. Early in the period there are often independent kings

¹ Such essays are to be found in Guizot's *Essais sur l'histoire de France*, 3. 4. The biographies of Brunhild, Bishop Eligius, Dagobert I, Ebroin, St. Leger, Pippin of Landen, would do for the other part, were there materials enough to make them.

in both districts¹; towards the end the Austrasian king ceases to exist, or exists only as a shadow. Early, we find the *leudes*, or nobles, of Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy, sometimes acting separately, sometimes combining against their kings; later, we hear little of any chieftains save those of Austrasia. At the beginning, the two tribes are on one footing, the preponderance of power lying with Neustria; later, the Austrasian remains wild and unchanged, a fierce warrior, half pagan, uncivilised, energetic; while the Neustrian has adopted Gallo-Roman manners, has lost his strength, and is far below his ruder kinsman in power. The struggle could only end in the triumph of the Austrasians, under the great 'Caroling' family, and the renewal of the influences of feudal Germany over France.

This period falls into four obvious subdivisions, which, for clearness' sake, are here put down:—

- I. From the partition at Hlodowig's death, to the division of Frankish Gaul into the three kingdoms of Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy, A.D. 511—567.
- II. The struggle between Austrasia and Neustria, under Brunhild and Fredegond, A.D. 567—613.
- III. The period of Dagobert, king of Neustria, A.D. 613—638.
- IV. The Royal Nonentities, to the battle of Testry, in which Austrasia, under Pippin of Heristal, vanquished Neustria, A.D. 638—687.

I. A.D. 511—567. Hlodowig, before his death in 511, saw all Northern France occupied by his Salians, and the Ripuarians in due subjection; Aquitaine was a conquered land; Burgundy a vassal-state. A corner of Brittany, a corner of Provence, were untouched, but could cause him no uneasiness. He had fulfilled his task, and had established the Frank on Gallic soil, and had

¹ See Table II.

sown the seed of a feudal aristocracy. Though, in the prime of life, he may have had ambitious thoughts as to a strong united kingdom, he must have known that his free Franks would accept the division of his power among his sons as natural, and would not regard it as a disruption of the Frankish power. It would be an anachronism to think of the division as a dismemberment of a proud kingdom. Yet it was a great misfortune: rousing endless jealousies, causing much bloodshed, weakening the one strong thing of the day, the royal authority, leading on to the rise of the Mayors of the Palace and the fall of the Merwings.

Theodorik, Hlodowig's eldest son, born before his marriage with Hlotechild, took the north-eastern part, and became king of what soon after this time began to be called Austrasia, a district lying on both banks of the Rhine¹. He had also possessions in Aquitaine and Auvergne. He made Mettis (Metz) his capital, and is usually styled king of that city. Of Hlotechild's three sons, Hildebert the eldest had the central district, (central, that is, with reference to Frankish Gaul), the country round Paris, together with Armorica: he is styled king of Paris. Hlodowig fixed himself at Orleans, and had the west of Gaul south of the Loire. Hlotair went to Soissons, and was king over the old Salian territory, in the north-west corner of Gaul; he also had estates in Aquitaine. Thus we may see that the partition was a simple division of estates, not of governments; and that the kings all clung to the parts north of the Loire, regarding their possessions south of that river as outlying properties; lands suitable as fighting-grounds, for plunder, for all the wretched quarrelling, murders, and misery of the time. This is also true of the next partition, between the four sons of Hlotair. After that time the kingdoms become somewhat more territorial. But as yet a king was but a leader in war. The *leudes* looked to him for expeditions, even compelling him at times to make war against his will. At home the *leudes* deemed themselves independent. Surrounded by a court of idle warriors, they lived

¹ See below, p. 84.

on their uncultivated lands, finding in war the excitement for which they craved, or, if war was unfortunately slack, following the mimic warfare of the chase; caring for no man, recognising no social ties or moral obligations, laying the foundations of that feudal lordship which was afterwards so splendidly bad in France, so brutally bad (though not so cruel) in Germany.

The partition did not lessen the vigour of the Franks. They attacked their neighbours right and left. The Austrasians defeated the Thuringians¹ and some Saxon tribes², wild pagans all; then the Allemans³ and Bavarians. The other kings attacked Burgundy in 524, and subdued it in 534. The Austrasians also went as freebooters into Italy, but their expeditions thither have no special interest for us.

In the first war against Burgundy (A.D. 524) Hlodimir, king of Orleans, was slain. He left three boys under the care of their grandmother Hlothild, who had incited her sons to make this raid on her Burgundian kinsfolk. The kings of Paris and Soissons, Hildebert and Hlotair, seized the three children, and sent a messenger to Hlothild, offering her a pair of scissors and a sword, with these words: 'Thy sons await thy wishes as to the three children: shall they be shorn or slain?' In her anguish she cried out, 'Slain rather than shorn!'—for, like a true Frank, though she revered the clergy, she would rather see her descendants dead than disgraced by the tonsure. So the messenger returned and told the kings that the queen approved, and they might finish their work. Whereon Hlotair seized the eldest boy by the arm, dashed him to the ground, and killed him. The second, hearing the cry of his brother, fled to Hildebert's knees, who, moved with pity, begged for the child's life. But Hlotair replied, 'Give him up, or die for him;' and the boy was given up, and also

¹ Who lay in what is now the Thüringer Wald, between the Main and Elbe, eastward of the Austrasian lands.

² The Saxons lay north of the Austrasians, nearly from the Rhine to the Baltic, across Hanover, Brunswick, &c. They were not really conquered till Charles the Great's days.

³ The Allemans inhabited Rhaetia and part of modern Swabia.

⁴ Gregory of Tours, 3. 18.

murdered. But among the crowd was one that had a heart: he snatched up the youngest child, fled out, and escaped. The child's life was saved; but it was thought well that he should—as the chronicler¹ has it—'despise a worldly throne.' So 'he passed to the Lord and died a priest²,' shorn, not slain. His name was Hlodoald, and he afterwards became a saint, and gave his name to St. Cloud, a pretty village on the Seine, hard by Paris. Then Hildebert and Hlotair divided the lands of their brother Hlodimir; and after Hildebert's death, Hlotair succeeded to the whole.

This tale of Hlotair contains many characteristics of the race and time. We see the children with their long hair, denoting Merwing blood³; the Frankish dread of Orders, as closing the career of war and enjoyment so dear to them; the ferocity of the chiefs; the stuff of which the saints of the age were made.

In Austrasia Theodorik had died in 534, and was succeeded by his son Theodebert, who in happier times would have left his mark: he tried to govern wisely, with the help of Gallo-Roman ideas. He also kept alive the Frankish war-spirit by constant expeditions. This the Franks liked, but Gallo-Roman ideas and taxes they could not abide. So when Theodebert died, the Franks pursued his Gallo-Roman friend and adviser, Parthenius, into Trèves cathedral, bound him to a pillar, and then and there stoned him to death. Thus the Austrasian independence avenged itself on Gallo-Roman civilisation. But no one in Neustria murmured against taxation, except the clergy; they resisted, and warned Hlotair against 'spoiling the goods of the Lord, who might possibly spoil him of his kingdom'; and he, joining prudence to penitence, desisted.

Neustria was settling down into a monarchy. Round Hlotair were reeves (*grafen*) or counts, royal officers; the clergy made court to him, as usual; the name of 'leudes,' which had originally belonged to all Frankish freemen, was given to the 'fideles' or 'antrustions,' the king's trusty men, who filled

¹ Gregory of Tours, 3. 18.

² Ibid.

³ Θεμιστὸν γὰρ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τῶν Φράγγων οὐ πάποτε κείρεσθαι.—Agathias, p. 14, A. 524.

various offices and functions in the state. The Gallo-Romans also struggled for position as the 'king's men.' Out of the huge royal domain benefices were granted to these court-followers. The Gallo-Romans, who knew of old the arts of courts, the uses of flattery, sapped the foundations of the old Frankish spirit, and taught kings and subjects their respective places. Still, even in Neustria there were remains of the old spirit. Thus, at one time there was trouble with the Saxons, and Hlotair, weary of the difficulty of dealing with them, was for making terms of peace: but his chiefs arose and said, 'No: they would again go into the Saxon land.' Hlotair declared he would not go. They burst out into the old lawless Frankish fury, and went nigh to kill him. Whereon he gave way, marched at their head, and got for himself and them a bloody defeat; after which the chiefs were glad to make peace as best they might, and go home again. In 555 Hlotair seized the kingdom of Austrasia; and in 558, on the death of Hildebert, Orleans fell to him, and he became sole king of Franks. The career of war and murder answered so well for him that he continued it to the end. Then, says Gregory of Tours, he fell ill of a fever, and in his torment he cried out, 'Oh! how great must be the King of Heaven, if he can thus kill so mighty a king as I!' and so he died (A.D. 561)¹. In his death, we see once more the Frankish conception of God: a half-pagan belief in a Deity, strong and terrible, who can and will torment the great ones of the earth.

II. A.D. 567-613. At Hlotair's death the Frankish kingdom was again divided into four parts. Sigebert took Austrasia, Haribert had Paris, Hilperik Soissons, and Gontran Burgundy. When Haribert died in 567, Hilperik seized his domains, and made himself king of Neustria. This year 567 is the date of the definite division of Northern Gaul into the three real Frankish kingdoms of Austrasia, Neustria², and Burgundy. Of these,

¹ Gregory of Tours, 4. 21.

² The boundaries of these divisions are always uncertain. Neustria, roughly speaking, lay between the Loire and Meuse; Austrasia between the Meuse and the Rhine. But Austrasia went beyond the upper Meuse, so as to include part of modern Champagne, and beyond the upper Rhine, including the Palatinate and even part of Switzerland.

Austrasia and Neustria were ever at variance, usually at war: while Burgundy, quietest and weakest of the three, sided now with the one, now with the other. The kingdoms became more territorial, less personal: everything points to a more fixed royalty in the Frankish world.

This is also the period of the struggle between Brunhild, daughter of Athanagild, king of the Visigoths, wife of Sigebert, king of Austrasia, and Fredegond, the low-born mistress, and afterwards queen, of Hilperik, king of Neustria. The plots, rivalries, crimes, wars, murders, of these two queens fill up the latter part of this century. About the same time we hear of the Mayor of the Palace. This officer was elected by the chiefs, acting independently, and was a check on the royal power, under the form of a kind of regency. The first Austrasian Mayor of the Palace was appointed at the time when Sigebert was but a boy. The administration of justice was placed in his hands. The office is found established, before long, in both Neustria and Burgundy. But in Neustria the Mayor of the Palace usually sided with the King; in Burgundy he was insignificant, being overshadowed by an officer styled the Patrician, a relic of the Roman tendencies of that kingdom. On the other hand, in Austrasia the power of the Mayors soon began to overshadow that of the Kings.

From this time we may date the beginning of a double rivalry—that of Austrasia and Neustria, and that of royalty and aristocracy. The clergy, to come to the other notable class, were already paying the penalty for their subservience to the Frankish chiefs. The kings soon learnt how to use the wealth of the Church; and the clergy sank to the position of worldly courtiers. They flocked round the throne, and kissed the hand stained with fraternal blood. The upper clergy became landed lords, vieing with the Frankish chiefs. They meddled in politics, and in the next period are found mixing in all the bloodshed and intrigue of the age. On the other hand, rude Franks, seeing the wealth of certain bishoprics, got themselves ordained for the sake of the domains:—sometimes they even got the sub-

stance without the shadow, the domains without the tonsure. The kings interfered in episcopal elections, thrusting in whom they would, and violating the old right of popular, or at least clerical, election. At the end of this period we shall find the monks, the new religious element, chastising this worldliness, allying themselves with the new dynasty (while the bishops clung to the Merwings), and sharing in its good fortune. Still, the clergy were not all like this: even in the king's chambers they helped to tone down the roughness of Frankish habits, and in an age of universal turbulence the greater churches became refuges for the oppressed. The bishops grew into great alodial lords, under whose protection the weak sheltered themselves. With their spiritual powers they defended, on the whole successfully, those who sat as suppliants at their altars. Yet, in the main, the spiritual life had lost much of its true character; and it was time that Christianity should once more assert her living power. This she did when Benedict of Nursia founded his monasteries on the Italian hills, and set before the world a new view of man's destiny. The Benedictine Rule spread swiftly over France; and for six centuries it was the only Rule in the land. The convents of the Order rose up to rebuke the worldliness of the Church. They preached simplicity and the dignity of labour; they restored the respect due to toil. No longer should it be servile to work with one's hands: 'laborare est orare' was one of the axioms of their rule: and society needed to be reminded of this truth. For a harsh line had been drawn between the idle Frank who hunted and drank, and the wretched Gallo-Roman peasant who tilled the soil. The Frank in fact held that God had cursed the ground: the Benedictine arose to teach man once more how to win a blessing from it. Throughout Gaul the monastic lands became examples of happy industry, telling their own tale by force of contrast. The inequalities of race grew less before these missionaries and pioneers of modern industry; liberty seemed to raise her fainting head within their walls: to labour, to sing, to build, to write—these were their four great tasks. The world has few

such worthy histories as that of the Benedictine Order: few societies have left behind such monuments of ennobled toil.

The feud between Brunhild and Fredegond sprang out of a foul murder, done at Fredegond's bidding on Galswith, Hilperik's queen, Brunhild's sister. When she was dead, Fredegond was promoted, and became Hilperik's wife. Brunhild then induced the Austrasian leudes to force Sigebert, their peace-loving king, into the fray. They did not know that they were taking up the quarrel of a woman, beautiful and ambitious, full of Roman ideas, who would one day be their bitterest foe. The onslaught on Hilperik was sudden and irresistible: the unwilling Sigebert saw his victory with tears, and begged the chiefs to use their triumph modestly; they replied with reproaches, and went on to destroy all they found in Neustria. Hilperik was so thoroughly defeated that, next year, he yielded his crown to Sigebert. The Neustrian chiefs hoisted him on a shield, and proclaimed him King of Franks. At that moment two of Fredegond's pages drew near, and smote him on either side with poisoned daggers. He cried out, fell down, and died. Brunhild fell into the hands of her triumphant rival, who sent her, a prisoner, to Rouen; and Hildebert, a child of five years, was made king of Austrasia under tutelage of a Mayor. The Austrasian chiefs now consolidated their power, allied themselves with Gontran of Burgundy, and persuaded him to adopt Hildebert as his heir. Meanwhile, true to the strange mixture of romance and tragedy in her history, Brunhild was seen by Merow, a son of Hilperik, who fell deeply in love with her, rescued her from prison, and married her. Fredegond, furious at her escape, pursued the fugitives; but Brunhild escaped into Austrasia, while Merow, less fortunate, took refuge in the church at Tours. It is a pleasure in these gloomy times to come across a worthy deed; still more so when we know the actor well. Gregory the historian was at that time bishop of Tours; and he boldly refused to give the refugee up to Hilperik's men; and, fearing violence, which he could not have resisted, found means to

convey him away. He made for Austrasia: but Fredegond the implacable was on his track; near the border her emissaries caught and slew him.

The whole life of Fredegond is a calendar of crimes, ending, as was believed, in the assassination of her husband in 584. She murdered Praetextatus, archbishop of Rouen, at the altar; unfaithful to her husband, she murdered him and his children; she oppressed the Parisians; she moved through devious blood-stained tracks to an unworthy end. Between 584 and 587 she struggled against Austrasia, for a time detaching Gontran from the northern alliance. But the treaty of Andelot in 587 drew Gontran and Hilperik together again: by it they guaranteed the integrity of each other's territories; exchanged those leudes who had passed from one kingdom to the other; secured the gifts made to the Church, and set the benefices granted to their chiefs on a better footing. This treaty is appealed to as showing the existence at this early time of the so-called Salic law of inheritance; that is, succession by the male line only. The good Gontran died in 593, and then Hildebert ruled over Austrasia and Burgundy. He too died in 595, leaving his two boys, Theodebert II, king of Austrasia, and Theodorik II, king of Burgundy, under their grandmother's tutelage. Thus the whole Frankish Empire was under the kingship of three children (for Hlotair II, king of Neustria, was but eleven years old), governed by two old queens. Each child had also his Mayor of the Palace,—a dark shadow dogging his tottering footsteps. The two queens met for yet one more struggle; but Fredegond held her own: and at last we have the spectacle of these two fierce and wicked women ruling peaceably, even gloriously, over their children's shares of Gaul. In 597 Fredegond died in peace: her crimes met with no punishment, no reprobation here: she left her son established firmly on the throne; she had fulfilled all her ambition. For Brunhild remained yet sixteen years of life; in which she struggled vainly against the ever-growing strength and spirit of the Austrasian leudes, and perished at last by a revolting death. After Fredegond's death, she

roused her Austrasians and Burgundians, and wrested almost all Neustria from the weak hands of Hlotair II¹.

It is at this period of her career that the admirers of this queen, who, says Hallam, 'has had partisans almost as enthusiastic as those of Mary, Queen of Scots²,' ought to draw her picture. Victorious over the Neustrians, she held her own chiefs at bay with a stout heart and clear eye. She became the patroness of art, the builder of churches, the maker of roads; her greatness was felt by kings, by emperors; she helped Augustin in his mission to the English; she reformed her clergy; she received a letter of praise from Gregory the Great himself. Meanwhile she smote and murdered the great leudes, till they rose against her and drove her into Burgundy. There she continued the struggle. The Church, hitherto her friend, now abandoned her side and made cause with St. Columbanus, who had been insulted by her for daring to tell her the truth. She still triumphed over and slew her grandson Theodebert, with his children. Theodorik II died, leaving her regent to four babes, her great-grandchildren. She still strove to carry out the design of her life, the erection of a firm monarchy in Austrasia. But now the leudes placed at their head two men, of a race destined to impress the world's history with a lasting mark; Pippin of Landen³, and Arnulf, bishop of Metz. Here in the dreary waste we meet with the beginning of a line which will lead us out of disorder into the ordered tracts of real history. So wandering across a pathless moorland, we light at last on a little stream; we trace it downwards till it becomes a great river, a power and blessing to the cultivated world. And thus Pippin of Landen carries us on in thought to Charles the Great, and the days in which modern society was founded, when order once more began to reign on the earth. In Pippin and Arnulf the lay and spiritual aristo-

¹ All, in fact, except some twelve districts between the Seine and the sea.

² Hallam, *Middle Ages*, I. i. 1.

³ Landen is not far from Liège. Pippin was grandfather of Pippin of Heristal, who was grandfather of Pippin the Short, who was Charles the Great's father.

cracies combined against the aged queen. They roused the leudes of Burgundy and Neustria to make common cause, and agreed that they would slay Brunhild with all Theodorik's children, and make Hlotair II sole king of Franks, overshadowed by a Mayor of the Palace for each of the three divisions of the kingdom. It is from this time that the real importance of the office begins. Originally the Mayor of the Palace seems to have been a somewhat unimportant person in the king's household. Petitions and requests had to pass through his hands; and he superintended the internal affairs of the court, as a kind of chamberlain. The office was Teutonic in origin, and can be traced back, in its earlier form, a long way: thus Badegisil was Mayor to Hlotair I, fourth son of Hlodowig. Nothing can be learnt as to the office from the name of it¹. The Mayor was at first named by the king; then, elected by the chiefs—a change more marked in Austrasia than in Neustria, where the Mayors side with the kings against the chiefs. Presently, in Austrasia, the office became fixed in one family, that of Pippin of Landen: it was held for life; it carried with it the chief command in war, and involved certain duties of rude justice. From Chamberlain to Regent, from Regent to Duke, from Duke to King, from King to Emperor of the West; so rose the fortunes of the office with the great aristocratic family which held it, until it reached its highest in the person of the great Charles, inheritor of the imperial name and of almost more than imperial power.

¹ Here are some of the derivations suggested. (1) The obvious 'Major domus' seems to have been a real title; but not among the Franks. (2) 'Magister (O. Fr. *mestre*) domus'; answering to one title found in the Latin historians, 'Magister palatii.' (3) The Scandinavian *Mestr* = *maximus*; but this does not suit an office which was at first not 'maximus,' but of low repute. (4) Celtic *maer, mer*, a magistrate. But a Celtic origin to the name is most unlikely. (5) *Mord-dom*, 'judge of murder,' which is Sismondi's suggestion; but this was not the original part of the office, and is like an anachronism. (6) *Meier, meyer*, O. Germ., as in Hausmeier, a bailiff (= villicus), a derivation which has much in its favour. The Latin chroniclers render the office by the names 'Major in aula,' 'Major domus,' 'Palatii custos, dux, gubernator, magister,' 'Praefectus aulae,' 'Praepositus palatii,' &c. But nothing can be concluded from these names. See Du Ménil, *Sur la langue française*, pp. 6, 7, 8, notes.

The undaunted queen gathered an army and met the confederate chiefs near Neufchatel. But her army melted away, and left her to fall, with the four children, into Hlotair's hands, who carried out the plan without flinching. The four children were murdered at once; but the aged queen was tortured for three days; and at last they tied her to the heels of a wild horse, which, more merciful than men, soon put an end to her misery. Thus shamefully perished (A.D. 613) one who for more than fifty years had been the greatest personage in the Frankish realm. The horrors of her death add one more touch to the picture of this wretched and terrible age, of which Gibbon has truly said that 'it would be difficult to find anywhere more vice or less virtue¹.' Brunhild engaged in two struggles, in both of which she was at a great disadvantage. Had she been Queen of Neustria she might easily have subdued her leudes—for in that part of the Frankish Empire they were already failing; and with her great abilities, she might have made such use of the still preponderant strength of Neustria, as would have put the Austrasians beneath her feet. For Austrasia, though its leudes were the better fighting-men, was still the weaker state. In Neustria she would have met with less opposition to her favourite scheme of a monarchy, based on the recollection of the Roman Empire. But as Queen of Austrasia she had throughout to fight against unequal chances. This she did with wonderful skill and success till her grandson's death in 613. Then the whole fabric of her building suddenly crumbled away and buried her in its ruins. The time would come when monarchy would successfully resist aristocracy, and when Austrasia would subdue Neustria: but not by her hands, or as she would have wished. For the successful royalty would be the Neustrian; and the Austrasian conqueror, the head of the aristocracy. Dagobert, at the Neustrian court, was soon to show how high royalty could rise under a Merwing prince; and then, after half a century, Austrasia, led by the house of Pippin, would reduce the rest of the Frankish power under it.

¹ Gibbon, chap. 38; and see Hallam, *Middle Ages*, I. i. 1.

Could the aged queen have foreseen either result, she might have understood the helplessness of her struggle, the baseless nature of her policy.

III. A.D. 613-638. As agreed, the leudes made Hlotair II sole king of Franks. But they exacted from him in return (in 614 or 615) the confirmation of an ordinance, called 'The Perpetual Constitution'—an agreement drawn up by leudes and bishops in concert, the first definite proof of the growing superiority of the aristocratic party. It involved (1) the abolition of taxes; (2) the restitution of lands taken from leudes or churches; (3) the irrevocable confirmation of all grants; (4) the restoration to clergy and people of episcopal elections, the king retaining only the right of confirmation; (5) the freedom of clergy from the jurisdiction of the royal tribunals, and corresponding enlargements of the authority of ecclesiastical tribunals; (6) the independence of judges, and the extension even to slaves of the right to be heard before judgment. In every line we can trace the hand of the clergy: it was an attempt to introduce conceptions of justice instead of the law of force, while it strengthened the party of the chiefs and clergy united. But the main part of this ordinance was never acted on. The great alodial chiefs grew stronger, and less likely to bow to law; the amount of tributary land constantly increased, the small proprietors finding it well to shelter themselves under some powerful chief. There was no central government: each chief, each bishop, was almost independent; bishops becoming daily more like mere territorial chiefs, with all the authority and all the vices of their rank. This is more particularly true of Austrasia; in Neustria the royal power was still strong, and Hlotair II, knowing that the Rhine provinces were his chief difficulty, placed his son Dagobert over them as king in 622, under the supervision of Pippin of Landen and Arnulf.

Six years later Hlotair died, leaving two sons, Dagobert and Haribert. Half a century earlier these princes would have divided the kingdom, as a matter of course; now Dagobert gathered a force in Austrasia, and seized on the whole power.

And to rid himself of his brother (and he deserves credit for self-denial in not applying the compendious remedy of murder) he granted him a great part of Aquitaine. The down-trodden south accepted a new chief with joy: he fixed his court at Toulouse, allied himself with the Gascons, and in spite of defeat,—for Dagobert became jealous and sought to crush him,—he succeeded in founding a half-independent kingdom, which lasted for the rest of the century, and helped to lessen the wretchedness of the land.

Meanwhile Dagobert, seeing that if he would be a real king, he must be so in Neustria, after taking as hostages the persons of the greatest Austrasians he could seize, fixed his throne at Paris. There he made himself a splendid court; purchased friends with gifts of land and goods; made progresses through the country, redressing wrong; curbed the great; 'his coming struck terror into bishops and chiefs, but filled the poor with joy.' Under him the Merwing monarchy reached its highest; the Emperor of the East sought his alliance: there was no other western king of note. He re-issued the Frankish laws, under advice of Bishop Audoen (St. Ouen) and Eligius; he advanced architecture, influencing the growth of the 'Lombard' style, the first Teutonic modification of the Roman manner of building; gave a splendid example of this style in the Abbey of St. Denis, founded and built by him under the guidance of Eligius, who was a cunning workman in metal, and probably designed as well as superintended the building of the great church. Withal, his court was as dissolute as splendid; art and refinement quickly pass into licentiousness, especially in the hands of a half-barbarous race; he was surrounded by ministers of excess; the clergy, as in the time of Louis XIV, crowded round the court, and either winked at, or uttered an unheard protest against, the evils which flaunted in open day around them. Dagobert was the Louis XIV of the Merwing time.

But the years of his glory were not many. In A.D. 633 the Austrasians compelled him to make a complete division between them and the rest of the kingdom. He gave them his son

Sigebert, who was but three years old, to be their king; and five years later he died. The splendour of his royal estate had been far more apparent than real: he had no hold over Austrasia; and though the rest of Frankish Gaul lay at his feet, there was no stability in his position. On his death in 638 his Merwing monarchy fell of itself to dust.

IV. A.D. 638-687. Sigebert is king of Austrasia: Hlodowig II, Dagobert's second son, a child of four years, is king of Neustria. These two infants are the first of the so-called 'Rois fainéants'—do-naught kings, royal nonentities. The two Frankish kingdoms diverged more and more; royalty in Austrasia became a mere shadow, though the time for the change of dynasty was not come. Shadows and names of things long haunt the world after their substance is gone; and when Grimoald, the Austrasian Mayor, Pippin of Landen's son, banished the son of Sigebert to an Irish monastery, and proclaimed his own son as king, the leudes all rose against him, took him and his son, and sent them to Hlodowig II, who, naturally enough, put them both to death.

On Hlodowig's death in 656, Hlotair III succeeded; he was ruled by Ebroin, a man of some mark. His policy was to restore the Merwing monarchy, and to curb the Austrasian chiefs. But he could only delay for a while the inevitable result. The rivalry and friendship of Ebroin and Leger, bishop of Autun, leaders of two opposite factions, form a curious episode. St. Leger, at the head of the aristocratic party, overthrew Ebroin, tonsured him, and banished him to the monastery of Luxeuil; but soon, by the turn of fortune's wheel, St. Leger also followed to the same place: there the two statesmen became friends, and on Hilderik's death, they once more plunged into the waves of the world's strife. Their friendship ended with their retirement: they resumed their old places as heads of rival parties. But now Ebroin was too strong for St. Leger, besieged him in his episcopal city of Autun, and took him; put out his eyes, imprisoned him, tried him before a council, condemned him as an accomplice in Hilderik's murder, and had him beheaded: a not unmerited

end. But after his death he became a saint; and the name of St. Leger is not unknown, even in northern England. Ebroin now recognised Theodorik III as king, and ruled over the Neustrians and Burgundians with absolute power. But in 678 the Austrasians chose as Mayors, Martin and Pippin, grandsons of Pippin of Landen, and resolved to pull down the champion of royalty. Ebroin succeeded in having Martin murdered, while he failed to slay the stronger man. He was himself soon after slain by a Neustrian, and with him perished the last hope of the Merwings. 'Teutonic France,' as historians sometimes call Austrasia, prepared to occupy 'Roman France,'—the German-speaking tribe the Latin-speaking tribe. The last of these invasions of Gaul by German was about to take place—an invasion the consequences of which were different from all before, for it led to that new form of the imperial conception of rule and order which produced the Holy Roman Empire, the grandest institution of the Middle Ages. We are now at the beginning of the power destined to cope with the growing strength of the Papacy, and to beat back the onslaughts of Heathenism and Mahometanism in Western Europe. The battle of Testry, fought in 687, between Pippin of Heristal and the Neustrians, closes the old chaotic period, and begins the new order of things. The Neustrians were headed by Berthar, Mayor of the Palace to Theodorik III; the Austrasians by Pippin. Testry is in the Vermandois, near St. Quentin: there the long struggle of Frank with Frank came to an end. From that day Merwing royalty faded away, and Pippin's house became almost absolute. Under that house the wild anarchy of the chiefs will be stayed; the elements of order will have time to gain strength; the aristocratic German Empire of Charles the Great will spread across Western Europe; law and justice will emerge; feudalism take shape for good and evil; the Church begin to shake herself from the dust; the see of Rome assert her proud position side by side with the Empire. All this begins with the battle of Testry: we hail it as the first sign of our release from the shadow of death, in which we have been wandering.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

The Family of Pippin, or the Carolings.

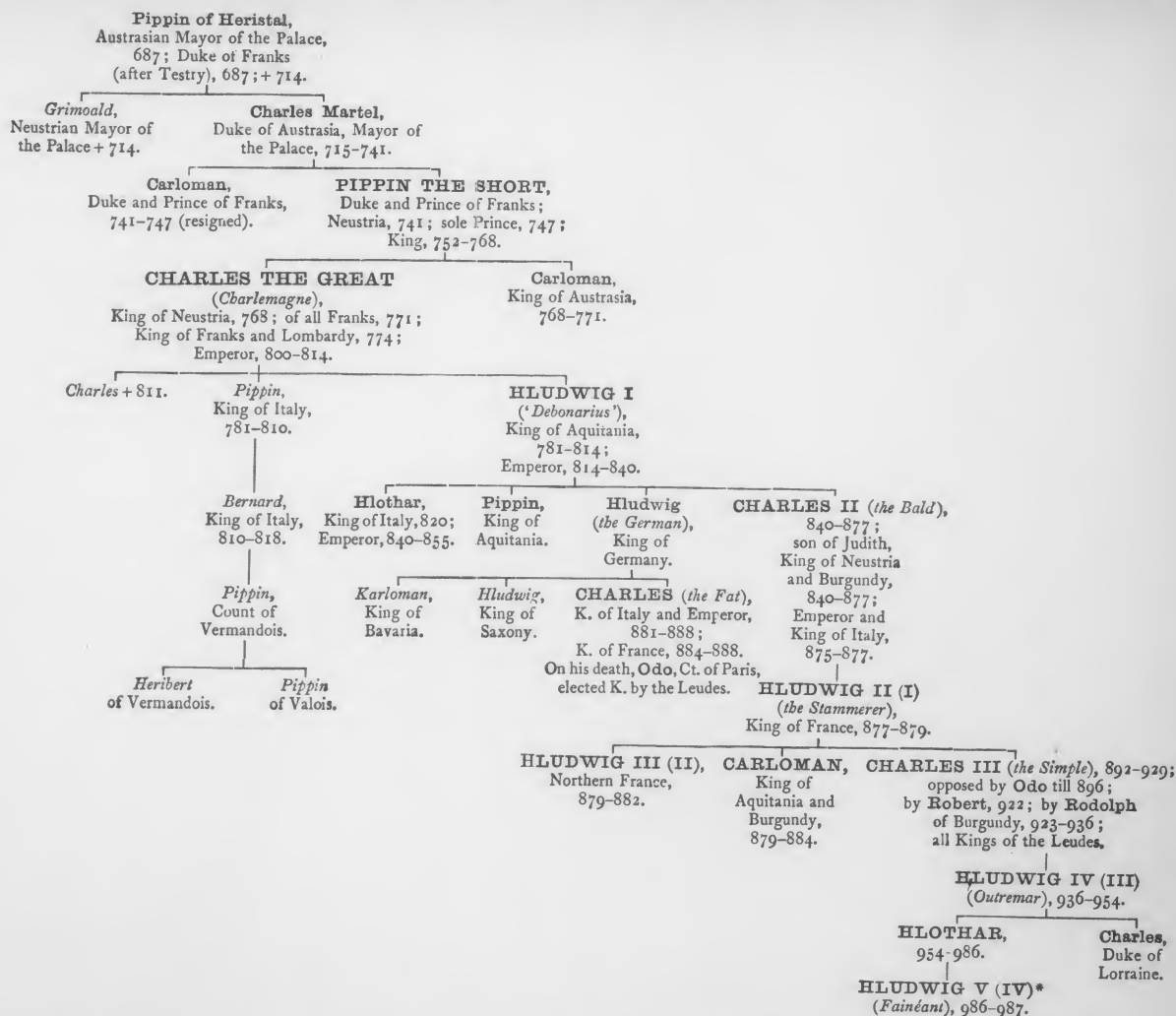
A.D. 687-752.

WE have now reached 'the bridge between barbarism and feudal life'.¹ It was long in getting its foundations laid: one cannot build soundly on chaos. The first and second Caroling chiefs laid the foundations; the third and fourth built thereon. This chapter will be intermediate between the Merwing and the Caroling dynasties. For though the real power lay with the Austrasian chiefs, they did not yet feel themselves strong enough to sweep away the shadow-kings who still reigned in vain. 'Though the line of Merwing kings,' says Eginhard, 'may seem to have ended with Hilderik (A.D. 752), still it had long been powerless, with nothing great about it, save the empty name of king. With long floating hair and low-falling beard, the king sat on his throne, pretending to rule: he gave audience to ambassadors, made them such replies as he was prompted, or even ordered, to make, yet feigned that they were his own. All the while he had, beside the name of king and an uncertain allowance (secured only on the will and pleasure of the Mayor of the Palace), nothing of his own save one poor little poverty-stricken country house, where he held court, surrounded by a very scanty retinue of servants. If he must go abroad, he was carried in a cart, drawn, peasant-fashion, by a yoke of

¹ Guizot, *Civilisation en France*, Leçon 9.

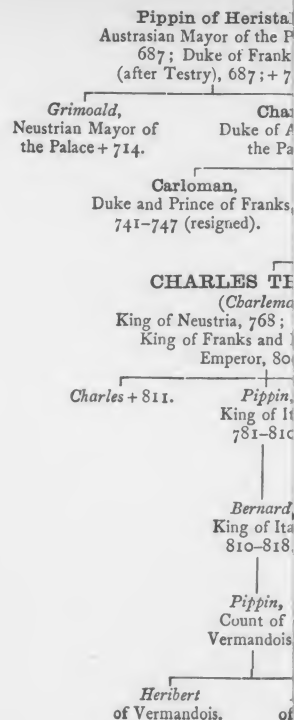
TABLE III. PEDIGREE OF THE CAROLING PRINCES.

[To face p. 97.]



* As Ludwig V died childless the crown passed strictly to his uncle, Charles of Lorraine; but the Barons chose Hugh Capet, crowned in 987.

[To face p. 97.]



CHARLES III (the Simple), 892-929;
deposed by Odo till 896;
Robert, 922; by Rodolph
of Burgundy, 923-936;
all Kings of the Leudes.

LUDWIG IV (III)
(Outremer), 936-954.

CHARLES,
+ 986.

Charles,
Duke of
Lorraine.

LUDWIG V (IV)*
(+ 987).

* As Ludwig V died childless, he was crowned in 987.

oxen, guided by a cowherd: thus went he to the palace or assembly; thus returned he home again. But the whole administration of the realm, all things to be done at home or abroad, fell to the care of the Prefect of the Court¹. Thus the period between the battle of Testry and the crowning of Pippin the Short belongs in substance to the Carolings, in name to the older dynasty. But though the name of King only was left, it had a real weight: for it carried a certain power over men's minds. Otherwise, how could nearly a century pass with the inconvenient and contemptible series of Meroving kings still dragging its miserable line—a very chain—across the age!

What then is the guiding track through this chapter? It is the establishment of a new Roman Empire, a German Empire in fact, of which one limb was Romanized Neustria, another Southern Gaul or Aquitaine, while the actual seat of power lay on or near the Rhine. It is Gaul ruled from and by Germany. The Austrasian princes became more and more German: the Roman influences, which had so changed the Neustrians, hardly touched them; they held court at Heristal on the Meuse, or at Cologne, or at Worms, or at Aix la Chapelle,—never in Gaul. The Rhine is the main artery of their national life: they spoke German, not Latin, nor the 'lingua Romana' or earliest French, which now first comes into being; their Empire spreads eastward² as well as over Italy and Gaul. The Austrasian princes were never French kings. The phrase 'Teutonic France' means Western Germany. Charles the Great was no French sovereign: he ruled over France as Augustus ruled over Gaul; it was a conquered district under the general imperial government. The Empire which looms so large under Charles the Great is what it was under Pippin of Heristal the first Charles; it is German, not French.

From the very beginning of this period the German elements revive; the 'Field of March' reappears; the annual council of

¹ One of the many names of the Mayor of the Palace.—Eginhard, Vita Karoli Magni, i.

² From this time the very name Austrasia seems to move eastwards, until at last it settles down on the Danube.

the warriors again is held; German conceptions of law and justice come again to light. Even the clergy grow less distinctly and exclusively Gallo-Roman; many German names appear among the greater bishops: they become more territorial, more like lay-chiefs. We do not hear so much of men like Fortunatus, bishop of Poitiers, who could pen a neat copy of verses at table, describing his happiness as a *bon-vivant* in elegiac verses addressed to St. Radegund, once Hlodher's queen, now abbess of a nunnery at Poitiers. Rather, we find them donning arms, coming to the Fields of March as lords of broad lands, taking up the ground they were to occupy throughout the feudal period. Above all, the army once more became the dominant feature of society. We shall see how Charles Martel created this strong power and bound it to himself. Its war-spirit becomes all powerful, but far more organised and orderly than in the Neustrian days. No longer will it dictate its own movements, and rush where the plunder is richest, the excitement most keen. It becomes an Imperial army, doing the bidding of one man. It raises its chief Captain to supreme power, secures the Empire's limits, consolidates for a time the floating atoms of society.

One more question: Why did Pippin's family rise to this height? We have already noticed the general causes which led to this result,—the decay of Neustrian vigour, when kings, leudes, bishops, sank alike into sloth, unable to rule or to resist. There was no justice nor judgment: the popular assemblies had perished: the Church held no councils. Against the ruder and stronger Austrasians they were powerless. And Pippin's house led the Austrasians for the following reasons. The struggle lay between the landed chieftains and the kings with their courts. He who had great territories would be sure to stand high among the chiefs: if also he had ability, vigour, keenness in war, then he might easily be their head. Now Pippin of Landen had these gifts; and, what is more, bequeathed them to his descendants. They steadily gathered lands, chiefly on the Rhine, till by the time of Pippin of Heristal they were the

wealthiest house in Austrasia. Theirs was also a remarkable succession of great men. Four generations, from Pippin of Heristal to Charles the Great, pass without a sign of weakness. They understood the materials with which to work, the needs of the age. In war they smote back all races which threatened to overwhelm and destroy the Frankish Empire: at home they used all the instruments they found ready to their hand. The monks, that new force in Europe, became their most valued helpers, so long as the construction of the Empire was going on: when the Empire had to be organised and settled, then the bishops were used. Pippin of Heristal and Charles Martel made much use of the monks; but Pippin the Short and Charles the Great gathered the bishops round them, and found their help invaluable in bringing order to the Empire. But they especially showed sagacity in their alliance with the Papacy. From the time of Brunhild to the death of Pippin of Heristal there was little communication between the Pope and the Franks. But the monks were then, as ever, the Pope's militia, and connected the two powers. There were no other real powers in Western Europe; and these were not yet far enough advanced to stand in each other's way. Each therefore helped to secure the ground for the other; each drew on the other towards his goal:—the Papacy to a spiritual Empire and headship over souls, the Frankish chiefs towards the revival, in part at least, of the fallen Empire of the West.

From the battle of Testry in 687 to the year 714, Pippin of Heristal ruled unquestioned over the whole Frankish race. His chief troubles lay on the German border; whither he often betook himself to wage desultory and defensive warfare against the wild pagans. He had two weapons: the sword, and then the monkish missionaries. It may be remembered that Gregory the Great, when sending monks to convert pagan England, had bidden them pass through Austrasia, and that Brunhild gave them welcome and God speed. This act of friendship was repaid a hundredfold when English and Scottish monks came as missionaries to Austrasia, and went out thence

to convert the German savages. They were the first of a long series of English heroes of the faith, chief among whom was Winfrith, also named St. Boniface, the 'Apostle of Germany.' Their labours began under Pippin, and went on in successive reigns. Pippin died in 714, leaving his authority as Duke of the Franks so well established that he thought to bequeath it to his grandson, a child of six years, under the tutelage of his widow Plectrude. But here he was wrong. Things threatened to fall back into chaos. Neustria rose and defeated the German Franks, and seemed likely to crush their late masters.

Pippin however had left behind him a natural son, Charles, a man already known for bravery and vigour. But at this time he was in prison, thanks to Plectrude's foresight. Thence he escaped, rallied the Austrasian chiefs, and attacked the Neustrians on one side and Plectrude on the other. Though at first unsuccessful, he chanced to fall in with the Neustrians returning from the North, laden with the ransom they had extorted from Plectrude under Cologne walls: he met them near Cambrai, and utterly broke their power (717). Thence to the Rhine, where he repelled the Saxons; then he sent forth a strong force of monks to convert them, and returned to Cologne, took it, took Plectrude, whose little grandson was just dead, and became supreme head of all Franks. The Neustrians made one more attempt to shake off the Germans, appealing for aid to Odo (Eudes), king of Aquitaine. But Charles met them near Soissons, and down they also went. So were the Neustrians finally quieted: while, on the other hand, the Aquitanians were left alone, ruled by Odo as independent king. He was a man of ability and vigour, and bore the first brunt of Saracenic invasion. Septimania¹ went with the Spanish Visigoths; the Rhone valley was under the leudes who had domains on its banks, and owed

¹ Septimania, a district of Southern France, received this name either from its seven chief cities, or from the Septimani, soldiers of the Seventh Legion, supposed to have been quartered there. It lay along the Mediterranean, from the Pyrenees to the Rhone, bounded northwards by the Cevennes.

allegiance to no man. Brittany was still independent. The rest was under the Teutonic Frank.

Charles was soon to be called on to face the external foes of the Frankish power; and it was first necessary for him to secure a devoted army. He must do for his chiefs what the earlier Merwings had done for theirs—attach them by land-gifts. But how could this be? He was not like Hlodowig, who had entered on an almost unoccupied land, to settle in it as a conqueror. He found the Frankish leudes in possession; he could not dispossess them: nor could he touch the tributary lands, which were also in the hands of the great chiefs. For on those chiefs his power rested; he dared not offend them. There remained only the vast Church-lands, to a great extent held by Gallo-Romans. Now the bishops had sunk low in men's esteem, and could not appeal to such public opinion as then was. Charles contrasted their ease with the self-denial displayed by the monks, who went forth as missionaries without lands or purse into the wild lands of the heathen. So he took the Church-lands, and distributed them among his warriors. The cry of the dispossessed Churchmen rings through the old annals: Charles Martel, a saint at Rome, is a demon in the eyes of the Gallic bishops. Their impotent wrath might vent itself; but the strong Frank was dear to his lay-lords, and they, the monks, and Rome were more than a match for the worldly bishops of the age, who had to solace themselves, as best they could, with a legend. When men opened the tomb of Charles in after days, out flew a horrid griffin; and the grave was empty, its sides blackened. So, said the bishops, their order was avenged¹. But his policy succeeded, and created a strong army devoted to him. It is the first instance of Church property used to consolidate the civil power². This division of lands showed an advance in the fact that it was not a partition by lot or right; all flowed from the duke's will: and this indicated an important change,

¹ See below, p. 113, note 2.

² It is quite analogous to the grants of Church-lands at the Reformation to the aristocracy in England and Germany.

showing the advance made towards a stronger form of government, and a new sense of allegiance and duty on the part of the Germans. These grants were not unlike the lands held by military tenure, so common in feudal times.

These Church-lands saved Europe. For twenty years the warriors they had bought kept up an unwearied contest with the pagan Saxons, who had now risen to be the representatives of Teutonic barbarism¹. With these warriors Charles also met and thrust back the new power, Mahometanism.

In less than a century after the Hegira², the Arab Empire had spread across all the southern portion of the civilised world. From India to Spain the simple doctrines of Islam were enforced by the simple argument of the sword. They shamed Christendom, by displaying a rigid monotheism in strong contrast with the half-concealed polytheism which had corrupted the purity of the Gospel. It was the high fortune of Charles to be called to meet the career of Mahometanism at its highest point of vigour and success, and to arrest it. Fighting against the followers of the Prophet he won for himself a place as one of the foremost champions of Christendom.

In 718 the Arabs, holding already almost all Spain, poured over the Pyrenees into the Narbonnese district; in 721 they attacked Toulouse; but Odo drove them back again into Spain. Again he smote them in Provence in 725; but he was not strong enough; and in spite of their defeat they held their own in Southern Gaul. That year the Arabs reached and sacked Autun, on the southern slopes of the Vosges. Odo then allied himself with one branch of the Arabs: whereon Charles marched into Aquitaine and punished him, in 731. But in 732 Abd-el-Rahman, commander of the Khalif's army in Spain, crushed Munuz, Odo's ally, crossed the Pyrenees, and fell

¹ They became the champions of the lesser German tribes, the Allemans, Thuringians, &c., and were filled with a deadly hatred for the Franks. They lay between the Rhine and the Elbe, and had formed a vast confederacy of the still pagan Teutons.

² The Hegira, or flight of Mahomet with his disciples from Mecca to Medina, took place A.D. 622.

on Bordeaux. Odo was powerless to resist, and fled to Charles for help. The Arabs sacked Bordeaux, crossed the Garonne, ravaged Aquitaine; and, learning how wealthy was the Church of St. Martin at Tours, pushed northwards for so goodly a prize. But Charles gathered up all his strength and met them 'between Tours and Poitiers'. There 'the young civilisations of Europe and Asia'³ stood face to face. There the horsemen of the East met the footmen of the West; the Semitic race made trial of strength with the Germanic. The battle was worthy of the cause; it was long and bloody. The chroniclers are not sparing of their numbers. Three hundred thousand Arab corpses, say they, marked the point at which the flood-tide turned. Of the battle itself we have no details. The scimitar proved vain against the 'Franciska'⁴ in the muscular grasp of the brave German. Abd-el-Rahman perished; and his Arabs fell back slowly, relinquishing all they held in Aquitaine, though not in Provence and Septimania. From this day Charles became known by his name of Martel, 'the Hammer,' so mightily had he smitten and pounded the unbeliever⁴. The battle of Poitiers or Tours (for it is called by either name) has ever been counted as one of the world's decisive battles. But Charles did not rest on it: in a few years he had driven the Saracens from their last strongholds in the South of France.

The rest of his life is a dreary record of ceaseless activity, and as ceaseless resistance. Southern France and the Saxons alternately occupied him. No sooner had he passed the Rhine, than Aquitaine or Provence was in flame: when he was well over the Loire, the Saxons sprang again to arms. These two

¹ These cities are seventy miles apart: but we have no better clue to the battlefield.

² La Vallée, *Histoire des Français*, 2. 1, § 7.

³ The 'Franciska' was the Frankish battle-axe, with a handle some three feet long, and a small axehead, with a spur behind, like a Lochaber axe.

⁴ Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. 1, ch. 1, p. 5 (note), though he allows that 'a contrary event would have essentially varied the drama of the world in all its subsequent scenes,' yet, with his usual judicial spirit, points out how rash it was to risk all on a battle; for, while defeat would have ruined the Franks, a policy of delay might far more safely have checked and foiled the invaders.

rivers limited his real power. Worn out with such endless toil, he divided his dukedom between his two sons, and died in 741, leaving the final settlement and consolidation of the Austrasian Empire to his great son Pippin, and his yet greater grandson Charles.

Carloman and Pippin the Short, his sons, divided the Frankish power. To Carloman, as the elder, fell the German part—Austrasia, Thuringia, Swabia; to Pippin, the Gallic share—Neustria, Burgundy, Provence: to Carloman the wars of the Saxon Mark; to Pippin the ill-will of Southern Gaul and the threatening Saracen. But the dangers of such a partition were averted by the character of Carloman. Pupil of the monks, he was worthy of their best teachings. During the six years that he ruled over the Eastern Franks, he showed the virtues of a good man, with none of the proverbial weakness. No jealousies or differences came between him and his brother. The two seemed to have one aim, that of repelling all invaders, and securing the Frankish power. For a time Carloman's vigour and success in war were as marked as Pippin's. He dealt firmly and well with the Church; reforming abuses with help of Winfrith (or Boniface), the English monk and missionary, whom he had made archbishop of Mainz. Boniface was the link between monks and bishops, and indicated the beginning of the change of Frankish policy towards the Church. But the monk was still strong in him; a few years later he threw up his archbishopric, and, dressed as a simple missionary, once more went forth to the wild pagans, at whose hands he courted and won the crown of martyrdom: he was the most illustrious of all the Englishmen who in that age devoted themselves for Germany. By his help, Carloman dealt with the bishops; forbade them the use of arms, restored them part of their goods. But in the midst of all this good work his heart yearned for rest. The monkish spirit, then so strong, had entered into him also, and in 747 he laid down the sword; his ducal rights and duties he placed in his brother's hands. 'He went to Rome; there changed garb and became a monk.

Then, with brethren who had followed him to this intent, he built a cloister on Soracte, hard by St. Silvester's Church, and dwelt there for some years in the peace for which he had longed. Afterwards, when it became the fashion for Frankish chiefs to make pilgrimage to Rome, it seemed to them their duty, as they passed by, to visit their former lord and prince. But by thus paying him their respects in great numbers they destroyed the leisure and the contemplative life he so loved, and forced him to change his dwelling-place.' Doubtless the rough talk of the Austrasians jarred on his pious ears; and possibly some stirring of his Frankish blood, more martial than saintly, came as he heard tell of Pippin and his goodly deeds of war. So 'he left his mountain and withdrew to the monastery of St. Benedict, on the Monte Casino' (which lies far beyond the goal of the Frankish pilgrims), 'and there spent in a holy life the years that still remained to him'.¹

Thus Pippin the Short became sole duke of Franks, anon to be not only duke but king: but we must not forget that all this while a poor creature has been existing, the Merwing king for the time being. Between Pippin and royalty lay but two obstacles—the last of these phantom-kings, Hilderik III, whom he had not long before placed on the throne; and the old feeling in favour of the Merwing name and family. Hilderik was no real difficulty; that he knew; but the feelings of the leudes must be considered. So he looked round for help, and found it in the Church. Not long before this the papacy had greeted the rising greatness of these new leaders of the orthodox and powerful Franks. In 741, Gregory III, being sore bested by the Lombards, had written to Charles Martel seeking help, offering in return the old title of 'Patrician of the Romans,' and hinting at a revived Western Empire. But Charles and Gregory died that same year²; and the matter stood over. But the thought had sprung into life; and the Church was preparing to cast in her lot with the new power.

¹ Eginhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, § 2.

² As did also Leo the Isaurian, the Greek emperor, the final promoter of the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches.

Let us look for a moment at the progress of this power to which Charles appealed. The primitive Church in Rome was Greek, not Latin; a foreign 'religion,' strange to the Romans, and chiefly embraced by strangers. Its life was in every sense underground; it was a struggle for existence. It was far less notable and flourishing than many other churches at the same time. But as time passed it gained strength and power; the bishop of Imperial Rome began to be looked on as the chief bishop of the Western Churches. He was listened to with respect by the African Church; and ere long the see of Rome rose to the level of the great patriarchal sees of the East. As their importance decreased, it was clear that that of the Roman bishops would advance. Presently, when the Church became strong enough in Rome, it began to identify itself with the Eternal City, and to assume some of its attributes. And so we see that when Christianity was recognised by the State, and the chief seat of the Empire transferred to the new capital on the Bosphorus, the Roman bishop was able at once to take up a very commanding position in the West, though the Eastern Churches regarded him with disfavour and certainly did not acknowledge his supremacy.

When the imperial authority in Italy was established at Ravenna, and the Western Empire fell away from Rome, the same result followed in the capital as in all the large municipia:—when the central authorities failed, the bishops stepped into their place; and men regarded them as their true heads, the fountains of justice and truth, each ruling over his city wisely and benignly. So they combined with their work as pastors of men's souls the protection of their earthly life. As best they could they upheld what was good in a world of evil. In the forefront was the Roman bishop, who played his part bravely; men saw that he was worthy to be their chief. To him they looked for defence against the barbarian and the protection of their rights, as well as for the comforts of religion, and the solace of looking to another life, in which the miseries they knew so well here would exist no more. So the bishop

presently was regarded as the sole head of the Eternal City. He became, in some way, the object of that belief in Rome herself, a half-pagan worship, which is a curious characteristic of the half-barbarous subjects of the later Empire. The quasi-divinity of the city was visibly expressed in the person of the holy bishop. There grew up in ambitious and vigorous minds a great dream of domination; of a Spiritual Empire answering to that Temporal Empire, of which the memory never died out of Western Europe. The dream of one age became the claim of the next, the fact of the third; a historical sequence which the Roman bishops knew well and have often skilfully used.

At the beginning of the eighth century the Papacy saw before it either a great future or a great fall. Many things contributed to make it a very critical time: the old bonds were loosened, and society might either fall to pieces, or become newly knit by fresh bonds:—if the former, then Rome, her bishopric, her name, might sink to nothing, as that of Antioch and others had done; if the latter, then the bishop of Rome might grow to be the central figure of a new Empire.

The Mahometan conquests, which hindered the Byzantine emperors, and made it impossible for them to watch over their interests in Rome, helped to free the Roman bishop from their control. Meanwhile the great Iconoclastic controversy¹, rising to large proportions, widened still more the breach between East and West. The influence of Mahometanism may be seen reflected in the endeavour made by the Eastern emperors to remove that phase of the Christianity of the age,—the worship of images,—which threw Western Christendom into direct antagonism with the dominant ideas of the East. The more the Emperor insisted, the more the West clung to its images; the more the Pope stood out as its champion, and rose in public esteem. The ability and courage of the Lombards, who had now abandoned Arianism, were thrown into the same scale. As a

¹ Of which Gibbon says well that it 'produced the revolt of Italy, the temporal power of the Pope, and the restoration of the Roman Empire in the West.'—Gibbon, chap. 49.

sequel to the image-controversy, Liutprand, the Lombard king, took Ravenna in 727, thereby breaking the little thread which connected East and West. In 729 he went further, and did some kind of homage to the Pope, who now seemed to have found a lay arm on which to rest. But this was not to be. The Lombard was the instrument with which to sunder East and West; but the Papacy remembered that he had been an heretic for generations, was too near a neighbour, and would, if he grew strong, become formidable to the Roman see. So, though the popes were sometimes uncertain in policy, on the whole they drew away from the Lombards. They also came to see that the Franks alone could really free them from the remnants of their subjection to the Empire¹. The Franks were already firm friends; they helped and honoured the monks; they had given the Papacy a footing in Germany; they were the strongest power in Europe, or at least gave promise of becoming so; they were far enough from Rome to be clear of clashing interests². We have seen that the first overtures were made in 741, but failed through the death of pope and duke³. Now the moment was more favourable; for each needed the other. The Papacy saw that the Church required for its independence a basis of temporal possessions: she was suspicious of the Lombards, and was pressed by the Saracens in South Italy; while the Frankish duke wanted a sanction for his usurpation of the kingly title which had for three centuries belonged unchallenged to the Merwings. He also had heard the whisper in which Pope Gregory III had suggested a future Empire of the West, as the blessing reserved for the most faithful defenders of the faith. Again, Pippin saw before him a congenial work: the conquest of North Italy

¹ The popes were still obliged to pay a sum down for the imperial confirmation of their election. Early in the eighth century, the emperor, without ostensible reason, had summoned Pope Constantine to his court.

² The Papacy at this time needed, to secure itself, (1) a territorial status; (2) strong lay friends; (3) those friends not too near; (4) nor representatives of too high pretensions (like the emperors); (5) nor too friendly to the claims of independence raised by the bishops. It is clear that the Franks alone fulfilled these conditions.

³ See above, p. 105.

would extend his name and power, would reward his followers, and satisfy their craving for adventure: while on the other side the Pope knew that if the Frank assumed the name of King at his bidding, the world would see that the Scripture phrase 'by me kings reign, and princes decree justice' was receiving a solemn fulfilment.

Lastly, there was not wanting, as the connecting link, the zeal of monks, eager to go between and to unite their spiritual chief, the Pope, with their temporal defender, the Austrasian duke. How could such a negotiation fail? In 752 Pippin's envoys, Burkhard bishop of Würzburg, and Fulrad abbot of St. Denis, his chaplain (an Austrasian and a Neustrian, a bishop and a monk), returned from Rome, bringing Pope Zachary's reply to his question as to that embarrassing shadow, the long-haired king. That reply was, 'He who has the power, ought also to have the name, of king.' And then another clause, not so clearly expressed, but in substance this:—'If you will smite the Lombard, we will transfer to you the signorial rights once belonging to the emperors, now in abeyance.' Thereon Pippin, with consent and counsel of all Franks, laymen and churchmen, with the papal sanction, with all possible concord of 'de facto' reasons, took Hilderik III and deposed him. No bloodshed followed: the knife that might have slain a more formidable rival did but shear the flowing locks of the phantom-king. As those long tresses fell, the royal name fell with it from the Merwing race. They disappear from history, uncared for, unwept. Hilderik was put into the convent of St. Omer; there he languished for two years, and then died.

And Pippin the Short,—we fancy him a stiff, sturdy little man, well-knit, and direct of purpose,—was at last made king of Franks in his stead, being crowned with high pomp in Soissons cathedral by the great Boniface, the English monk, evangelist and archbishop. It was the last act of Zachary's pontificate, the final seal put to the supremacy of the German Franks. We shall presently see how completely the centre of power has changed, and how 'France,' as the name was at first used, was

a very much larger territory than that 'Roman France' which answers in its turn to a part of our modern France. The Frankish land of Pippin's day, composed of *Francia Orientalis* and *Francia Occidentalis*, on the one hand stretched far beyond the Rhine to the eastward, and on the other, did not occupy all modern France; for some of the southern provinces were quite independent of it.

There now stand up two powers in the western world. The light of modern days begins to break; and on the horizon are dimly seen two huge figures, side by side, on whom the first rays fall. The Empire and the Papacy begin their great work of moulding the world: they are the founders of Modern Europe.

CHAPTER II.

Pippin the Short, the first Caroling King.

A.D. 752-768.

It is clear that there was uneasiness in Pippin's mind, even after he had thus, with every sanction, taken to himself the name of King. The Franks still seemed to feel that none but the Merwings had a right to that name. There was an indefinite awe about the title, which lingered long after every shadow of power had passed from the long-haired kings. At the same time, the kings had played so mean a part, that Pippin's warriors probably thought that their master had lowered himself by taking the royal name. This accounts for two facts: one, the obvious eagerness of Pippin to give dignity to the title by the new and striking circumstances of his coronations; the other, the constant tendency of the Carolings to desire an imperial rather than a royal name. Though Pippin and Charles were kings for half a century, they were always looking upwards. Their kingship itself was half-imperial; that is, it had qualities which foreshadowed an imperial future. It spread over far wider ground than the original Frankish kingdom; it held a different position towards the popes: 'Patrician of Rome' was the connecting title, the link between them and the Empire. We find that both the kings valued this title highly. They felt that the name 'King of Franks' was in no sense territorial, and

yet they had, to some extent, formed for themselves a territorial Empire¹.

In 753 Pope Stephen, second or third of that name², finding that Haistulf, or Ataulf (Adolphus), king of the Lombards, after seizing Ravenna had marched on Rome, fled to Gaul for help. He was there received with the utmost fervour and reverence. Pippin caught the fortunate moment; and though already crowned, he prevailed on the Pope to recrown him with additional solemnity in Rheims Cathedral in 754. The religious element thus introduced into the coronation ceremony was in time transferred to the Holy Roman Empire. The thought remained in germ throughout the feudal times, and grew and took new shape as royalty became stronger. The Pope at the same time conferred on Pippin the name of Patrician of Rome; an office which made him the representative of the imperial power in the West. It was the first step towards concentrating the attention of Europe on the Carolings as inheritors of the imperial idea; for the idea had never died out, though the emperors themselves were gone.

In 755 died Boniface. His martyrdom marks the highest point of monkish ascendancy over the Carolings. He had converted the wild Germans in the interest of the Pope and the Franks. But from this time forward Pippin held out a friendly hand to the bishops. They were needed to organise his kingdom; they formed a counterpoise to the great leudes; they held in their hands such elements of civilisation as still existed. Litera-

¹ Sir H. Maine, speaking of the late growth of the conception of territorial kingship, points out that the Carolings were inevitably thrust into the imperial position. There were but two conceptions of sovereignty: that of Kings of men, and that of Emperors. The former, he holds, was set apart for the Merwings, the latter was vacant. Therefore the Caroling princes became emperors. Though this remark is acute and suggestive, it leaves unnoticed the fact, that for forty-eight years Pippin and Charles were, both in name and power, Kings of the Franks.

² On Zachary's death in 752, a Stephen was elected Pope. He wore the triple crown three days, and died. Another Stephen followed, that is to say, the one mentioned above. Historians are equally divided, some calling them Stephen II and Stephen III; others altogether omitting the short-lived Pontiff.

ture, schools, mental activity, survived almost among them alone. They alone had a sense of law and tried to enforce it. The monks had brought Pope and King together; but the bishops were needed to give a practical form to that alliance. Pippin sought to rouse the clergy to a purer and nobler life. He gave them high place in the young state; he revived councils, improved the Church laws, brought the wilder clergy within bounds, restored part of the old endowments to the Church¹. The king then bade the bishops take their place in the Field of March, which once more sprang into life. They turned these martial meetings into orderly assemblies, in which the Latin tongue supplanted the German, Roman ideas prevailed again, and the clergy once more took the lead.

Meanwhile, Pippin was not forgetful of his pledge to the Roman see. He crossed the Alps, fell on the Lombards, and shut up Ataulf in Pavia. There he dictated peace: the Lombard paid a heavy ransom and abandoned all his conquests; and thus the Exarchate of Ravenna fell into Pippin's hands. The Eastern Emperor made his claim heard: the Exarchate, he said, had been wrongfully wrested from him by the Lombard, and ought to be restored. The Frank advised him to settle that

¹ Part was restored, part retained by the leudes to whom it had been granted, under the title of 'Precaria'; i.e. the ownership of the Church was recognised by the payment of one golden 'solidus' annually for each farm. The lay-holders took care that 'possession should be nine points of the law,' and these lands never returned to the Church. Still the boon granted was very great, and restored goodwill between the king and the bishops. This act of Pippin, reversing the policy of Charles Martel, has received the following mythical explanation, propounded when the bishops were in the ascendant:—'St. Eucherius being at prayer was rapt up into heaven. There he was shown the prince Charles suffering torments in hell's lowest depth. The saint asked the angel why this was so? He learnt that he had been condemned to this by the judgment of the saints whose goods he had taken. Eucherius, on his return to this life, sent for Boniface and Fulrad, told his vision, and begged them to visit the duke's tomb, that if his body were not found there, they might believe that he spoke the truth. Thereon they went to St. Denis, opened the tomb, and lo! there issued forth a dragon, and the tomb was found blackened within, as with fire. Whereon Pippin called a Synod, and at once restored to the Church all he could: where he could not, he begged the bishops to grant the lands to him, under title of 'Precaria,' ordering that rent should be paid for them to the churches, until such time as the lands themselves could be restored.' *Ex epistola Patrum Synodi Carisiacensis*, A. 858. In Dom. Bouquet, Tom. 3. p. 659.

with the Lombard; but the imperial arm was not long enough to seize the distant province. Pippin then gave the Exarchate 'to the Pope and the Republic of Rome' (A.D. 755). This is the world-famous 'Donation of Pippin,' on which rests the whole fabric of the temporal power of the popes. Hitherto they had had a vague claim on the Roman territory, but no more; henceforth the Pope became a territorial prince; and his whole future career was modified by the fact.

Next year (A.D. 756) Ataulf took heart, and again attacked Rome. Then the Pope called loudly for his Frankish champion, and Pippin once more descended on Italy, defeated the Lombard, and gave into the Pope's hands the Pentapolis¹ and the Exarchate.

Thus began the interference of Germany in the affairs of North Italy; she henceforth became mixed up with every European struggle.

The rest of his days Pippin spent in the task of consolidating his Frankish Empire. Against the Saxon he made small progress; but in southern Gaul he did good work. He recovered, after a seven years' siege, Narbonne, the Arab capital, and freed Gaul from the Mahometan (A.D. 759). He then warred against the Aquitanians, who, under their Duke Waiffer, and with help of the Gascons, held out against him eight years. In 768 Waiffer was betrayed to the Franks and slain; and Pippin at last triumphed over southern Gaul. But he did not occupy it, always withdrawing with his army to the Rhine; and Aquitaine, full of hatred towards those who had worked her so much woe, never became a true part of his Empire.

¹ A district on the Adriatic comprising the five cities of Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Sinigaglia, and Ancona. It nearly answered to the sea-coast of ancient Umbria, while the sea-coast of the Exarchate nearly coincided with that of Gallia Cisalpina.

CHAPTER III.

Charles the Great, otherwise called Charlemagne.

I. THE LIFE OF CHARLES.

THAT same year (A.D. 768) Pippin fell ill; divided the Empire between his two sons Charles and Carloman; and died at Paris. He was buried at St. Denis, hard by his father's bones. For more than three years the two brothers divided the kingship over the Franks, and showed no very friendly disposition for one another. But their mother, Bertrada (or Bertha), a woman of capacity and sense, stood as mediator between them, and kept their jealousies from bursting into flame. Feeling that she needed external help in her anxious task, she made alliance with the Lombards. She negotiated marriages between her two sons and the two daughters of Desiderius¹, the Lombard king, and also between her daughter Gisla and the Lombard's son. Charles married Desiderata, repented, and divorced her; —the first of a long series of wives; some reckon nine. The other marriages were frustrated, chiefly by the Pope, who looked with alarm at so threatening a combination.

In 771 Carloman died, and Charles was elected sole king of all the Franks. In 800 he was proclaimed Emperor at Rome: in 814 he died. The long reign of this great German lord of Gaul has always been regarded as the most important epoch of early European history.

But it is of European much more than of French history:

¹ The French call him Didier.

for he was in all respects Teutonic, not French. In birth, bringing-up, dress, speech, dwelling-places, habits, tone of mind, he was entirely German: the Rhine was his home; France was but one part of his Empire, however important it might be. Every touch given to his portrait by Eginhard¹ shows this. 'In person he was large and stout; of commanding stature, yet not too tall²; his forehead and upper part of his head were round; eyes very large and bright; nose rather above the usual size³; and he had beautiful hair: his was a bright and cheerful expression of countenance. Though his neck was thick and short, and his person rather too fat⁴, still, whether standing or sitting, his appearance was dignified and princely. His step was firm, his whole bearing manly, his voice clear, but rather shrill—too shrill for so noble a body⁵: his health excellent, till the last four years of his life; and even then he paid but small heed to his doctors, whom he almost hated, because they prescribed boiled meat instead of his favourite roasts.' After the manner of his race, he loved horseback and hunting⁶. He (like the German to this day) delighted in spas and natural hot springs. In them he often swam; for he was an unrivalled swimmer. This is why he built a palace at Aquae Grani (Aachen or Aix-la-Chapelle), and lived there during the latter years of his life. 'He would invite not only his sons to bathe with him, but his nobles and friends, nay, even his satellites and

¹ Eginhard was Charles's friend and secretary.

² Eginhard (*Vita Karoli* M. c. 22) says he was 'seven times as tall as his own foot'—but as we do not know how long his foot was, we can only guess that he was probably rather over six feet of our measure. The Pseudo-Turpin says 'he was eight times the length of his foot,' and that 'his foot was a very long one,' showing the tendency of the legends towards the marvellous. The priests at Aachen still show a thigh bone among his relics: it is that of a tall man.

³ 'Naso paullulum mediocritatem excedenti.' Students in physiognomy will look at it with satisfaction. It is what is called the 'conqueror's nose,' when seen in profile, and is certainly the prominent feature of the face.

⁴ 'Venterque projectior videretur.' Eginhard is describing him when from forty-five to fifty years of age, not when he first became king of the Franks.

⁵ 'Voce clara quidem, sed quae minus corporis formae conveniret.'

⁶ True of all Franks and Normans too.

body-guards, so that sometimes a hundred or more were in the water at once.

'He wore the dress of his country, that is, the Frankish dress—a linen shirt and drawers next his skin¹; above these a tunic with a silken hem, and breeches of the same; then he wrapped his knees and legs down to the ankles with strips of linen; he wore boots on his feet; his shoulders and breast he guarded in winter with an overcoat of fur (of ermine or otter); over that a Frankish cloak, and, slung across him by a gold or silver belt, a scabbarded sword. . . . Foreign dress, how rich soever it might be, he hated. He never wore it, save twice at Rome; once at the suit of Adrian, and once at the request of Leo, when he condescended to put on the Roman tunic, chlamys, and sandals. At ordinary times he dressed almost like any of the common folk around him².

'He was moderate in eating and drinking, especially in the latter; for he detested drunkenness in any man. He could not well endure abstinence, and often complained that fasting was bad for his health. He very rarely gave a feast; if he did, it was on high feast days, and to a very large company. His usual dinner was of four dishes, besides his favourite roast meat, which his huntsmen served up on spits, hot from the fire.' Conversation not having yet been invented among the Franks, 'he listened during his meal to some reading or lecture, histories and ancient deeds of war. He also took delight in St. Augustine's books, especially in the *De Civitate Dei*.'

After his mid-day meal he ate some fruit, took one draught of wine, and then lay down to sleep for two or three hours. He was easy of access to all friends, delighted in receiving strangers, would often call in suitors and hear their case, and give judgment, if the Count of the Palace asked him so to do. In his time, among the Franks and elsewhere, the marriage-tie was very weak, and men broke it or set it aside much as they liked. Charles was far from blameless in this respect; and, as

¹ 'Ad corpus camisam lineam et feminalibus lineis induebatur.'

² 'Habitus ejus parum a communi et plebeio abhorrebat.'

we have already said, he had in succession, no less than nine wives. One of them, Fastrada, was probably the chief cause of the few acts of cruelty which disfigure his reign. Still his domestic life was cheerful. He lived ever surrounded by his children. From whatever cause, from policy or affection, he never let his handsome daughters marry neighbouring princes, but, as far as he could, retained his whole family around him throughout his life. He brought them up in Frankish fashion: the sons learnt to hunt and ride and use their weapons manfully; the daughters spun, and were brought up in all honourable knowledge. He lived chiefly at Engelenheim (Ingelheim, on the Rhine, not far from Mainz), or at Nimwegen (on the Waal), or, later in life, at Aix-la-Chapelle.

In all these details his Teutonic character appears. We see it too in the colouring of his court. Of all the learned men he gathered round him, Churchmen though they were, only six of note came from Gallic districts (even counting Septimania as part of Gaul), while more than double that number were drawn from other parts of the Empire¹. Again, looking at the places at which he held councils, we find among them only one Gallic city, Boulogne, in an enumeration of thirty-five Malls². It is true that he draws nearer to the Gallic mind in the intellectual bent of his character: but that was partly caused by the Churchmen whom he encouraged, and partly by his marked ambition to be the head of the Roman world. To this is probably due his admiration for the *De Civitate Dei*, with its grand conception of the Church rising above the pagan and the barbarian worlds. He deemed himself fit chief for such a society.

Like all really great men, he is distinguished for the untiring vigour of his mind. It grasps at everything. From high dreams of universal empire, of civilisation centering in himself, and effected by means of the Church, down to the regulation of the details of his crops and lands, he wearied of nothing, feared nothing as too great, despised nothing as too small. He was,

¹ I follow the table given in Guizot's *Civilisation en France*, Leçon 20.

² The nature of his Malls is explained on p. 77.

as Hallam says, 'born for universal innovation.' His Capitularies are of a most varied kind. Innovation with him was not destruction; patiently it built up society. His strong and manly sympathy with intellectual greatness led him to surround himself with the learned of every country. Alcuin was an Englishman, Leutrad a Norman, Peter a Pisan, Agobard a Spaniard, Theodulph an Italian Goth. He was warm in his friendships, always choosing capable men, and clinging to them, sometimes (as in Alcuin's case) longer than they liked. He had the cheerfulness and sociability of a man of robust and even health. Nor was he a mere pattern of learning. He was reckoned to be, after Alcuin, the most learned man in his Empire. He found leisure to become master of Latin, which he spoke as fluently as his own German tongue: he knew enough Greek to understand it well, though he could not speak it with ease. Like many great kings he took a minute interest in theological questions. He studied grammar under Peter of Pisa, and is said to have composed a treatise on the subject; he worked at rhetoric and logic; was a good speaker; and, for the age, a passable poet. He reformed the Calendar, and took much delight in astronomy, following with the utmost curiosity the course of the stars. He collected all the ballads current in his time, and did what in him lay for art and music: he recast the services of the Church; the Roman Missal was, in large part, substituted for the previous Gallican use; the Gregorian chant for the Ambrosian: 'only,' says one of the chroniclers, 'the Franks with their naturally harsh voices could not render the trills, the cadences, the varied movements of the Romans. They broke, rather than expressed, them in their rough throats¹.' He was attentive to questions of law, and made some attempt to reconcile the different codes in use—the Roman, the Salic, the Riparian. He also tried to learn to write, and to this end had tablets and writing materials under his pillow, so that in spare moments he might practise himself in forming

¹ Vita S. Gregorii Magni, auct. Johanne Diacono, 2. 9. 10; and the Monk of St. Gall, 1. 10.

the letters. But this alone seems to have been too hard for him, and he gave it up¹.

The encouragement he gave to the learned; the care he took in importing men from the more fortunate British Isles; the eagerness with which he tried to push on his Franks in the ways of learning; his own studies;—all bear the impress of the same greatness of character. He gave to literature a real impulse: it is one of the definite results of his reign over the western world, and one which may be always be fairly cited against those who declare that nothing followed from his life, and that his Empire crumbled to pieces. But the Frankish nobles had no heart for learning. His son Louis was, in this respect, worthy of his father; he however was quite an exception. The Franks had many practical gifts, but not that of book-learning. We read in the Chronicle of the Monk of St. Gall² that one day two Irishmen or Scots came to court, and gave out, to those who asked their business, that they were come to offer wisdom for sale. For they saw that folk think nothing of what they can have for nothing, but prize what they must buy. When this was reported to the king, he, as ever, eager to welcome foreigners, and attracted by their reply, had them into his presence, and asked them if what he had heard of them was true. They made reply that it was true, and that they had brought wisdom for sale. He then asked them their price. They said they asked but a suitable school, and souls well disposed, and food and raiment. The king, well pleased, kept them at his court. But after a while, having to go forth to war, he bade one of them remain behind, and placed under his charge a number of youths, some of noble race, some of the middle rank of life, others sons of the poor, and provided for them, according to their needs, a home and sustenance. On his return from war, Charles bade the Scot bring before him all his pupils, with their

¹ 'Parum successit labor praeosterus et sero inchoatus.' Eginhard, Vita Karoli M. c. 25. We must remember that 'writing' probably meant the ornamental style then in use, perhaps something more like illuminating. We know that Charles could sign his name.

² Monachi S. Gall. Chron. de Gestis Karoli M. i. 1-3.

work. The sons of the two lower classes of men laid before him work filled with all that was beautiful and learned; but the young nobles had nothing to show but incomplete work, the sure witness of their idleness. Then the wise king, imitating the justice of the King of kings, placed those who had been industrious on his right hand, and said to them, 'I thank you, my children, for you have done my bidding and your duty, so far as in you lay; I now bid you go on unto perfection. I will give you bishoprics and rich monasteries, and you shall ever be honoured in my eyes.' Then, turning to those on his left hand, he startled them with his look of fire, and spoke to them bitterly, as with a voice of thunder: 'You, young noblemen, you, sons of the great, you, who are trim and nice, you have trusted in your birth and wealth, have neglected my orders and your own sanctification; you have given yourselves to riotous living, to gambling, to idleness, or to vain exercise.' Then, with his usual oath, lifting his noble head and hand heavenwards, he added, 'By the King of Heaven, I think small things of your nobility and your trimness, though others may admire you: and know of a surety that, if you do not make up for your idleness by hard work, you will never get any good from Charles.' A tale which shows the king's zeal for learning, and the idle resistance of his Franks; it incidentally illustrates his love for the inhabitants of the British Isles, and also his undoubted power over Church appointments. The tale is not without significance even now, though a thousand years have passed since the monk made or transcribed it¹.

Another sign of his greatness was his love of building, and that on a grand scale. All great men have something of the engineer in them, and are aroused by the resistance of nature; the difficulties of construction are a pleasure to them. We find him constantly engaged on great works; he gave a strong impulse to architecture. The churches throughout the Empire were his especial care. The men he placed in important

¹ The Monk of St. Gall wrote towards the end of the ninth century.

bishoprics reported to him what they had done in rebuilding or restoring God's houses in their dioceses. He himself superintended the building of the great Church at Aix-la-Chapelle, destined to be the shrine wherein his body should be laid to rest. He also built palaces there, at Engelenheim, and at Nimwegen. But perhaps the most remarkable of his works, as combining the greatest engineering difficulties with the highest practical usefulness, was his great bridge over the Rhine near Mainz. All the Empire seems to have contributed towards it. Ten years it was in building; and, when finished, was a huge mass of woodwork, half a mile in length, founded upon wooden piles driven into the river-bed. It was intended to connect more closely the two halves of his Empire, the Rhine being the central stream and artery of the whole. But it was burnt to the water's edge a short time before the emperor's death, a mishap which Eginhard places among the portents preceding his decease¹. The emperor, undismayed by the misfortune or by the labour, was planning the substitution of a stone bridge in its stead when death overtook him. His design has remained unfulfilled to our own times: not till a few years ago was another solid bridge thrown across the Rhine near the same place.

Now that we have touched on the personal qualities of this greatest of Teutons, we may, having caught a glimpse at his bearing and look, go on to a brief account of his doings in war and peace. Fortunately, most of his wars lie away from our borders, and need not be mentioned. But as to his great attempts to organise the nascent Empire, we shall find it less easy to distinguish what part of his instructions and legislation is Teutonic, and what part belongs to Gaul. Still, even here, we will endeavour to confine ourselves, as far as may be, to the Gallic side of his labours.

His wars were all offensive and defensive at once. His work as a warrior was to thrust all threatening neighbours back from the frontiers, and to secure independence and a time of

¹ Eginhard, *Vita Karoli M.* § 32.

quiet growth for the field that he had sown with the new seed of modern life. His long reign, his many campaigns, fulfilled this end. The end did not answer to his expectations; nor could his genius secure his Empire from falling asunder. But the great characteristic result of his time was a distinct consolidation of western society. His Empire perishes, but the kingdoms in a way remain; his imperial policy gives place to the growth of a strong feudalism, in which independent chieftains subdivide each kingdom into smaller states, ruled from the lord's castle, and subject to such central government as was then possible;—a number of small political bodies, each with its own laws and interests, and with some amount of organised life. These have replaced the shapeless chaos of previous times, and are the elements of the future in Europe.

During his reign of forty-six years, Charles went out with, or sent out, no less than fifty-three notable expeditions, and doubtless many more of less importance. This unwearied industry of war was directed against twelve different nations, and smote every race which seemed to threaten the borders of the Empire. These expeditions have little or no history. In all the eighteen campaigns against the Saxons, only two great battles seem to have been fought. The rest were 'military promenades,'—forts built, wild natives captured and Christianised at the sword's point, forests traversed, rivers crossed, submission exacted, and then back to the West, till another uneasy movement showed the need of another expedition. Rough measures were occasionally resorted to: for Charles could grow impatient with the stiff-necked race of heathens. Once he transplanted ten thousand Saxons from the Elbe to the thinly-peopled parts of his Gallic and German dominions; once he gave the order, and 4500 Saxons were slain in cold blood in a single day. His legislation breathed the same spirit of savagery towards them. Death was the penalty for the least infringement of Church order. The open profession of Christianity was bound up with their allegiance; if they failed in the one, they were failing in the other. But Charles's wars were not all of this ferocious kind.

In the case of the Saxons, their stubborn resistance, which lasted three-and-thirty years (A.D. 772-804) tried his patience, impeded his power, and hindered the organisation of his Empire; and at last betrayed him into the only acts of cruelty and barbarism which stain his history.

We have mentioned the Saxon wars out of course, both because they run through the chief part of this reign, and because, as they lie away from our subject, it was well to dispose of them at once.

Of the other wars, which we will take in their order as they come on, those against the Aquitanians, the Lombards, the Bretons, and the Spanish Arabs, alone call for a detailed notice. The rest we need only mention.

1. While Carloman was still lord of half the Frankish Empire, in 769, the Aquitanian war broke out. The south of Gaul had been subdued, and Waiffer slain, at the end of Pippin's reign: subdued but not satisfied, the southerners thought they saw their opportunity in the death of the vigorous little thickset king. Two youths divided the Empire, the elder some seven-and-twenty years old, the younger still a boy. So the war began again. The old Duke Hunold, Waiffer's father, after having worn the monkish frock for five-and-twenty years, took sword to deliver his country. But the Aquitanians were no gainers by the change of Frankish king. Charles beat the old man in the field, and built himself a stronghold, 'Castellum Francicum¹,' on the Dordogne, as a centrepoint for his soldiers. Hunold fled to the Wascons, but they dared not harbour him: they gave him up to the Franks. He escaped out of their hands, took refuge with Desiderius the Lombard, where he had rest, till he again saw the Frankish king from the walls of Verona, and fell defending the last stronghold of the Lombards against his and their hereditary foe. The Aquitanians then made his grandson Lupus their duke, and continued the struggle as best they might. Some years later (A.D. 778) Charles took Lupus and put him to death, divided Gascony among his sons

¹ Perhaps Châtillon on the Dordogne.

and certain powerful lords, and in like manner partitioned Aquitania into fifteen counties, over which he set officers who were either Germans or Gallo-Romans whom he could trust, and granted much of the territory in the form of benefices to his soldiers. But as the imperial system unfolded itself before his eyes, and he felt himself strong enough to be head over vassal kingdoms, he resolved to yield to the strong wish of the southerners, and established a state under the name of the Kingdom of Aquitania, which by the end of the century stretched from the Ebro to the Loire. Over it he set his third son, Hludwig (or Louis), who was then but three years old, under the tutelage of Wilhelm 'Courtnez,' 'the Snubnosed¹.' The baby-king was established at Toulouse, and educated after the manner of the Aquitanians. From that moment both Charles, sure of the honest allegiance of his son, and the Aquitanians, delivered from immediate Frankish rule, went on their way rejoicing; Charles to his other labours, the Aquitanians to the restoration of their ancient and wealthy cities. Thus they retained their distinctive character through another period. They were still, in the cities at least, thoroughly Roman, and in arts of life and general well-being far advanced beyond the northern parts of Gaul. This pre-eminence they kept up till it was destroyed by the religious wars of the thirteenth century.

2. Five years before this work was accomplished (A.D. 773), Charles had been called to interfere in the affairs of Lombardy by Adrian the Pope, who desired his aid against Desiderius the Lombard king. They were already foes; for Charles had ignominiously divorced his first queen, the daughter of Desiderius. The war was short and simple. Charles crossed the Alps, beat the Lombards in open field, shut them up in Pavia and Verona, and then, traversing North Italy as a conqueror, entered Rome, and confirmed to Adrian the donation of his father Pippin.

¹ 'Dont les romanciers ont fait un chevalier errant, et les agiographes un saint, tandis que l'histoire n'en a conservé que le nom.'—Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, 2. 4.

In 774 Pavia and Verona were forced to capitulate; the Lombard king was thrust into a monastery; his son took refuge at Constantinople, and doubtless fanned the growing jealousy which the Eastern emperors felt towards the ambitious and powerful Frank, who was beginning to overshadow all the West. All Italy, excepting the Duchy of Beneventum and Calabria, became part of the Frankish Empire.

At first Charles left Italy much as he found her, and contented himself with the additional title of King of Lombardy. But the Lombards leagued themselves with the Southern Italians, and revolted. Adrian again appealed to Charles, who came (in 776), removed the Lombard chiefs, placed Franks in all high places, and created Italy into a separate kingdom, the crown of which he conferred on his second son Pippin. Thus he destroyed the only power which lay between him and supremacy in the West—the only nation which could possibly stand between him and the popes. Here, and presently afterwards (as we have seen) in Aquitaine, he began the imperial policy of creating dependent kingdoms, closely subordinated to himself—a federal union of states bound not to make peace or war, or even to give reply to ambassadors, without his consent.

3. The Saxon wars began in 773 and lasted till 804, ending with the deportation of whole tribes into Gaul and Italy.

4. The Saracens of Spain were suffering from those schisms and internal troubles, which first checked the onward movement of Islam, and gave Christendom time to breathe and form in front of the danger. Charles, mindful of his task of securing his frontiers, readily listened to the call of certain Emirs on the Pyrenees, who, remaining faithful to Bagdad, were pressed by Abd-el-Rahman, lieutenant of the Khalif of Cordova. Charles raised two armies; the one, composed of Aquitanians and Italians, entered Spain near the Mediterranean and marched straight towards Saragossa; the other, composed of Franks and other Germans, commanded by himself, entered by the passes of the western extremity of the Pyrenees, took Pam-

peluna, and joined the rest of his forces at Saragossa. But beyond this nothing seems to have been done. For some reason—either the ill-will of the Saracens and natives, or a consciousness that his base of operations was insecure, or tidings of a Saxon rising—Charles thought it well to retreat, and made his way back to the pass of Roncesvalles. He himself, with the main part of his army came through in safety; but his rear-guard and baggage were attacked by the wild Asturians and the men of Navarre, guided by Lupus, who hoped to catch his great enemy like a lion in toils. The surprise was complete. Of the rear-guard not a man escaped, and all the baggage fell to the mountaineers. In this sore disaster fell Egghard, steward of the royal table, Anselm, Count of the Palace, who probably were in charge of the baggage, and 'Hruodland, Prefect of the Breton Mark¹.' This short notice is all that history has to say of Roland, or Orlando, the famous paladin of romance.

Charles was unable to avenge this disaster: 'For,' says Eginhard, 'the enemy, when they had done the deed, dispersed so completely that there was no possibility of telling where to fall in with them.' Probably, also, the prudent king did not care again to entangle himself in Pyrenean defiles. The war in northern Spain went on independently, under Hludwig and his tutor Wilhelm, until, by the end of the century, the kingdom of Aquitania had firmly secured to itself the frontier of the Ebro.

The sixteen years from 785 to the end of the century were spent in incessant wars on every frontier. Thuringians, Bretons, Lombards of Beneventum, Bavarians, Huns or Alans, Sclavonian Weltzes or Welatabes, Saxons, and Arabs, all felt the power of the Franks. But the campaigns are all of the same colourless character, resulting in a slow but steady beating down of all opposition, and a growing sense of security throughout the Empire. We need only notice the Breton war, which broke out in 786 or 787, when the Armoricans refused to pay their tribute to the Frankish king, and were attacked by one of his lieutenants. There was the stubborn resistance characteristic of the district.

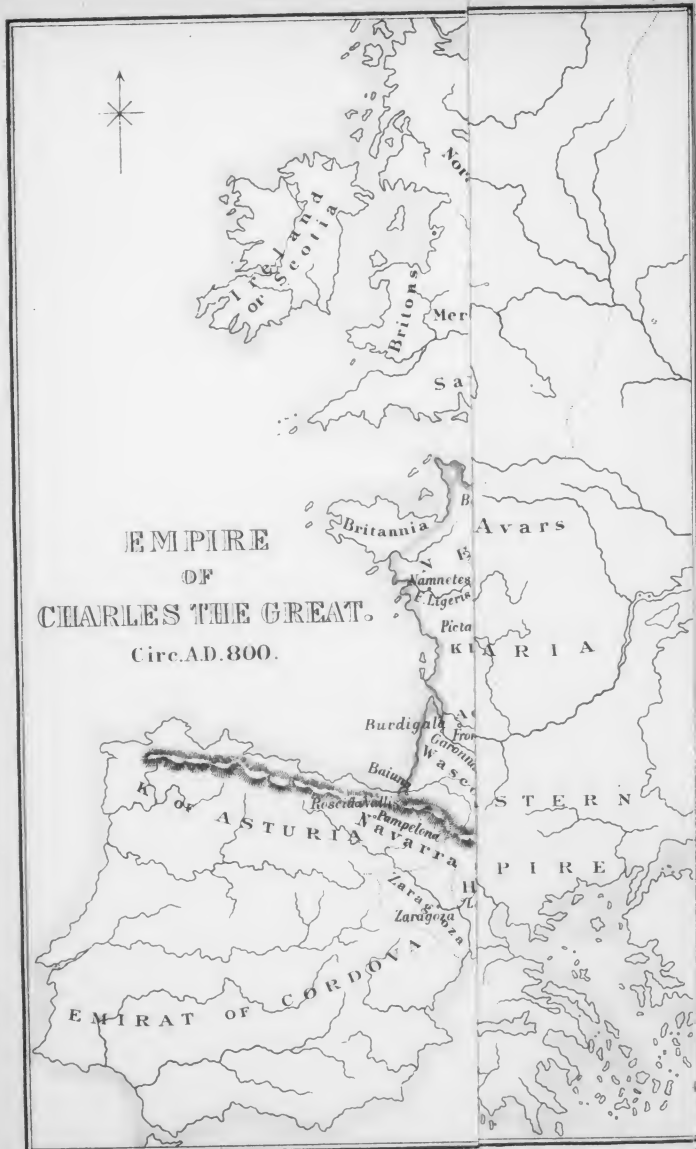
¹ Eginhard, Vita K. M. 9.

The war began in 786 or 787, and did not end till 811. At its close, Brittany became for the first time a part of the Frankish Empire. The effects of this subjugation were probably very slight, and the Bretons were but little touched by Frankish manners or ideas: they have never ceased to be a race distinct and characteristic.

On the death of Adrian I, Leo III was raised to the Papal throne. He made oath of fidelity to Charles, as Patrician of Rome, and showed himself submissive to the Frankish king. He probably knew that his position was insecure. In 799 the Romans rose against him, accused him of many crimes, and would have thrust out his eyes, but for either the fears or the soft hearts of the persons entrusted with the task¹. He fled to Charles, who was at Paderborn. The king received him with gladness, and had long consultations with him, in which, probably, the two agreed to confer each a boon upon the other. Charles should restore the Pope to Rome; the Pope should crown Charles Emperor of the West. Then was the Pontiff escorted back to Italy by a strong band of Frankish lords, charged to see that all due respect was shown to him, and that his enemies remained silent till Charles himself could come and judge of their complaints. Meanwhile the king for about a year pursued his own course; watched over his frontiers; visited northern Gaul, already suffering

¹ Eginhard, *Vita K. M.* 28, says distinctly, '*Leonem pontificem, multis affectum injuriis, erutis scilicet oculis linguaque amputata,*' &c. Now as Eginhard was at the court of Charles when Leo came thither, and was not only a contemporary but an eye-witness, one might have believed that the Pope really lost both eyes and tongue. Yet it seems clear that he lost neither. Eginhard himself, in his *Annals*, while telling the same story with more detail, adds the significant words '*ut aliquibus visum est.*' (*Annales sub anno 799.*) Theophanes, the Greek historian, a contemporary, says that they wished to blind him, but that his executioners' hearts failed, and they did it not. Even the Monk of St. Gall says they only cut his eyes with a razor, but did not blind him. (*Mon. S. Gall.* i. 26.) I believe that the solution of the matter lies in the desire of both Charles and the Pope to raise the affair to its highest point of marvel; and that they favoured the tales of miraculous restoration to sight which sprang up instantly. Eginhard's *Life of Charles* was written for the court. Angibert, the court poet, who wrote an epic for the emperor, first gives us this version of the tale, and Eginhard has followed him.—See Paris, *Histoire Poétique de Charlemagne*, p. 421 (1865).





For the Clarendon Press.

East & Blades, Abchurch Lane, London, E.C.

from Danish piracies; stationed men and ships at the mouths of the greater rivers; visited the chief cities, Rouen, Orleans, Tours, Paris; held the national assembly at Mainz; and finally passed over the Brenner¹ with a powerful army, more as a matter of state than for fear of any opposition, and reached Rome. The trial of the Pope began forthwith, but the assembled bishops confessed that they had no power to try one who sat in the apostolic seat. Then Leo declared his innocence by an oath, and Charles, satisfied, caused the Pope's enemies to be chastised.

On Christmas Day in this last year of the eighth century, Charles sat in the seat of state, hearing mass, which was celebrated by the Pope himself at the Vatican. All the greatest Franks and Romans were there. Suddenly the Pontiff stepped forward to the King, poured on his head the holy oil, and crowned him with a golden crown. The crowd, not untutored to be ready for the occasion, cried, 'To Charles Augustus crowned of God, great and peaceful Emperor of the Romans, life and victory!'

Thus was revived the Western Empire, in a very different age from that which saw its death. 'Thus Christian Rome,' says La Vallée², 'found once more her ancient power, and once more created a Roman Emperor; but there was now nothing Roman left in the world: a Christian priest gave to a German soldier the title of that which had ceased to exist. It was then but a vain ceremony;—and yet it was the base of the political system of the Middle Ages, while Popes and Emperors disputed as to the government of the Christian world; and it was the origin of that great quarrel which disturbed the West for three centuries—the quarrel between the Empire and the Priesthood.' Charles gathered round himself all the floating traditions of the nations as to the lost imperial name. He ruled emperor-wise over a broad extent of Europe. Almost all the

¹ The low pass which connects Northern Tyrol and Innsbruck with Southern Tyrol and Italy.

² La Vallée, *Histoire des Français*, 2. 2 (p. 179, ed. 1865).

Germans, all the Latins obeyed him. His Empire embraced almost all Gaul, from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, together with the Spanish March, which stretched to the line of the Ebro; all Italy, excepting the Greeks and the Duchy of Beneventum; all Central and Western Germany, and a large part of the Saxon territory; North Germany to the Vistula and across to the Danube eastward. Sundry Slavonic races acknowledged him as their head; Pannonia, Dacia, Istria, Liburnia, Dalmatia obeyed him, saving that he left the sea-coast towns in the hands of the Eastern Emperors. He had, too, allies and friends far and wide; Alfonso, King of Galicia and the Asturias, stooped to call himself the Emperor's 'man'; the kings of the Scots styled him their lord and chief; 'Aaron, King of Persia,' (that is, the famous Haroun al Raschid,) 'lord of all the East, except India,' was so much his friend that he sent him the keys of the Holy Sepulchre, with splendid gifts, such as the East can give². Lastly, in spite of their natural jealousy, the Byzantine Emperors thought it prudent to be on good terms with him³, for, as Eginhard well remarks, there is a Greek proverb, 'Have the Frank for your friend, but not for your neighbour'⁴.

The rest of the reign of Charles the Great was passed in comparative tranquillity; the expeditions were fewer, and the Emperor himself went out to war only twice during the fourteen years: once against the Northmen or Danes, in 810, and once against the Slavonian Weltzes, in 812. It is said that his stern

¹ 'Non aliter se apud illum quam *proprium suum* appellari juberet.'—Eginhard, Vita K. M. c. 16.

² At one time an elephant, at another tents, precious silks, unguents and perfumes, but 'especially a clock of gilt bronze, wherein a clepsydra marked out the twelve hours. As each hour ended, a little golden ball was released, and, falling on a bell, struck it, and made a sound. Moreover, the clock had in it twelve horsemen, which issued forth from twelve windows, at the end of the hours, and by the shock of their issuing forth, closed up twelve other windows, which before were open. Many other marvels were there also in the clock, too long to tell.'—Eginhard, Annales, sub a. 807.

³ Eginhard (Vita K. M. c. 16) notices the fact that the Byzantine Emperors were exceedingly jealous of the assumption by Charles of the imperial name. 'Erat enim semper Romanis et Graecis Francorum suspecta potentia.'

⁴ Τὸν Φραγκὸν φίλον ἔχεις, γειτόνα οὐκ ἔχεις.—Eginhard, Vita K. M. c. 16.

repression of the Northmen from the German frontier, and his line of forts on the Elbe, caused the Danes to take to their ships, and so led to that remarkable phenomenon of the ninth and tenth centuries, the settlements of the Northmen in England, France, Sicily, and elsewhere. There may be some truth in it; but the Northmen were always a sea-going folk. Did they not call the Baltic (which the Germans hardly knew at all¹) the eastern highway, and the German Ocean, the western highway? Had not Danes in their ships attacked the English coasts as early as 787? and did not their ravages go on, without intermission, long before the war of Charles with them? Did not he find himself obliged to defend the Gallic coasts in 799? And, lastly, if these are not enough, the troubles of Harold Harfagr's reign had great influence in pushing the terrible Northmen to take their pastime on the high seas.

During these latter years of his reign, Charles claimed imperial honours, and endeavoured to consolidate that 'royalty by divine right' the foundations of which had been laid at the coronation of his father Pippin, in 752. He exacted from his leudes a new oath; not now as head proprietor of Frankish lands, or as Frankish king, the elect of his people², but a sovereign by a higher title, elect of God, blessed by God's high priest. He stood as sovereign face to face with his free men, not as a lord with his vassals. The oath was analogous to that taken by a benefice-holder on accepting his gift of lands, but it differed essentially from it in being personal and not territorial. The Emperor carried his point; few of his men could dare to refuse, most of them, doubtless, failed to grasp the significance of the act. But his success was hollow, and rested on his own character. No sooner was the firm hand gone than it became plain that the imperial theory, as he had designed it, would not stand. The tendency of the age was towards territorial

¹ 'Sinus ab occidentali oceano orientem versus porrigitur, longitudinis quidem incomptae, latitudinis vero quae nusquam c. millia passuum excedat, cum in multis locis contractior inveniatur.'—Eginhard, Vita K. M. c. 12.

² Some lingering feeling about the right of the Merwings may possibly have survived the half century of Caroling kingship.

sovereignty, that 'tardy off-shoot of feudalism'¹, as it has been called, which, though late in taking the form of royalty, or rather in altering the conditions of royalty, was quick in asserting itself as the foundation of the power of the greater nobles. Charles, setting himself against this tendency, and lifting his own personal authority so high, was fighting in vain against the inevitable course of things.

In 806, at the assembly held at Thionville, Charles carefully settled the succession of the Empire. His eldest son Charles was to have the imperial crown, and to hold the position he himself had held as supreme lord of all Franks, but ruling more immediately over Austrasia and Neustria. Pippin² and Hludwig were to retain the kingdoms of Italy and Aquitania. But death bereft him of both Charles³ and Pippin⁴. Feeling that his life was drawing to its close, he held a diet at Aix-la-Chapelle in 813. There he presented to the Franks Louis, only surviving son of his second wife Hildegard; made him his colleague, crowned him, and bade them salute him Emperor and Augustus. Then, sending him back to his kingdom, the aged Emperor, in spite of his infirmities (he suffered much from fever and was lame of one leg), spent the rest of the autumn hunting in the forests round Aix-la-Chapelle, returning thither as to winter-quarters. In January 814 a fresh attack of fever seized him, followed by pleurisy, which he soon felt to be fatal. He then devoutly received the Holy Communion, and died in peace, at the age of seventy-one. There was a question whether his body should be laid at St. Denis where his parents lay, or at Aix-la-Chapelle. The Germans prevailed. The greatest of Germans lies in the great church that he himself had reared in the city he loved, among those who spoke and speak his own tongue, and belong to his own race⁵.

¹ Maine's *Ancient Law*, p. 107. It must be remembered that Sir H. Maine is speaking of the conception of royal power and authority.

² Charles had an illegitimate son, handsome but humpbacked, whom he also called Pippin. He, for whatever cause, conspired with some Frankish chiefs against his father, was detected, and banished to a convent.

³ In 811.

⁴ In 810.

⁵ Eginhard gives the inscription which was engraved upon his tomb:

'In a life restlessly active, we see him reforming the coinage, and establishing the legal divisions of money; gathering about him the learned of every country; founding schools and collecting libraries; interfering, but with the tone of a king, in religious controversies; aiming, though prematurely, at the formation of a naval force; attempting, for the sake of commerce, the magnificent enterprise of uniting the Rhine and the Danube; and meditating to mould the discordant codes of Roman and barbarian laws into an uniform system¹.' Thus has Hallam summed up his account of his labours. The summary, though brief and imperfect, gives us some conception of the many-sided activity of his long life. Guizot has also well stated the general results of the reign. 'The huge Empire could not survive the powerful hand that had fashioned it, but none the less had a great work been accomplished: the invasion of the barbarians in the West was arrested; Germany herself ceased to be the theatre of incessant fluctuations of wandering tribes; the states there formed by the dismemberment of the great Emperor's inheritance, grew solid by degrees, and became the dyke which stopped the human inundation that had desolated Europe for four centuries. Peoples and governments were more settled, and modern social order began to develop itself. This is the vast result of the reign of Charles, the dominant fact of the epoch².'

'Sub hoc conditorio situm est corpus Karoli Magni atque orthodoxi Imperatoris, qui regnum Francorum nobiliter ampliavit, et per annos xlvii feliciter rexit. Decessit septuagenarius a.d. dcccxiij indictione vii, v. Kal. Febr.' But his reign can only be made to have lasted forty-seven years by reckoning the years 768 and 814 as whole years, though he was crowned 9th Oct. 768, and died 28th Jan. 814. Consequently his reign really lasted forty-five years and (nearly) four months. Eginhard himself says he was in his seventy-second year when he died, so that the 'septuagenarius' must be taken to refer to the decade.

¹ Hallam, *Middle Ages*, I. I (p. 11, ed. 1846).

² Guizot, *Essais sur l'Histoire de France*, 3 (p. 76, ed. 1836).

II. THE ADMINISTRATION OF GAUL UNDER CHARLES THE GREAT.

It must first be noted that Charles the Great divided what we now call France into two districts: (1) *Francia Occidentalis*, reaching to the Loire; and (2) Aquitania, from the Loire to the southward. Of these, the former was again divided into Neustria and Burgundy; the latter, into Aquitania proper, Gascony, Septimania, and the Spanish March. The northern part of Gaul was under the same general conditions as the rest of the Frankish part of the Empire, which was immediately under the Emperor; while the kingdom of Aquitania, under Louis and Count William his tutor, was governed in accordance with Roman laws and usages.

The sketch of the political and social state of Gaul here attempted will refer only to that part of the country which was under the Emperor's own immediate government.

We have already seen that the land was divided into Alodial, Beneficiary, and Tributary territories; and that the inhabitants were either Frankish nobles, clergy, free Franks, citizens, or slaves. It is also clear that the Frankish chieftains, who settled down in districts far from the centre of government, paid but small heed to the wishes of their nominal head. He was at Engelenheim or Aix, and they, out of reach, in Burgundy or on the Seine. The aim of the Emperor was to bring them under his direct supervision; their aim to be as unmolested and as independent as possible. He had a partial and transient success; afterwards they became the lords of France, the great feudal seigneurs. It must also be borne in mind that even the clergy and monks had sunk to a very low moral and intellectual level. Charles had to preach the rudiments of morality to them, to keep the bishops and abbots from becoming mere lay lords, who followed the army a-field, or hunted and idled at home. He had also to watch over the ever-increasing number of slaves; while often he was powerless to save them from the horrors of



famine, or the brutality of barbarous masters. The wonder is, not that his success was so partial and transient, but that he had any success at all.

So far as Charles did succeed, it was by his personal character and position. He was supreme head of the Frankish Empire, and held all the threads of government; a system which worked somehow while he lived, but made little or no provision for the future, and failed utterly in weaker hands. But while his position remained personal, that of his chief lords was becoming more and more distinctly territorial. They began to base themselves upon the land. The owner of land had to find his war-contingent according to the size of his estates. This is one of the first signs of the change from Frankish chieftain to French noble. Charles saw the danger, and tried to establish grades among the Franks. He decreed that the King's leudes should rank before all others—in other words, that personal service should stand above all territorial greatness, however great. The struggle between the King and his Court, on the one hand, and the great landed noblesse on the other, was here dimly foreshadowed. It is worthy of notice, in passing, that some of the King's leudes were Gallo-Romans, and not Franks.

Thus, as the personal sovereign of all Franks, Charles retained in his own hands all final appeals, the initiative in the assemblies, the appointment and removal of his officers, and, through certain of them, the right and power of inspection of his whole realm. He taught the clergy to regard him as their head also, as the fountain of their wealth and privileges; at home he sought to be the intellectual guide and chief of his people; he won their full confidence in war.

His chief instruments for welding together his vast Empire were four:—War, the national Assemblies, the Missi Dominici or inspectors of provinces, and the Church.

1. He had, as his inheritance, a compact race of warriors, a ready-made army at his back, trained by the great capacities and needs of his father Pippin, and his grandfather Charles Martel. Much as his success in collecting army after army for the num-

berless campaigns of his reign may astonish us¹, we cannot fail to see that these expeditions attached the Franks personally to him, and were of great importance to him as tending to wean his greater chiefs from their territorial leanings. Internal policy as well as external need may have contributed to the warlike activity of the reign.

Still, without depreciating the importance—how great it was history shows on every page—of the position of Charles the Great as 'Head of the Army,' it is fair to say that he showed far more anxiety for the peaceful organisation of his realm, the administration of justice, the spread of learning and morality, than for the development of the warlike vigour and more barbarous qualities of his people.

2. Twice a year the Emperor called together a general assembly, composed nominally of all Franks, really only of their chiefs. They met in May and in autumn. To the May meeting came all the grandees, lay or clerical, followed by their men-at-arms; the higher chiefs to deliberate, the lower to receive and confirm the conclusions come to by adherence and expression of opinion; but no more. To Charles alone belonged the initiative. He laid matters before them, received their opinion, and gained an insight into the views, the wishes, the grievances of the different parts of his Empire. At the autumnal assembly were present only the greater grandees and the royal counsellors; they received the gifts of the kingdom, and discussed and prepared whatever was to be laid before the larger assembly

¹ Perhaps nothing so clearly shows the great influence of his name, as the ease with which he collected sufficient forces for his many wars. He began life, it is true, with a nation behind him quite accustomed to war, and fond of it. His father and grandfather had left him the inheritance of warlike success. He was himself at least their equal as a leader (though his wars have little of interest or generalship), and from the beginning he commanded the complete respect of his soldiers. His own lands probably provided the nucleus of every army (they were about a quarter of all Northern Gaul). The Frankish taste for adventure and fighting was unquenched: the wars brought sometimes an amazing share of booty to each chieftain—they were not all waged against wild Saxons. The plunder, for instance, of the Avar ring must have made the Franks keen for any number of expeditions. A large part of his armies was composed of subjected tribes; yet, allowing for all this, the supply of warriors was astonishing.

of the following spring; pressing questions they settled off-hand, but did not usually bring more difficult points to a conclusion. The lay and clerical bodies debated sometimes separately, sometimes together, according as the subjects under discussion required it.

There are signs in the Capitularies of Charles the Great that his leudes were often unwilling to appear, just as the burden of parliamentary attendance was regarded with ill-will by Englishmen at a later period. But his strong hand kept these assemblies from becoming slack, or from being converted into clerical synods. There seems sometimes to have been a difficulty in finding work for them: and they probably often discussed questions of a local character, by way of something to do. Their conclusions were sent abroad throughout the Empire, and formed that strangely mixed and multifarious collection which, under the title of Capitularies¹, is the best source of information we possess as to the real condition of mankind at this period. No contemporary historian throws so much light on the social questions of the age. By these assemblies, far as they are from what we now understand by a legislative or deliberative body, the object Charles had in view was, partially at least, fulfilled. He brought his greater subjects into immediate contact with himself; they felt the weight of his personal character, and carried back into distant provinces those fresher and clearer conceptions as to justice and government, which were ever receiving practical illustration in the palace. Thus their isolation was partly counteracted, their territorial tendencies arrested: they remembered that they were Franks, under the chief whom they had, in name at least, elected to rule over them; and that this chief was, in reality as well as by position, the greatest man among them. To honour a man for his

¹ Capitularies, or Collections of *little Headings*, is the name given to the decrees issued by the Emperors, after consultation with their assemblies. They were of the most varied description; not codes of law at all, but decrees, advices, opinions, upon particular questions as they arose. Those of his reign have been classified and briefly described by Guizot, *Civilisation en France*, Leçon 21.

position, rather than for himself, is the common error of both ancient and modern society. Charles was the last man for centuries who held his own against the growing strength of localised powers. We may go farther, and say that he was the only prince between Hludwig and Philip Augustus, that is, for nearly seven centuries, who could make the great vassals feel the royal power, and bend before it. This, far more than his wars, or his dubious saintship¹, shows the true greatness of his character.

3. Setting aside the dukes and margraves, whose position depended on war rather than on peace,—the dukes as heads of great provinces, the margraves² as guardians of the wild frontier districts,—we find Gaul governed by an apparently complete system of officers, counts and their vicars, centeniers, and others, whose duties and position in the general system of administration we must now consider. But it must be remembered that this apparent completeness of order and administrative rule is only skin-deep. It was far better than what had gone before; but it was usually quite inefficient, often very corrupt.

In every town of note there were two prominent officials, the count and the bishop. The former represented the Frankish element in the cities, the latter the Roman. The bishops had taken the place of the extinct 'Defensores.' They had a jurisdiction of their own; they administered the Roman law; they were supposed at least to have influence of a peaceful and civilising kind over the cities. The count administered the Frankish law, as well as its confusion admitted. He represented his master as Frankish king, while perhaps the bishop shadowed forth his imperial and ecclesiastical character. It is needless to add that these authorities, side by side, often clashed, and not unfrequently were but two different forms of oppression.

Besides administering justice, the counts were expected to help in levying troops for war, and in collecting such taxes as

¹ He was canonised, in spite of his personal irregularities, by Pascal III, an Anti-pope, in 1165 or 1166, under pressure from Frederick Barbarossa.

² The title of Margrave, or *Mark-graf*, Reeve of the March, properly belonged to those chiefs who guarded the frontiers.

might be imposed. They were, in fact, prefects settled in the chief towns of each district. In some sense the system was a shadow of the offices and arrangements of the later period of the Roman Empire. We may note in passing that these Gallic cities, seats of count and bishop, had not as yet fallen under the influence of the great lords, and were still able to maintain some slight vestiges of their old municipal character. They presently are overwhelmed by the high tide of feudalism; but they are never absolutely drowned, and emerge early into some part of independent life, and begin their important part as the buttresses of royalty against the great nobles. The counts had their 'vigueurs' or vicars¹.

Under the counts appear, somewhat indistinctly, certain local officers, holding local courts. Centeniers, or head men of hundreds, administer justice in small matters in bourgs and villages²; while there are traces here and there of a still lower organisation, that of decuries or tythings, under a 'decanus' or tything-man. These lower courts had but limited jurisdiction, and an appeal lay from them to the count. We see more clearly the officers called 'scabini' (schöffen) or local judges, appointed by the Missi Dominici, or by the counts, and charged to hold those courts which a short time before had been held by the free Franks. These courts, the ghosts of ancient freedom, had become utterly corrupt; the free Franks either refused to appear at them, or did so to see what they might reap in bribes³.

The administration of justice (or what bore its name) was not confined to these imperial officers and their courts. Each alodial chief, each great beneficiary, each great abbot, had his own powers over his own people; with what effects on wretched slaves and powerless free Franks, now just dropping into slavery, can easily be imagined.

¹ 'Vice-comites,' viscounts, afterwards.

² The centeniers' court could not condemn to death or slavery.

³ These free Franks are called *boni homines*, or *Rachinburgs*, sometimes also *Arimans*. The term 'free Frank' was not properly opposed to leude or vassal, but rightly included all Franks; the tendency seems however to have been to use it specially of Franks who were neither lords nor vassals.

To retain his hold over all these half-independent elements Charles the Great appointed certain high officers, the 'Missi Dominici,' 'Lords Commissioners,' whose duty it was to travel through the provinces, and to see, as with their master's eyes, the real state of things in the different districts over which the counts of the Empire usually presided.

The Missi Dominici are among the most characteristic figures of the period. They were the Emperor's threads, by which he hoped to draw together isolated and half-independent officers, to reform abuses, to encourage just judgment and fair dealing. He has left us, among his Capitularies, a tolerably clear account of three districts in Francia Occidentalis, assigned to three different pairs of Missi¹. A layman and an ecclesiastic were usually sent forth together. Four times a year they traversed their districts, they held 'placita,' or courts, whither the neighbouring counts were bound to come; they looked into the state of the administration, reformed what they could, reported to Charles upon all; they appointed 'scabini,' advocates, notaries, and sent the Emperor lists of their appointments; they had authority to remove at once all bad functionaries, beneath the rank of count. The counts they could not remove; they might report on an unfaithful one; and if any count were insubordinate and unjust, they might settle in his house, living at his charge, keeping daily watch over him, till, in hopes of losing such unwelcome guests, he repented and did justice. Above all they were instructed to watch over and protect the poor, to assuage their wants, to shield them from oppression. The Emperor's instructions to these commissioners figure largely in the Capitularies. If any one wishes to get a notion of the work of a commissioner, let him turn to Guizot's 'History of Civilisation in France,'² in which is described the mission of

¹ (1) Starting from Orleans to Sens, then to Trecae (Troyes), Lingones (Langres), Besançon, and so back to the Loire and Orleans (this circuit went over the borders into Burgundy). (2) From Paris to Melcae (Meaux), Melun, Provins, Etampes, Poissy (a much narrower district than the first). (3) From Le Mans to 'Hoxonum,' Lisieux, Bayeux, Coutances, Avranches, Evreux, thence to the Seine, ending at Rouen.

² Leçon 23.

Leitrad and Theodulf in Southern Gaul. He will find, in the report of the two Missi, a graphic account of their work, their difficulties, and the state of society with which they had to deal.

4. Lastly, we may reckon the church among the means of consolidation within the Emperor's reach. She alone had a sense of unity running throughout. While lay-folk were under many different national laws, each law being to some extent an element of disunion, which even Charles could not succeed in overcoming, the Church had but one code, applicable to all men everywhere. It was the 'omen of her future greatness.' The clergy were a centralised, organised body, in spite of the corruption and unfaithfulness festering within. They had united interests throughout Gaul. They rose into the new aristocracy by position, learning, wealth¹, and yet they did not cease to be attached to, and to protect the old inhabitants. Their higher level of intelligence provided Charles with instruments for his reforms. They protected and cherished the few civic rights that still remained. Whatever had been the earlier use, by his time the nomination to high places, rich abbeys, powerful bishoprics, lay entirely in the Emperor's hand. The clergy therefore looked up to him as their powerful friend and patron. He was to them 'power at the beck of religion'; the secular sword wielded in their behalf: and what can be dearer to the heart of proselytisers than a strong arm ready to carry their desires into effect? No wonder then that they drew close to him. Nor indeed is it strange that he should have allowed and encouraged the growth of their power: on the one hand, he conceded to them large powers of jurisdiction in civil causes, and, on the other hand, made them independent of the secular courts. This part of his policy Hallam regards as 'his greatest

¹ When the Franks settled in Gaul, the clergy were all Gallo-Romans, and sympathised only with the oppressed. But in course of time, as the Franks became Christians, endowed churches, and looked up to the bishops, the clergy naturally drew more and more to the upper class, and identified themselves with lords, not with slaves. Still some even of the higher clergy were Gallo-Romans, and their general influence was such as is described above.

political error.' The clergy doubtless seemed to him a counterpoise to the wild turbulence of the lay chieftains; he did not foresee that ere long they would so far secularise themselves as to join those chieftains in building up a strong aristocracy on the ruins of the royal power.

These, then, are the elements by means of which Charles the Great sought to consolidate his huge Empire. We see him leading his Frankish warriors, himself tall of stature, unerring in war¹; we see him presiding over, originating, regulating, ratifying the deliberations of his assemblies, himself the source of law and order: his royal commissioners, his local officers present him to us as the fountain-head of justice, the preacher of righteousness, the redresser of wrong; and, lastly, his relations with the clergy show us this 'new Constantine' understanding, as no other Frankish prince did, his position as 'head of Church and State.' From the beginning of the ninth century we must recognise him as the apex, the great crowned head, of the Western world. If we search history for parallels, we feel instinctively that we must look only in the highest rank. There alone shall we find a like restlessness of energy, a like vigour and tenacity of mental grasp, a like administrative skill and force, a like nobleness and breadth of character. Napoleon, in the days of his exile, was wont to compare himself with the great creators of society. 'Alexander, Caesar, Charlemagne, I myself, have founded great Empires,' said he on one occasion; and his classification was obvious and just. We may perhaps think well to add two or three more names: on this high level stand Solomon, the great ruler of the Jewish Empire, and Akbar, the contemporary of our Queen Elizabeth, the true founder of the Mogul Empire. In some respects we may also compare with Charles two very different persons;—the Czar Peter, who recast the Muscovite Empire, and gave it its place in the European system; and our own King Alfred, who in times and position, as well as in his anxiety for the bettering of his people, was nearer to Charles than was any of the other

¹ If we except, perhaps, the surprise and tragedy of Roncesvalles.

great men mentioned; Alfred, whose mental and kingly qualities do not lose by comparison with the gigantic Frank, and whose nobler moral nature raises him, from one point of view, far above all the rest.

III. THE STATE OF SOCIETY IN GAUL UNDER CHARLES THE GREAT.

IF we pass from the review of the great kingly qualities of the Emperor to his personal and moral life, we feel that we almost sink down into barbarism. In spite of the complaisance of Churchmen, we discern gross outrages on propriety and morality, which, though they may be called only a reflexion of the age, are none the less drawbacks to our estimate of his greatness. An analogous feeling passes over us, if we turn from viewing his administration and his attempts to organise the Empire to the consideration of the social state of men in Gaul during this period. Indistinct and dark it must ever appear as we look down into it. No historian deigned to touch upon the subject¹; not till our own age did the passionate love of humanity lead writers to try and piece together the fragmentary indications to be met with in the Capitularies of the time, and in the chance and unintentional touches of the chroniclers. And, all done, we know scarcely anything.

We have no need to treat further of the Emperor and his Court; for both were thoroughly German; nor, indeed, would it help us in our inquiry, which is now confined to the condition of Gaul under the imperial system. Nor need we delay long in considering the Frankish chiefs. They lived coarse and brutal lives; hunting, warring, feasting and drinking, and all upon the produce of the soil, tilled by thousands of slaves. We note that the number of chieftains grew smaller, through war and other causes; also, that at this period holders of benefices were still striving to convert their tenure into alodial possession. A cen-

¹ See the opening remarks in Sismondi's *Histoire des Français*, part 2. c. 3.

tury later the tide ran the other way. We may note too, that benefices, at first granted with no very distinct understanding as to their continuance, were now showing a tendency to become hereditary and permanent¹, save when forfeited by treason. The Emperor's share of the soil of Gaul is said to have been about one quarter. Over this vast area he spread his beneficiaries, rewarding not only war service, but any kind of work done faithfully for him, by grants of land 'with all their inhabitants, houses, slaves, meadows, fields, fixtures, and furniture.' Of the remaining three-fourths of the soil a large part belonged to the Church, which had probably by this time recovered all it had lost through the policy of Charles Martel; the rest of the land was divided among the great proprietors.

In the castles of these chieftains there had been large numbers of Free Franks, 'boni homines'; also throughout Gaul there were many free Franks cultivating the soil. But at this time they were being steadily driven downwards. The incessant wars lessened their numbers. Those who had attached themselves to the great houses sank into vassalage, being neither free nor slaves; those on the soil were despoiled of their little holdings by their stronger neighbours. Abbots and bishops, counts and centeniers, as well as the great proprietors, are accused of this injustice in the Capitularies². At the same time many of these small Franks, aware of their weakness, gave themselves up voluntarily, sometimes to the King, often to privileged Churches. This marks the commencement of the tendency to convert alodial into beneficiary tenure which afterwards became so strong; though, probably, this surrender by free Franks of their small alodial possessions reduced their holdings rather to the state of tributary lands than to that of benefices. The tributary lands were under the protection of some powerful lord, who stood to them in something like the modern relation

¹ The contrast between benefices and *precaria*, as seen in the attempt of Pippin the Short to restore Church-lands to the clergy, is enough to show this. See above, p. 113.

² See Cap. Kar. Mag. A.D. 811, §§ 2, 3; Baluze, I, p. 485; cp. Baluze, I, p. 427.

of landlord to his tenants. They were not held by slaves but by freemen, or freedmen. The tendency however was clearly downwards. The old free Franks, so prominent before, independent, claiming equality with their chieftains, had long ago disappeared; their Austrasian successors were now likewise perishing through the operations of analogous causes.

The free Gallo-Romans were in nearly the same plight. A few of them, the wealthy ones, might be found at court; these were ambitious of ranking as equals with the Frankish chiefs; some of them were doubtless beneficiaries. We see from the first attempt made by Charles the Great to govern Aquitania after its subjection, that they had not altogether lost position and influence. He appointed fifteen counts, many of whom were Romans, not Franks, the Roman element being naturally stronger in the south. In the towns also they perhaps retained some security and independence, though not enough to leave any mark on the page of history; elsewhere they were fast disappearing, as they sank into slavery.

If we look for anything brighter or more hopeful in the character and position of the higher clergy, very little light is visible. The bishops, who are little but Frankish lords, mere secular dignities, take a full share in the oppression and extortion of the age; they lead their men and go to war, not disdaining the spoil; they take bribes, they drink freely, their morals are loose and reckless. The Capitularies are full of instructions and exhortations to the upper clergy, proving their tendency, if nothing more, to be luxurious, idle, sensual, drunken, greedy of gain, or turbulent and wrathful, rude warriors and men of blood. When the Emperor forbade them to take the field in person, he felt bound to declare that he did not intend to slight their authority or position. The bishops were ever engaged in a threefold struggle—against the patriarchal position of the archbishops, against the lower clergy, and against the monks. They triumphed in all; and the ninth century is, as Hallam calls it, the Age of the Bishops, just as the twelfth is that of the Popes. But in the struggle and in the victory we have but

little to satisfy us. It was a struggle for temporal power, for wealth, for immunities; not a struggle against evil, not even an attempt to introduce a higher civilisation; far less a struggle for truth. There was a constant scramble for 'good things.' He who had the power ejected his weaker brother from his rich cure, and sat in it himself; when a bishop went on progress, his track was marked by exactions and greed.

The lower clergy during this time were tied down for life to the diocese in which they were ordained, never might rise to higher position, nor even change their home. Their one privilege was that they were not slaves; otherwise, their condition seems to have been utterly mean. The monasteries were sunk in apathy and wealth, except a very few in which the vigour of Charles the Great and Alcuin had succeeded in establishing thriving schools.

These were the free elements of the population of Gaul. Frankish lords, growing fewer in number, and more powerful in territories every year; free Franks, who were scarcely able to hold up their heads above the level of the slaves; then the Gallo-Romans, far too weak to leave much mark on the times, and evidently, with a few exceptions, also dropping into slavery; and lastly, the clergy in their various ranks, not rising to the level of their vocation, the higher ecclesiastics assimilating themselves to the Frankish lords, the lower scarcely raised above the servile level.

Nine-tenths of the population of Gaul at this time were slaves¹. Masses of human beings without hope or ambition, living only as the instruments and chattels of their lords, defenceless against violence, against the risks of bad seasons, against the desolations of war, with a horizon bounded by the neighbouring fields, and those not pastoral or beautiful, with no love of country or sense of personal responsibility, mere num-

¹ Charles made Alcuin a present of an estate, on which we learn that there were 20,000 head of slaves; though this was as nothing in comparison with the numbers on the lands of the greater lords. It is probable that in many parts, especially in Frankish Gaul, the proportion of slaves to free-men was far greater.

bers, without even the poor comfort of feeling that the work of their hands was their own. Not that their condition was solely or entirely miserable. They probably, as a general rule, had enough to eat and drink, and the lower passions of our nature had tolerably free play; nor did they generally feel any aspiration after better things. On the Church estates their condition seems to have been comparatively fortunate; and in material possessions and advantages they were not so very far behind the poorer parts of the agricultural population of modern France¹. Still, they were liable to fearful evils. Charles interfered, by one of his Capitularies, between his own slaves and their superintendents; giving the slave the right of access to himself, and ordering the 'judge' in no way to hinder that access. But it is easy to imagine how little such a privilege could be acted on: what chance had a friendless slave of breaking, save by some happy accident, through the barrier of contemptuous, or even hostile, officials who stood between him and the throne? Slaves belonging to Frankish lords do not seem to have even had the solace of this illusory privilege. They must have perished by thousands in any time of famine. The years of scarcity, 805 and 806, were terrible to them. Even the Emperor himself expresses a fear lest his slaves should perish of hunger; and if his were in this danger, then what hope was there for the rest? In their darkness they appear to have turned instinctively towards the religious houses, under whose more conscientious care they would be somewhat safer. One of the Capitularies, touching on this point with a delicate hand, enjoins that 'not too many slaves are to be allowed to flee to the monasteries, lest the country estates be left desolate. Charles, as a wise and just-dealing monarch, could not fail to see that they were justified in seeking such asylum, though the effects might be disastrous to the lands of the lay-lords.

I do not know that there is much more to be gathered out of the materials we possess concerning the state of the ancestor

¹ See a note in La Vallée, *Histoire des Français*, tom. I, p. 174 (ed. 1865), bearing on this point.

of the present Frenchman. He was a spiritless slave. He seems to have been thought unworthy even to go to war together with his German masters. We read of no levies of Gallo-Roman armies, nor were the few men of note among them employed in warlike commands. Contemporary history does not deign to notice, even in the gross, the destinies of those who could take no part in the active life of the age; and opinion doubtless agreed with history, and despised and neglected the wretched slave. Charles the Great stands out honourably as an exception. The sense of justice, so strong in him, and the unflagging activity of his character, would not let him shut his eyes to any of those who, however lowly, were still under his imperial care. We therefore find traces here and there of beneficent instructions and legislation for the Gallo-Romans. The clergy had not utterly forgotten the traditions and principles of their faith and their order. They too did something for their poor fellow-Christians—something, if not much. The Frankish spirit had entered also into them, and they, to a very large extent, looked on their slaves with the same eyes as their brethren the lay-lords.

Among these poor creatures many strange superstitions flourished. Charlatans and vagabonds abounded: the Capitularies ordered them to be arrested and punished. They wandered about naked, dragging a chain, pretending they were doing penance, and levying alms. Akin to these ugly symptoms was the rage for pilgrimages, to which all flocked:—priests, because they believed that a pilgrimage atoned for their scandalous lives; lords, because they raised money from their wretched slaves on the pretext that they needed it for the journey: the poor folk went, because they liked the beggar-life, and, because no doubt it was more pleasant to be a tramp than a slave. Magical usages were rife among all classes. The chrism was used as a charm, as medicine; even the criminal who was happy enough to get a drop of it down his throat believed that it gave inward rights of sanctuary, and that he would escape punishment. And as (in common with the

rest of his class) he probably did escape, his faith in the remedy was never shaken. Woods and trees were still regarded with superstitious reverence. All things combined to show that though many arts existed, practised too by slaves, and many forms of cultivation were known, still men's minds were in the rudest state; great crimes were rife, and every class of men corrupt.

These then were the elements of society; and this the time in which, thanks to war, to differences of race, to the new position of the sovereign, the transition was slowly going on from the older system of chief and slaves with a considerable free population beside them, to the newer phase of lord and vassal and serf, with the free population extinguished. It was feudalism in all but the development of that independence in the greater lords, which was delayed by the strength of Charles the Great, though fostered, at the same time, by his wars and his policy towards the higher clergy. The chaos into which society presently fell gave these lords time and space to secure their position, and feudalism then sprang into full life.

CHAPTER IV.

Hludwig (Louis) the 'Pious' and his Sons, A.D. 814-843.

THE latter days of Charles the Great had been sad enough. The peace of the Empire was preserved; but there were ominous mutterings on many frontiers. The Saracens were busy on the Italian coast; the Northmen uneasy and eager for booty; the Spanish Moors had held Hludwig in check; the Greeks insulted the Frankish name in Venetia. Death came, and rent asunder the well-planned imperial scheme, which Charles had hoped should carry on the Frankish power after his death. But Charles, his eldest son, died in 811. Pippin, his second son, also died before him, leaving a son, Bernard, who became king of Italy. There remained only Hludwig. Charles, as we have seen, summoned him to Aachen, and made him Emperor; then dismissed him to his kingdom, caring little to have a joint-emperor at his side; perhaps not liking over-well his clerkly son.

When he died, Hludwig succeeded him with the goodwill of all. Had only a good prince been wanted, the Frankish Empire would have been happy in its new lord. But the days needed brute strength and sagacity combined, not monastic virtues, gentleness, forgiveness, learning. And so it fell out that the days of Hludwig were evil and turbulent, and his life a trouble to him. From his father's death to his own, in 840, things followed one course, ending in the disruption of the Empire in 843, by the treaty of Verdun.

'Louis the First,' as French histories call him—that is, Hludwig

the 'Pious,' or Debonair¹—was thirty-five years old when he succeeded his father. His life, almost from the cradle, had been spent in war and government, first under wise and prudent guardians, then under a wise and prudent wife. As a child he was sent to Aquitaine, when it was thoroughly hostile to the Northern Franks, and menaced with Saracen inroads along its Pyrenean frontier. He,—or rather William Courtnez first, and he afterwards,—turned disaffection into content, dislike into love, thrust back the Moor, and added a fine territory to the kingdom, advancing the frontier-line from the Pyrenees to the Ebro. He grew up surrounded by churchmen: his quick and sound intelligence drank in the principles of Roman Law, which still formed the basis of Aquitanian justice. The churchmen, the representatives of all that was Roman, filled his mind with conceptions of rule and order; they made him half a monk, as men said; and there were times when he looked towards the quiet cloister with eager, weary eyes. He ever leant on others: in the world this had proved to be his snare; but in the cloister, as one of God's servants, he could rest on Him alone and be at peace. But this was not the thought with which he began his reign. High and conscientious aims guided him. His father had been a conqueror, a queller of pagans, fierce of temper, a man of blood: he would be a man of peace, building up instead of pulling down, and ruling over all men equally. His father's court had been learned, but full of rudeness and iniquity; his court should be learned also, but refined and pure. His father had crushed the great lords; he would raise them, and govern by them. The clergy should have high authority. The free Franks had sunk to serfdom; he would lift them out of the mire, and re-create a strong and faithful people, as a counterpoise to the lords. In this way he hoped to lift all classes of men higher. Thus

¹ Ludovicus Pius, in German *der Fromme*, in French *le Debonair*, got his soubriquet from his character. Pius in Late Latin means both religious and kindly or gentle. Debonair is by no means 'de bon air,' 'genteel'; but is a Low Latin form of 'bonus,' signifying one who is pious, gentle, kindly in disposition.

did he begin his reign; with such noble intentions as these did he desire to rule. We shall see with what results.

We may read in Thegan what manner of man he was; for these old writers had a gift of minute drawing which we are apt to think peculiar to our day. 'He was of middle stature, with eyes large and clear, face bright and intelligent, his nose long and straight, his lips fairly thick, perhaps not firm enough in their setting. He was strong-chested, broad-shouldered, very powerful of arm; no man could better handle bow or lance: he was large-handed, straight-fingered; his legs long and shapely, his feet long, his voice manly¹'; wherein, had his utterances answered to the volume, he had far surpassed his father. He was right learned in Latin and Greek, skilled in the Scriptures, expounding the same like a churchman, after their 'moral, spiritual, and anagogical' sense. As to the Frankish ballad-poetry which he had learnt in youth, he cast it from him, and would neither read it, hear it, nor have it taught. Thus he was strong of limb, quick, unwearied, slow to anger, swift of pity; very exact in religious exercises, and strict in his life; very liberal in both giving and forgiving, sober in meat and drink, moderate in dress, like his fathers. He was never known to laugh heartily, 'never showed his teeth²,' he would smile a grave smile, sometimes. He had no liking for jesters and fools, and court-shows. He hunted from August till 'bear-time,' but not with much heart. He trusted his counsellors too much, though he was otherwise prudent; was too fond of psalmody; he also 'took of the lowest of the people' and made of them priests and bishops; and Thegan bewails, as one that had felt it, their upstart pride, and the vices into which their elevation led them³.

Here, then, we have the whole man. Not at all like his fathers, rude Frankish Christians of the sword, with fits of piety and fits of brutality, and an under-current of sensual vices; but a clerkly southerner of the gentler type, a pure unselfish devotee,

¹ Thegan, *Opus de Gestis Ludovici Pii Imp.* c. 19.

² 'Ille nunquam vel dentes candidos suos in risu ostendit.'

³ Thegan says they were 'iracundi, rixosi, maliloqui, obstinati, injuriosi.' c. 20.

a grave man, with large thoughtful eyes, which descried truth and the lie. But his virtues were dangers. Amiable and pliable, he forgave where a more prudent man would have crushed. For in his day forgiveness was a perilous weakness. He was too refined for his Frankish life. That dislike of the stirring rough ballads marks the man. He was not hearty, liked neither broad fun, nor the broad laugh, nor the rude verse in the mother tongue. Above all, he was weak of will, and did not know how to make even those of his own household obey him. A great part of his life was passed in a wretched struggle with his children.

He married twice; first Hermingard and then Judith: while the first lived, all went well with him; she bare him sons, Hlothar (Lothaire), Pippin, and Hludwig.

In 817 he called an assembly of all Franks, and created two kingdoms under the Empire—Aquitaine, over which he set Pippin his second son; and Bavaria, given to Hludwig his third son: Hlothar he seated by himself on the imperial throne. These lesser kings should not make either war or peace, or cede town or territory without his leave. Like conditions were also imposed on his nephew Bernard in Italy; but Bernard would none of them, and set out to fight the Emperor. His men deserted him, and he surrendered himself at Châlons-sur-Saône. The Emperor made him some assurances of safety; but these were passed by. The Frankish assembly condemned him to death; he was slain, and his kingdom passed to Hlothar.

In 819 Hermingard died, and it is said that the sorrowing Emperor much desired to lay down the sceptre and become a monk. Happy for him if he had! But his court overruled the wish, and he set himself, instead, to choose another wife. The fairest ladies of his realm were sought out; from among them he chose Judith, daughter of Welf, said to have been a Frank settled in Bavaria; a lady of exceeding beauty, clever and ambitious. In 823 she bore him a son, Charles, called afterwards the Bald, fruitful source of many troubles to his father.

Jealousies sprang up; ill-will against Judith and against the king's favourite and minister, Bernard, duke of Gothia, who was said to have as much power as one of the older Mayors of the Palace. Under their influence Hludwig, in 829, called an assembly of Franks at Worms; and, with the consent of Hlothar, formed an arbitrary kingdom out of the country between the Jura, the Alps, the Rhine, and the Main: he called it Alemannia, after the name of its old inhabitants, and gave it to his little son Charles. What more was needed to kindle into flame all the latent jealousies? The princes saw in it a proof that Judith's interests clashed with theirs; the nobles seized it as a means of raising themselves; the clergy, for their own reasons, were ready enough to spurn their friend and benefactor: all who loved war, that is the whole Frankish race, saw with grim joy the coming troubles. The outbreak of a Breton rising in 830 gave the opportunity. The army revolted; and the heads of the conspiracy, which had been brewing for some time, called Pippin to be their leader. The other sons speedily joined: Hludwig bent before the storm; Bernard, duke of Gothia, fled to Barcelona, Judith to Poitiers; Hludwig fell into his son's hands. It was agreed that the name of Emperor should be left him, but that he should be shut up in a convent, Hlothar reigning in his name. The kingdom of Alemannia was taken from Charles; the arrangement of 817 restored. But there sprang up again the old ill-will between German and Gallic Frank; the Teutonic branch returned to the Emperor's side. He called an assembly at Nimwegen, refusing to hold it in France. The Germans crowded thither; Pippin and the younger Hludwig also came, and the Emperor was restored to power.

The rest of the weak Emperor's reign is monotonous and sad. Constant troubles from ambitious and jealous princes, from clashing interests of nobles and churchmen, based on the stem-differences of race and tongue, fill up the remainder of his life. Bernard, the Emperor's favourite, gives place to Gundobald, the lay-lord to a monk, and joins the insurgent

sons. The Pope, Gregory IV, blesses their unnatural warfare;—this often came to be part of the Papal duties. In 833 the Emperor met his sons at Rothfeld, not far from Basel. But his whole army slipped away from him; every promise, oath, protestation, was broken, and men for ages called the spot Lügenfeld, the 'Field of Lies.'

The bishops of Roman France, under Hlothar's influence, had forced the deposed Emperor to submit to a humiliating penance at Compiègne. But though his meek spirit bore the churchman's foot on his neck, Teutonic France did not. There was a violent reaction; and in a few months Hludwig found himself the head of an apparently unanimous people, again supported by his younger sons, Pippin (who died in 838) and Hludwig. One partition followed another; till at last, under Judith's influence, the old Emperor in 839 made a treaty at Worms, dividing the Empire between Hlothar and the young Charles; leaving Bavaria only for his son Hludwig. He flamed out into open revolt. The Emperor drove him back into Bavaria: but returning from this dreary war against his own son, the old man, whose health was broken, rested on one of the Rhine islands, over against Engelenheim; and there, doing humble devotion, he passed the last few weeks of his life. Early in the summer of 840 he sent his rebel son Hludwig the assurance of his forgiveness, with a sad and dying remonstrance against his undutiful conduct; and so closed his eyes¹.

Then broke asunder the whole fabric of the Empire of Charles the Great. Hlothar took the imperial name, calling himself sole head of the Frankish race: Hludwig and Charles treated his pretensions with contempt. Hludwig (the Bavarian, or German, as he is called) was backed by the whole Frankish power beyond the Rhine; Charles by all Northern Gaul; Italy went with Hlothar. Pippin II of Aquitaine, eager to get clear of Roman-France, allied himself with Hlothar, as did also

¹ 'He turned his face away, and with a kind of wrath, cried twice, as loud as he could, Huz! Huz!—that is, Out! Out!' and so died.—Vita Lud. Pii anonymo auct. Dom Bouquet, tom. 6, p. 125.

Bernard, duke of Gothia; and war at once began (A.D. 841). Hlothar was not wanting in vigour, and made ready to attack his brothers Charles and Hludwig. At first he amused them with offers of peace, till he had given the Aquitanians time to join him. He then thought himself strong enough to declare himself; and challenged them to battle. On the very next day was fought, on the banks of the Cure, not far from Troyes, the pitched battle of Fontanet (25 June, 841), which decided the question whether there should be one Empire or separate nations: in it the griefs of a century were brought to an issue. This great battle marks the division of the three medieval nations of the continent, France, Germany, Italy.

The whole Frankish Empire was represented there. Hlothar had Italy, Austrasia, and Aquitaine at his back; his brothers had the Germans, the Neustrians, and the Burgundians. The numbers were nearly equal, perhaps 150,000 on each side. The battle was fought out on an open plain, by sheer 'tug of war,' to see who could push the other off the field. The bloodshed was terrible. Forty thousand are said to have fallen on each side; and in the end the Northern French and Germans drove the Emperor's army off the field, and won the victory. The carnage fell most heavily on the Franks: it is hardly too much to say that Fontanet is the burial-ground of the Frankish name. 'The free men and leudes almost entirely perished; and as they were the men-at-arms of the age, nothing was left to arrest the Normans. Such nobles as survived reformed themselves, and, joining with the remaining free Franks, began the second age of aristocracy, which continued till the fourteenth century. Henceforth the Franks, as a class, disappear; there remain in Gaul nothing but lords and serfs: the field is ready for feudalism¹.'

Hlothar fled to Aix la Chapelle. Bernard of Gothia deserted him, and took oath of allegiance to Charles. But though beaten, Hlothar was not inclined to give in. He gathered fresh troops, and with Pippin of Aquitaine once more showed a menacing

¹ La Vallée, *Histoire des Français*, tom. 1, livre 2, chap. 3, § 7.

front. So Charles and Hludwig again joined forces, and made ready to defend their ground. Then took place a memorable scene. The two brothers, who had throughout acted as champions of national feeling, agreed that, to strengthen their confidence in one another, and that of their men, they would take each to other a solemn oath of fidelity before their two armies. Hludwig first spoke to his men in the German speech; Charles addressed the Neustrians and Burgundians in the '*lingua Romana rustica*,' the Roman tongue, now spoken in various dialects throughout all Gaul. They told them why they were going to take the oath; they explained the justice of their cause, once already decided by the God of battles. Then Charles, standing before the Germans, took oath in the Frankish tongue, and Hludwig, standing before the Roman-Franks, or, as we may now venture to call them, the Frenchmen, took the same oath in the Romance tongue. The Oaths still remain¹, and that taken by Hludwig is the oldest monument of the French language², A.D. 842.

Thus the national life of German and Frenchman appeared, distinctly marked. Though we relapse again into shapeless chaos, still here is a marked advance, an epoch in history.

The brothers immediately drove Hlothar before them to Aix; thence he fled to Lyons. Then, finally, seeing that his battle-cry, imperial unity, roused no enthusiasm, and that no one would fight for it, he sent a message to his brothers, that he would be content with one-third of the Empire, if they would grant him a somewhat larger share than their own, by reason of the name of Emperor, which he held from his father: the three brothers should then govern each his own states, and eternal peace be established. The brothers agreed to this; and Hlothar's proposals formed the base of the famous treaty of Verdun, in 843.

By that treaty the three kingdoms were clearly marked off. Speaking roughly, Charles had France, Hludwig the Bavarian had Germany, Hlothar Italy and a long narrow strip lying

¹ In Nithard, *Hist. lib.* 3.

² See Brachet, *Historical Grammar of the French Tongue*, pp. 14, 15.

between the other two, together with the name of Emperor. The kingdom of Charles included all Gaul west of the Scheldt, Meuse, Saone, and Rhone, running down to the Mediterranean, and bounded by it, by the Pyrenees, and the Atlantic. This was the kingdom of the French.

Hludwig had all the land from the Rhine northwards to the mouth of the Elbe, and southward as far as the Alps. It was still called Eastern or Teutonic France. The old name lingered on, and survives in Franconia: but the kingdom came to be called *Teutschland*, the 'land of the Dutch,' or Germans as we call them.

Hlothar had Italy, and a long strip of country crossing Europe from south-west to north-west, hemmed in on one side by the kingdom of Charles the Fat, on the other by that of Hludwig. It lay between the Rhine and the Western Alps on the one side, and the four rivers, the Rhone, Saone, Meuse, and Scheldt, on the other side. This strange ribbon of land was parti-coloured; four races dwelt on it, speaking four tongues: these were the Germans, the Flemish, the Italians, the Provençals; it was called Hlothar's share. It is a proof of its want of real unity that the district had no proper name of its own, but that the northern and central part of it was presently called Lotharingia, after its lord the second Hlothar; a name which, in its more modern form, Lorraine, was retained in Europe till the end of last century, and indeed is still in common use, though it denotes but a small part of the original Lotharingia. The struggle between Germany and France for this border-land has lasted to our days; as is shown by the changes of the frontier-line after the war of 1870-71.

Thus perished the grand imperial conception of Charles the Great; and thus in its stead began the nations of Europe.

TABLE IV. THE FRAGMENTS OF THE EMPIRE OF CHARLES THE GREAT. [To face p. 159.]

A. D.	ITALY.	GERMANY.	LOTHARINGIA.	PROVENCE or CISJURANE BURGUNDY.	TRANSJURANE BURGUNDY.	NORTHERN FRANCE.
	[Has the imperial crown at first.]					
879				Boson.		
887		Arnulf, King by election.			Rodolf I.	[Odo (Eudes), Duke of France, son of Robert the Strong, elected, <i>not a Caroling</i>].
890				Ludwig, son of Boson.		
891	Guido, Emperor.					
894	Lambert, son of Guido, Emperor.					
895			Zwentibald, son of Arnulf.			
896	Arnulf, King of Germany, Emperor.					
898						Charles the Simple.
899		Hludwig III (IV), of Lotharingia, <i>last Caroling in Germany</i> .				
900			Hludwig IV, son of Arnulf.			
901	Hludwig of Provence, Emperor.		[Contested between			
911		Conrad, D. of Franconia, elected King.			Rodolf II.	
916	Berenger, D. of Friuli,		France and Germany:			
918	<i>last Caroling Emp.</i>	Henry I, D. of Saxony, King of Germany.				
922	[Anarchy for 50 years.]		but			[Robert, Duke of France, <i>not a Caroling</i>].
923				Hugh of Arles, who cedes his kingdom to Rodolf II in 933.		[Raoul (Rodolf), Duke of Burgundy].
933						Ludwig (Louis) IV (D'Outremar), son of Charles the Simple.
936		Otto I, the Great.	falls to Germany under Otto the Great; though many feudal vassals are independent.]			
937					Conrad the Peaceful.	
954						Lothar (Lothaire), son of Louis IV.
961	Italy falls to Otto I.					
962		Otto I, Emperor.				
973		Otto II, Emperor.				
983		Otto III, Emperor.				
986						
987						Louis (Ludwig) V, son of Lothaire, <i>last of the Caroling kings</i> .
993						Hugh Capet, Duke of France (elected King by the great Lords).
1002		Henry II, Emperor.			Rodolf III, who cedes his kingdom to	
1024		Conrad II, Emperor.			Conrad II in 1033.	
1033						

The Holy Roman Empire, under Conrad II.

TABLE IV. THE FRAGMENT. [To face p. 159.]

A. D.	ITALY.	GERMANY	NORTHERN FRANCE.
	[Has the imperial crown at first.]		
879			
887		Arnulf, King 1 election.	[Odo (Eudes), Duke of France, son of Robert the Strong, elected, <i>not a Caroling</i>].
890			
891	Guido, Emperor.		
894	Lambert, son of Guido, Emperor.		
895			
896	Arnulf, King of Germany, Emperor.		Charles the Simple.
898			
899		Hludwig III (IV) Lotharingia, last Caroling in Germany.	
900			
901	Hludwig of Provence, Emperor.		
911		Conrad, D. of conia, elected King.	
916	Berenger, D. of Friuli, last Caroling Emp.	Henry I, D. of Saxony, King of Germany.	
918			[Robert, Duke of France, <i>not a Caroling</i>].
922	[Anarchy for 50 years.]		[Raoul (Rodolf), Duke of Burgundy].
923			Ludwig (Louis) IV (D'Outremar), son of Charles the Simple.
933		Otto I, the Great.	
936			
937			Lothar (Lothaire), son of Louis IV.
954			
961	Italy falls to Otto I.		
962		Otto I, Emperor.	
973		Otto II, Emperor.	
983		Otto III, Emperor.	
986			Louis (Ludwig) V, son of Lothaire, last of the Caroling kings.
987			Hugh Capet, Duke of France (elected King by the great Lords).
993		Henry II, Emperor.	
1002		Conrad II, Emperor.	
1024			
1033			

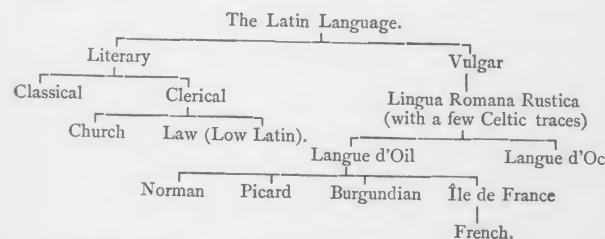
CHAPTER V.

From the Peace of Verdun to Hugh Capet.

A.D. 843-987.

I. THE ORIGIN OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE.

TABLE V. THE PEDIGREE OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE.



THE Oath which Hludwig the German took before the Franks of France was spoken in a tongue which, though far from Modern French, was still in substance French. How did this new speech come into being? It is clear that it has the Latin for its foundation, and little else; spelling has changed, inflexions are degraded, and the whole language is more analytical¹ than Latin; but still it has come from the Latin. The Oath gives us an illustration of the way in which the Romance

¹ Languages are said to be 'synthetical' when they use many inflexions and few auxiliaries; 'analytical' when they use few inflexions and many auxiliaries—i. e. *habui* is synthetical, but *j'ai eu* is analytical.

languages¹ sprang out of Latin; for it stands midway between the two.

In the best days of Rome there were two kinds of Latin in use; that of the study and that of the market-place; the learned and the vulgar. We may catch a glimpse of these by comparing Cicero with Terence. And even in Cicero's days the distinction was clear between the patrician and the plebeian speech, the '*sermo mobilis*' and the '*sermo plebeius*' or '*rusticus*'.² They differed in vocabulary, but above all in accent. Speaking generally, every Latin word has one syllable on which the voice lingers; the tendency of the vulgar (as in all lands) was to exaggerate this tonic syllable at the cost of the rest of the word; and so we find that such words as '*pónere*,' '*stábulum*,' '*oráculum*,' soon became '*pón're*,' '*stáb'lum*,' '*orác'lum*,' in common Latin. When Gaul fell into Latin hands, both dialects entered in with the new masters. In the cities the rhetoricians, poets, men of letters, and at a later time the upper clergy, cultivated the refined upper-class dialect; while the common soldier, the merchant, and presently the slave, spread the common Latin far and wide. The whole of Gaul seems to have accepted the new speech without protest³; we have elsewhere tried to explain the remarkable fact that while the bulk of the people continued to be Celtic, their mother-tongue perished, leaving in its vocabulary and inflexions no trace, or only the very slightest, of the popular language⁴. The Merwing invasion crushed the literary Latin; for the Gallo-Roman gentlefolk could not stand up against their German lords: it survived in a low form among the clergy, as the language of religion, based more on St. Augustine than on Cicero. This was the Low

¹ The chief Romance languages are French, Provençal, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Wallachian, as well as the '*Romansch*' of eastern Switzerland.

² Cassiodorus gives us an instance of words in the two dialects. The common folk said '*batalia*' where the upper classes said '*pugna*'.

³ Strabo says there was so much Latin (especially of the high-class kind) in Gaul, that he could scarcely count it a land of 'barbarians.'

⁴ See above, p. 53. This is the more remarkable when we see the opposite results in Brittany and Wales.

Latin of the Law Courts, a dialect which the Merwing Franks used when they amalgamated the new Roman law with their own institutions and customs. It is a barbarous Latin, full of German words. But they could not destroy the common Latin, the speech of the people.

By the end of the eighth century the '*Lingua Romana Rustica*,' now no longer called Latin, was established. Even as early as the seventh century the life of St. Faro was sung in the rustic speech—'*juxta rusticitatem*.' About A.D. 800 Adalhard, a noble German, spoke it eloquently and elegantly¹. By the time of Charles the Great the Austrasians despised in their hearts the new fine Latin brought in by the Church, though still, in their intercourse with the clergy, they tried to use it. The Merwings had destroyed the '*classical-fine*' Latin; this may be called the '*Church-fine*' Latin. Charles himself could speak it. But it was a mere court delicacy; the great lords in their Neustrian settlements soon dropped it—who was there to understand it, if they did use it? They also dropped their German speech. Even the clergy in country places knew nothing but the common Latin: the nobles followed; and soon men all had one speech, the '*Romana rustica*.' As early as 813, at the Council of Tours, this speech was enjoined on the clergy; homilies were to be read in either Romance or '*Teutsch*'². And finally the Oaths of 842 shew that this Romance is the acknowledged speech of the whole French army, chiefs and men alike. It afterwards divided itself into dialects³, each with its own peculiarities and literature; and as Paris became more and more the heart of France, the dialect of the district round the capital, the Île de France, became the standard of speech and writing, and the other dialects fell before it. The southern

¹ So says Paschatius Radbert in his life of him: '*Quem si vulgo audisses, dulcifluus emanabat; si vero idem barbara, quam Teutiscam dicunt . . . praeîminebat; quod si latine, jam ulterius prae aviditate dulcoris non erat spiritus*.'—Pertz, tom. 2. p. 532.

² '*In lingua romana rustica aut Teotisca*.'

³ Such were the Norman, the Picard, the Burgundian, that of the Île de France.

dialect, the Langue d'Oc¹, which reached a high state of literary excellence at a very early time, stands aloof from these northern varieties of the Langue d'Oil; it is long before it bows the head before the dominant dialect of the Île de France.

II. THE LATER CAROLINGS.

IN thirty years there had been five partitions of the Frankish Empire, ending with that well-marked division which was carried out by the treaty of Verdun in 843. We have seen how Italy fell to Hlothar, with the imperial name and the strip of land afterwards called Lotharingia; Germany to Hludwig; France to Charles the Bald.

Charles and his successors have some claim to be accounted French. They rule over a large part of France, and are cut away from their older connexion with Germany. Still, in reality they are Germans and Franks. They speak German, they yearn after the old imperial name, they have no national feeling at all. On the other hand, the great lords of Neustria, as it used to be called, are ready to move in that direction, and to take the first steps towards a new national life. They cease to look back to the Rhine, and occupy themselves in a continual struggle with their kings. Feudal power is founded, and with it the claims of the bishops rise to their highest point. But we have not yet come to a kingdom of France: for (1) the kings were not French; (2) their kingdom was narrow; at times it was little beyond the frontier-fortress of Laon with its dependencies; at best it had no hold on Brittany, Aquitaine, or Septimania; (3) the Norman ravages reached its very heart; (4) the feudal lords were in fact independent of the king. It was no proper French kingdom; but a dying branch of the Empire of Charles the Great.

There was a twofold movement throughout the period; first,

¹ Langue d'Oc and Langue d'Oil are the names given to the southern and northern dialects of the Gallo-Romance speech. The names are taken from the word signifying *yes* in south and north. The Latin '*hoc*' was used alone in the south; in the north they said '*hoc-illud*', whence *oil*, *oil*.

against Germany and the imperial idea; secondly, towards the dismemberment of France herself. Charles the Great had founded an Empire with vassal-kingdoms under it; but the tendencies of the age were opposed to it: even the Church, to a great extent, shook off the Papal Empire, became feudal, anti-central. No oecumenical Councils were held, there was no united action, each bishop tried to win an independent jurisdiction; the high pretensions of Hincmar of Rheims will be noticed presently.

All tended to produce a local, territorial independence. The Empire and the Papacy will strive in vain against this tendency; feudal nations headed by feudal kings will consolidate their power; Pope and Emperor will also turn their arms against each other, in a feud of centuries. Meanwhile, France, lying off the line of this struggle, will have time to grow into a great monarchy.

This dreary period may be divided into three parts:

1. From A.D. 843—888, to the deposition of Charles the Fat.
2. From A.D. 888—911, to the settlement of the Northmen in Western France.
3. From A.D. 911—987, to the accession of Hugh Capet.

1. *To the Deposition of Charles the Fat, 843—888.*

Charles the Bald, entering on his part of the Caroling Empire, found three large districts which refused to recognise him. These were Aquitaine, whose King was Pippin II; Septimania, in the hands of Bernard; and Brittany under Nomenoë. He attempted to reduce them; but Brittany and Septimania defied him, while over Aquitaine he was little more than a nominal suzerain. His home-territories were also in evil case. Northern vikings¹ ravaged his coasts, and had to be bought off from Paris itself; on the Seine they were beginning to secure their footing, and to settle. Ceaseless squabbles went on between King and

¹ A Viking is 'a man of a *vik*, or bay'; he was a Scandinavian warrior-pirate.—See Vigfússon's *Icel. Dict.* s. v. *Vikigr*.

nobles; he had granted them all he had, to buy their help against his brothers; and now he tried to repossess himself of his domains by force. The nobles rose against him, and, calling in Hludwig the German, compelled him to fly. But when the Germans came the old local jealousies revived; the French-Franks once more rallied to their King, the German-Franks had to retire; and the party of the chiefs, who had been headed by Wenillon, archbishop of Sens, came to terms with Charles. He acknowledged himself to be King by episcopal consecration, and therefore liable to deposition by the same judgment. The Church accepted this position; and Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, and the King's chief minister, laid down the principle that kings are subject to no man's government, while they rule by God's law and will; but that if they transgress that law and will, then they must be judged by the bishops without any reference to Papal authority¹. A high-tide mark in the pretensions of the Episcopate, which, however, soon ebbed again.

The reign of Charles the Bald is also notable for the dawn of a greater power, destined to have its centre at Paris, though its chief men are not French. This is Scholasticism.

The Philosophy of the Schools is the first European mental effort. Though perhaps not marked by great originality, it fills the whole intellectual life of five centuries, and its influences were felt for centuries after its fall. Its first task may be said to have been the application of Aristotle's principles to the study of Theology. It had other and more fruitful results in the hands of those who inquired into Nature's doings, and were the forefathers of modern experimental philosophy. At the King's court was an Irishman, last representative, as he is called, of Greek philosophy. He was also the first representative of the philosophy of the Middle Ages. Joannes Scotus Erigena (i. e. John Scot, Erin-born) was at the head of the palace school. He set himself to introduce Platonism into Western Christianity; his appeals to human reason against authority, his

¹ Hincmar's Works, i. 693-5.

tendencies towards materialism and pantheism indicate more than one of the lines on which the modern mind was destined to travel. Hincmar resisted him, and had him condemned. At a later period, though some followed Erigena, the main body of schoolmen turned to deductive logic, authority, and the words of Scripture, and saved themselves from the dangerous paths of inquiry which he had so hardily pursued.

Hlothar, Emperor, King of Italy, brother of Charles the Bald, died in 835. Of his three sons, who divided his domains, the last survivor, Hludwig II, Emperor and King of Italy, died in 875, leaving two princes, Hludwig the German and Charles the Bald, in possession of all the old Empire of Charles the Great. The latter, restless and ambitious, thought to restore the Empire; and got himself crowned King of Italy by the Pope. Hludwig died next year, and his three sons, as usual, divided his kingdom. But Charles the Bald intrigued with the German nobles, and compelled the three brothers to take up arms. Then the French king, needing help, held a diet at Chiersi in 877, and granted his leudes the hereditary possession of their benefices¹. Hereditary succession was already the custom; this diet made it a right. It is therefore rightly regarded as an epoch in the history of feudalism. Henceforward the political importance of the alodial tenure passes away; dukes and counts, hitherto (in name at least) the king's officers, become independent princes; the greatest alodial lords can be no more than this.

With his nobles thus gratified, he set forth for Italy. But his concessions availed him nothing there; Karloman, son of Hludwig of Germany, defeated and drove him homewards. On Mont Cenis death overtook him, as he rested in a poor hut, and cut the thread of his somewhat tattered web of life. Hludwig his son² succeeded (A.D. 877). His father had been a man of some gifts, but this man, 'the Stammerer,' was feeble altogether. The nobles forced him at the outset to ratify their

¹ See the Capitularies in Baluze, 2. p. 259.

² Sometimes called 'Louis II, King of France.'

old privileges, and to grant them new fiefs. He yielded, and was crowned. We draw towards a new series of puppet-kings. This stammering Hludwig soon passed away, dying in 879; and the nobles thought good to divide the kingship between his two sons; Hludwig III in the North, and Carloman in the South. Their kingship shrank to very narrow limits; Boson in Provence founded the kingdom of Arles in spite of their efforts; the Northmen ravaged the Atlantic coasts with impunity. In 882 Hludwig died, Carloman two years later. There now remained but two to represent the Caroling family; Charles, a child of five, a posthumous son of Hludwig the Stammerer, and the Emperor Charles the Fat¹. To the latter fell the nominal lordship over almost all the Empire.

The incessant partitions, squabbles, deaths, of the kings, their sons, their cousins, had sapped the strength of the race; each noble sold his services to one or another, buying therewith also his independence; and the wretched Charles, in his bulky incapacity, was a type of the huge and ill-knit Empire over which he was the head. No sooner was he on the throne than he was met by a strong league, whose head-quarters are to the west, on the coast and rivers. The fierce Northmen under their great chief Hrolf (Rollo) joined Hugh of Lorraine, and beleaguered Paris in 885. Paris had shrunk back into the 'Cité,' which was built on an island in the Seine; so terrible was the neighbourhood of the Northmen. But in that little island were three captains of good heart: Gozlin their bishop, Hugh 'first of abbots,' and Eudes or Odo, count of Paris. Gozlin and Hugh perished in the siege, but Odo held out. Meanwhile the unwieldy king was far off in Germany, and heeded not the cries of Paris. For eighteen months the citizens held out: the rude warfare of the Northmen, unskilled in sieges, made no impression on the fortified bridges. At last Charles came with a host of men, the forces of the Empire; and from Montmartre saw the heroic defenders and their foes. The hollow-eyed citizens thought to see their pagan enemies scattered to the

¹ Charles III in French histories.

winds; but the feeble king had no energy, and did but beg the Normans to name their price; they were willing to retire for seven hundred pounds of silver. The fierce citizens, with a cry of disgust, refused to be parties to such shame; they rushed forth and drove the Northmen from the Seine, compelling them to drag their boats across a neck of land before they could embark. The fat king had no wish to dwell in that land; he withdrew to Germany. There he was abandoned by all, deposed, degraded. He sought shelter at Reichenau, on the Lake of Constance, where under the roof of the monks he lingered a while, a mere wreck, and died in 888. In him the French Carolings seemed to reach their lowest point; cowardly, lazy, incapable, sickly, the degenerate grandson and namesake of Charles the Great was a lamentable contrast to his vigorous ancestor and to his great contemporary, Alfred of England. Few sovereigns have attained to so great contempt as he; and the kindest view to take of him is that he was insane.

2. *To the Settlement of the Northmen in Western France.*
A.D. 888-911.

The great lords now set up six several states; Italy, Germany, Lorraine, Provence, Transjurane Burgundy, and France. In the last there was a strong feeling against the Carolings; and the nobles chose Odo, the stout defender of Paris, the count of Paris and duke of France, to be their king. It is too much to say that he was the first real French king; but he was more like one than the Carolings had been; and he foreshadowed the race that was to come. His authority extended over the lands between the Meuse and the Loire, and was not very well defined within those limits. All France was a loose bundle of petty states, which multiplied through this period: a century later, when Hugh Capet was made king, there were as many as eighty of these small princes between the Meuse and the Loire. These were the feudal elements or units of a later time; castles were built and garrisoned with tried men-at-arms; a rough

justice was dispensed, towns began to grow round the strongholds; the feudal lord found it well to have peace within his own borders; he defended his villains, agriculture began to lift up the head, thrift and handicrafts gained time and security, and sprang into life¹.

Let us sum up the causes which led to this victory of feudalism over the Caroling family; it answers to that struggle which raised the Austrasians above the Meroving princes, with the difference that society had made some slight advance since then.

These causes are: (1) the severance of Germany from France; (2) the independence of Burgundy, Brittany, and Aquitaine, and the weakness of the kings in their strife with these districts; (3) the personal feebleness of the kings; (4) the Norman incursions, which led to the fashion of castle-building, which in its turn led to the independence of the builders; (5) the influence of the great Churchmen, who used their power over weak princes in favour of the nobles; (6) the battles of the century, and notably that of Fontenoy, which destroyed the free Franks; (7) the custom of Recommendation or Commendation, which led the smaller landowners to range themselves under the nearest lord, to the neglect and permanent weakening of the nominal head of government; and (8) lastly, the gradual growth of privilege, consolidation of the greater lordships, and the change of the old court offices (duke and count) into territorial and hereditary dignities. In all these ways feudal independence gained and royalty lost, until it fell.

But though the lords were strong enough to dethrone the Carolings, they did not care to abandon all the traditions of the past. Consequently they met, and chose Count Odo (or Eudes) as their king. A quarter of a century earlier an adventurer, of low birth, a Saxon², it was said, had been useful

¹ Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, tom. 3. p. 283.

² Afterwards men succeeded in tracing his descent from Childebrand, brother of Charles Martel.

to different petty kings; eventually he attached himself to Charles the Bald, who set him in the front to defend the country between the Seine and the Loire. This adventurer was Robert the Strong, who perished fighting against the Normans. By his side fought Tertullus the Rustic, a peasant's son, whom the king made seneschal of Anjou. From Robert spring the Capets; from Tertullus, the Plantagenets. The two families of the Christian world, who have worn the greatest number of crowns¹, stood side by side at their beginnings, conscious only of vigour and courage, ignorant of their high destiny. This Robert was the father of Eudes, whom the nobles elected king. Eudes struggled vainly for six years; then the Caroling party recovered heart, and in 893, at an assembly at Rheims, they called in Charles the Simple², and chose him king. Arnulf, king of Germany and head of the Caroling family, now interfered; but Fulk, archbishop of Rheims, eventually persuaded him to take up a position as protector of the new king. But what could the weak prince do against the vigour and ability of Eudes? He was compelled to take refuge in Burgundy. Again he tried his fortune in war, and failing threw himself on his rival's generosity. Eudes, knowing that the Carolings, with their strong friends in Germany, and their plentiful means of stirring up strife in Southern France, might be held in check, but could not be crushed, behaved wisely and generously, after the manner of his family. He granted to Charles certain domains between the Meuse and Seine; acknowledged him as his lord, and agreed that, if he died, Charles should succeed him. In 898 he did die, and the nobles met, and elected Charles sole king of France, while Robert, brother of Eudes, became Duke of France; and things seemed to fall back into their old form; a Caroling king, and a feudal Duke, of France³.

¹ La Vallée, *Histoire des Français*, 1. p. 209.

² This is Charles IV of the ordinary histories. The soubriquet 'le Sot' is, in fact, 'the Fool.'

³ It must never be forgotten that these titles, king and duke of France, are of a very narrow significance—not reaching very far from Paris, nor going beyond the Meuse or the Loire.

The simple king, little more than a puppet, reigned long in peace. There are times in history when shades seem to have more solidity than realities; it seemed as though a puppet-king was what France at the moment needed. A stronger man would have aroused passions, and led to war. His weakness was no offence to, was even a cloak for, the strength and ambition of the chiefs. The one fact of this feeble reign of four-and-twenty years is the disgraceful but fortunate cession of the Lower Seine and Brittany to the Northmen in 911.

The Northmen had gradually closed in upon France. All conquest of a somewhat settled country by a wilder race follows one law. We saw it with the Franks, we may see it in the Northmen. First came plundering raids, out and home again, with cattle-lifting, savage work and bloodshed, everything carried off that could be, and the bleeding land left to recover as it might. Then gradually the land itself attracts. The invaders are not so keen to get home with their booty; or they think it well to have a secure place or two on the coast; and so they begin to settle. They winter in the land; the new climate becomes familiar, they end by sitting down firmly as owners of the soil, a fresh element of life in the land they adopt. The Northmen came and went by sea; their home was bleak in winter-time; they made their new homes wherever their keels came to shore: all the world was theirs, so long as it could be reached by water. Hoisting sail, or plying their strong oars, they went hither and thither; it mattered not which way. England was perhaps their favourite hunting-ground; though their long ships struck terror on every coast. Sailing the 'Easternway,' they founded the Russian Empire; the Russian was for a long time a Northman¹. The same Northmen who ruled in Little Russia are found in the tenth century (strange prophecy!) attacking Constantinople². Sailing the 'Westernway,' they discovered

¹ See Vigfússon's Icelandic Dict. v. *Fors*. He quotes Constantine Porphyrogenitus, shewing that some Scandinavian words were in his day current in Russia. Constantine distinguishes between words used, *ρωσιστί* and *σκαλαβινιστί*, Russ and Sclavonian; and his 'Russ' words are clearly Scandinavian.

² A.D. 904.

Iceland and Greenland; there are traces of still more distant expeditions and lodgments on the American coast. In France, the rivers were so many pathways leading to the rich booty of the inland. In Spain, in Italy, these 'Magiogs,' sons of Magog, as the Arabian historians style them, clashed with the Moslem power. The Mediterranean learned to know the heathen vikings; and the days were evil for all dwellers by the main. The more civilised world had little dealings with the sea; but it was the home of the Northmen, and helped them, in their conflict with the rest of Europe, just as armour served the Romans against half-naked tribes, or as, in later times, the gun overcame the arrow. The Norse ship with its fierce crew seemed to form one creature; the viking almost thought his ship had life. The sea-dragons, gliding silently over the main, struck terror into all who sighted them from the shore.

They began their ravages near the end of the eighth century. The English coasts felt them first in 787; the French coasts in 799. There is an old poem which relates how Charles Martel¹, in his old age, wept when he saw their long ships at Aigues Mortes. Charles the Great knew what the danger was. He had built a fortress against them at Hamburg; one of his last important acts was an agreement by which the Dannewerk on the Eider became the border-line between Scandinavian and Teuton². Harold the Dane took refuge with Hludwig the Pious, and after his baptism at Engelenheim, in 826, settled in Friesland. About the same time efforts were made, with some success, to convert the Northmen to Christianity. Ansgar took his life in his hands and preached Christ in Sweden; he was driven out, was made archbishop of the Christian outpost at Hamburg; then returned again, and in 853 baptized Olaf the converted Swedish king. At this time (A.D. 838) the Danes penetrated as far up the Loire as Tours: and soon after (A.D. 841) under Hasting they laid siege to and took Rouen.

¹ But it must have been Charles the Great.

² The Dannewerk was built in 808 by Godfrid, and accepted as the Danish frontier in 811.

Their first actual settlement in France seems to have been in 846: returning from Galicia they occupied the island of Noirmoutiers off the coast of La Vendée, and this and their quarters on the Seine were their earliest standpoints for wider depredations. The same process went on at the same time in England. In 853 they settled in Thanet; in 855 they wintered in the isle of Sheppey, points as handy for them as Noirmoutiers on the opposite coast.

These were days of horrible anarchy in France; and they took advantage of the feebleness of Charles the Bald; there was no one to grapple with them as did Alfred the Great, who soon after this time began his long and glorious resistance in England. They pillaged Nantes and Bordeaux; their boats, wattled osiers covered with skins, reached Paris, Orléans, even Toulouse. On the river-banks they chose suitable spots, built rude huts, and kept their flocks of captives. Everything within reach of the great rivers was liable to attack from them; the castles could only defend themselves. The priests, the cattle, the poor possessions of the tillers of the soil, the Gallo-Franks themselves, all fell into their hands. Churches and abbeys were favourite victims with them; there they could both avenge their gods and win a wealthy spoil. 'The race of warriors and free Franks was gone; towns were worn out and disarmed; they had neither walls nor defenders, government nor wealth; the country folk, like mere cattle, had neither power nor courage to defend themselves; the peasantry fled to the woods, or huddled miserably in the churches, or cast off the faith which seemed powerless, and joined the pirates. The nobles cared only to pluck their own gain from this public misery. Their cowardice, says Ermentarius, ruined the Christian realm, and they were driven to buy with gold the security they ought to have won with steel¹.'

A few years later Hrolf, a man of note for us, settled on the Seine (A.D. 876). He divided his attention for a time between England and France; then finding King Alfred too strong for

¹ Chiefly from La Vallée, *Histoire des Français*, i. p. 202.

him, he returned to the Seine, and fell on the degenerate Franks and their helpless dependents.

In 882 Hludwig III tried to make head against them, and actually defeated Hasting on the Loire. He built wooden castles, block-houses, to keep them in check; 'but,' says the Chronicle of St. Bertin, 'no man could be found who dared to garrison them.' His short-lived vigour availed nothing; still less the reign of Charles the Fat. We have already mentioned the siege of Paris in his time (A.D. 885) and his wretched incapacity. It was a time of desolation and decay; the Church alone showed some life. 'France was like a great desert, above whose vast level a few tall church-towers rose¹.'

Now came the permanent settlements. One band established itself between Chartres and Blois, on the Loire; another, the chief body, made Rouen its head-quarters, and dominated Evreux and Bayeux, holding both banks of the Seine, and forming a definite and organised state under Hrolf. The wretched Christians looked with wonder at the sight. Those heathen pirates, whom they had regarded as so many devils, shewed them the way towards peace and prosperity. Hrolf's lordship was seen to be a boon to all who came under it. The Celtic element of the population, its largest part by far, openly preferred the strong heathen to the powerless Christian. It seemed possible that these vigorous strangers might with a puff blow away the fragile monarchy, and rule instead. Charles yielded to necessity; and the Church undertook the task of mediating between the powers. She foresaw her advantage in it; she had already made some trial of the new comers. Their hatred for Christianity was dying out; it might presently be turned into love. Ever ready to grapple with the new elements of power, the Church instinctively turned towards the Normans; as she had conquered Hlodowig, so might she conquer Hrolf. The archbishop of Rouen was sent to him from the king with the offer of his daughter in marriage, and the hereditary lordship of the district between the Epte and the

¹ La Vallée, *Histoire des Français*, i. p. 214.

borders of Brittany. In return Hrolf should acknowledge Charles as his lord, live in peace with the kingdom, and above all, become a Christian. Hrolf, who had learnt to admire the grandeur of Alfred, and had a noble ambition to found a well-ordered state, and could recognise something of the dignity of Christianity even in its ruins, accepted these terms, with one stipulation:—that he should be at liberty to conquer Brittany, if he could, make it his own, and do homage for it to the French king. Charles the Fat made no difficulty in giving what was not his own; and so the bargain was closed. At St. Claire-sur-Epte, near Gisors, Hrolf swore fealty to Charles. It is said that when told to kneel and kiss the royal foot, he ordered one of his men to do it, who obeyed so roughly, that he upset the monarch amidst the uproarious laughter of the bystanders. The tale is due to the pride of the Norman chroniclers, who sought by it to gloze over the disgrace of such an act of submission. Hrolf forthwith became a Christian, and was baptized by the name of Robert, after the duke of France; a little later Gisela, the French king's daughter, became his wife. His men loyally followed his lead, and became Christians. Normandy soon settled down into a compact well-ordered state, and noble towns and buildings arose. The Normans, already quite familiar with the French, after a century of intercourse, soon adopted the manners and speech of their subjects; in twenty years' time Normandy was far in advance of the rest of France. So well did they handle the new tongue that Norman poets wrote stirring ballads in it; their laws are also in the new, not in the old, language. Norman-French became for a time the leading idiom of the language. Thus did the stronger race adopt what was best in the possessions of the older inhabitants; they no longer pillaged and destroyed; they took and ennobled.

The last settlement of the Northern nations in Gaul is now accomplished. Gaul receives from the Normans her last external influences. Energy and enterprise, bravery and the love of liberty, again blossom on the shores of France.

3. *To the Accession of Hugh Capet, A.D. 911–987.*

We must pass lightly over the rest of the expiring family of the Carolings. After a long course of strength and dignity, they now pass down the age, sluggish and divided; like their own Rhine, above so noble, swift, and full, below broken into many channels, flowing slow through fen and bog, where the wayfarer is bewildered by the low monotony and the faint distinction between land and river. The Carolings of this last period have little to distinguish or ennoble them; they slowly drift towards extinction; it is scarcely worth our while to trace their course.

The French lords had seen in the rough laughter of the Norman chiefs how low the kingship had fallen. But it was not enough for Charles to be despised, he must also merit their anger. To this end he fell into the hands of Haganon, a man of low birth and clear, supple ability, who tried to play the part of the old Mayors of the Palace. But the Mayors had been great representatives of the feudal nobles; while Haganon had no connexion with them. Headed by Robert, son of Robert the Strong, they rose against him and his master in 920, and shut up the king in the stronghold of Laon. This castle, the final refuge of the Caroling kings, lay in the northernmost part of the kingdom, the last stronghold to which they could retire before abandoning all and fleeing into Germany or Lorraine. It is north even of Rheims, the religious centre of the royal power; far north, of course, of Paris, its political centre. Thrust back on his last defences, the king was rudely taught how low he had fallen. All had become territorial; he too was measured by his domains, and they were narrow enough. Law also had ceased to be personal, as in the older codes. It had attached itself also to the land; and the land carried with it its own customs, privileges, and rights of sovereignty. It was from this time that the North of France became the 'land of custom-right'.¹ The Normans, who had most originality and character,

¹ The 'Pays du droit coutumier' was the North of France; south of it lay the 'Pays du droit écrit.'—See also Sir H. Maine, *Ancient Law*, p. 83.

who also felt most the worth of their territorial position, did much to render law the mere creature of custom.

What chance had the king among these chiefs, or barons¹, as they were called? He fled into Lorraine. The barons chose Duke Robert as their king, and crowned him at Rheims in 922. But the next year Charles, by help of the crafty Haganon, got the Normans to take up his quarrel. A battle was fought at Soissons, in which Robert the barons' king was killed. But his son, Hugh le Blanc, who now first appears, the greatest name of the period, and Herbert, count of Vermandois, rallied their men, and drove Charles off the field. They then took Rodolf of Burgundy, and made him their king. Herbert of Vermandois was, or pretended to be, piqued at this step, and sent to Charles to say he would help him; on which the poor king came to visit this new and powerful friend, who seized him, and held him prisoner, using him as a threat and a hostage, till he died in 929. The barons had no liking for Count Herbert; they drove him out of France, and he took refuge with Henry King of the Germans. Rodolf of Burgundy now remained unmolested as king till his death in 936. Then the barons,—Hugh le Blanc, who might have been king himself, but prudently preferred the substantial advantages of the duchy of Burgundy, Herbert of Vermandois, and William Longsword of Normandy,—sent to England for Hludwig, the young son of Charles, who had been carried thither as a child by his mother, Queen Eadgyfu, when his father was seized by Herbert. Hludwig 'Outremer'² was about sixteen years old when this sudden change came to him; he had been accustomed to a very different atmosphere at Athelstan's court, and was no sooner crowned than he shewed such signs of independence, and such determination to rule, that Hugh was offended, withdrew his support from him, and made friends with Otto the Great of

¹ *Baro* is the Low Latin form of the Old German *ber* [A.-S. *wer*, as in *wer-gild*], which is akin to the Latin *vir*, and bears the same high sense.

² *Outremer* is *ultra-mare*, beyond the sea, a name given him by reason of his bringing-up in England.

Germany. Doubtless an error; yet one that clearly illustrates the feeling of the upper classes in Northern France. Even the nobles there looked to the Emperor as their ultimate chief. But lately Herbert of Vermandois had fled to Henry; now Hugh the Great, drawing with him the chief of the barons, becomes 'man' to Otto. That great prince had noble ideas: in him the imperial power, long in the dust, had risen again; and he was the true founder of the German Empire. He was now eager to assert his lordship over France, invaded the country, proclaimed himself King at Attigny, and shut up young Hludwig at Laon. Here the gallant lad defended himself stoutly, with the help of the Lorrainers, until he could hold out no longer, and then fled into Aquitaine, where he gathered help. The Pope, Stephen III, interposed, and Otto, having other things on hand, desisted. Hludwig was recognised by all as King in 940 or 941.

Herbert of Vermandois died in 943, and Hludwig naturally tried to weaken the formidable territory on his flank; for Vermandois lay close up to Laon, and overshadowed the royal power. Hugh the Great, still jealous of him, interfered; and as William of Normandy also died, the hope of the greater prize put the lesser matter out of mind: all, King and barons alike, joined to rob Richard the new Norman duke. Then Harold of Denmark interfered, and captured Hludwig, killing many of his men. Hugh the Great rescued him from the Northmen, only to keep him as a prisoner. He forced him to surrender Laon, and by holding him in his hand, became the most powerful man in Northern France. In this strait Hludwig appealed to Otto, who came into France to his help: when however, the Emperor's attempt failed, and he retired beyond the Rhine, Hludwig, who had got himself free, followed him into Germany. Later on, Hludwig recovered Laon, and a gleam of success was shed on the close of his reign. In 954 he died, from the effects of a fall out hunting. He was the greatest and most unfortunate of these later Carolings.

He left two sons, Hlothar and Charles. Hugh saw that the

former was crowned King, and soon after died and was buried at St. Denis, there to await the long line of his crowned descendants. Hugh, his son, afterwards known so well as Capet, succeeded him as duke of France and arbiter of the northern kingdom.

When Otto the Great died in 973, Hlothar the King and Hugh tried to wrest Lorraine from the Germans. But Otto the Second was too strong for them. They marched to Aix-la-Chapelle; whence he drove them back and saw the walls of Paris. This however was all he could achieve; he even suffered some reverses on his retreat: Hlothar relinquished his claim on Lorraine, Hugh protesting, with an eye to the future. This was the whole history of a reign long and very inglorious: Hlothar reigned for thirty-two years, and died in 986. When he died, though men were weary of so worn-out a race, his son Hludwig was quietly allowed to reign in his stead. He ruled for one year, and died childless. The Caroling heir to the throne, if such there was indeed, was Charles, his uncle, duke of Lorraine. But who of the barons would care to take him, the German Emperor's man? So he was set aside, and, with the consent of all Northern France, Hugh the duke was elected king. His brother was duke of Burgundy; the duke of Normandy was his brother-in-law. In all ways he was the most central of the great nobles of Northern France. In 987 he was solemnly crowned at Noyon by Adalberon, bishop of Laon.

The age of the Carolings is ended. France has at least a French king, though he rules over but a little fraction of the land. Hugh Capet is the ancestor of all the kings who have sat on the throne of France.

BOOK III.

THE GROWTH OF THE FRENCH MONARCHY.

ITS RISE, A.D. 987-1328.

The accompanying Tables are taken in large part from La Vallée's *Histoire des Français* (tom. 1, pp. 216-218). From them the student may get a clear conception of the smallness of the French kingship at the outset, and of the steps by which it gradually absorbed its neighbours, and grew strong with their help; not on their ruins.

On referring to p. 157, he will find Table IV, which shows the corresponding movement beyond the borders of France, and is useful for comparison.

Table VI gives the fortunes of the chief feudal states of Southern France; Table VII, those of Northern France; Table VIII sums up the results. Table IX also shows the absorption of the states into France with more historical detail and another arrangement. It is so important for the student to see clearly how the Monarchy grew, that I am willing to run the risk of becoming tedious with these Tables.

TABLE VI. FEUDAL STATES OF SOUTHERN FRANCE

A.D.	TOULOUSE (Count).	GOTHIA or NARBONNE (Duke or Marquis).	GUIENNE or AQUITAINE (Duke).	GASCONY (Duke).
768				Lupus I, four Dukes to
819				Waifer,
839		Bernard I, dies,		five beneficiary
852	Raymond I,	five beneficiary		dukes
872		dukes		to
878	who has	Bernard III.		Sancho Milarra,
880				seven hereditary
	twelve	William the Pious dies childless, 918; the duchy falls to Toulouse.	Rainulf (son of Bernard II, of Gothia),	dukes
1036	successors,			to
	to		eleven hereditary	Berenger (who dies child- less, and Gas- cony falls to Aquitaine).
1052			William X (whose daughter Alienor m. Henry, Ct. of Anjou, and K. of England).	
1271	Raymond VII, who cedes half to Louis IX, and half to his daughter, who marries the brother of St. Louis, and he, dying childless, leaves the rest to Philip III (1271).			
1422			The duchy finally ceded to France under Charles VII.	

NCE.

[To face p. 180.]

A.	BURGUNDY (Duke).	BRITTANY (Duke).
818		Nomenoë,
818		
818	Richard the Justi- fiary (whose son Rodolf became K. of France).	
912		who has
912	ized by Hugh, Duke of France; held by Henry, his son; inherited after him by Ro- bert, Barons' K. of France.	nineteen
1033		
1033	Robert (son of Ro- bert the King),	
1066		
1105		
1112		successors
	who has	
1113		
1181		
1181		to
	twelve	
1186		
1195		
1204	successors	Conan IV, whose daughter marries Guy de Thouars. (For several years held feudally of Normandy.) Their daughter m. Pierre de Dreux (1213):
1223		
1226		
1270		
1280		
1285		
	to	
1285		
1314		
1316		
1322		
1328		
1350		
1361	Philip de Rouvre,	
1364		
1380	dies 1361: it passes	
1384	to John II of France;	in whose family it remains till
1422	who grants it to Phi- lip (le Hardi).	1453.

TABLE VII. THE FEUDAL STATES OF NORTHERN FRANCE.

[To face p. 180.]

A. D.	FLANDERS (Count).	VERMANDOIS (Count).	FRANCE (Duke).	NORMANDY (Duke).	ANJOU (Count).	BURGUNDY (Duke).	BRITTANY (Duke).
840			Robert the Strong.				Nomenoë,
870		Heribert I.			Ingelger,		
877						Richard the Justi-	
882	Baldwin I,	Heribert II.	Eudes (Odo) (dis-		who	ciary (whose son	
888			puted K. of France).			Rodolf became K.	
912				Hrolf,		of France).	
922	who has ten		Robert (disputed				who has
938			King of France).	who has	has	Seized by Hugh,	
943		Divided into				Duke of France;	
	successors	Champagne		six successors		held by Henry,	
987		(Count).			nine	his son; inherited	
996	to	Passes	Nine	to		after him by Ro-	nineteen
1031			Hugh Capet, K.			bert, Barons' K. of	
1032			of France.			France.	
1052		to	Robert.		successors	Robert (son of Ro-	
1060		counts	Henry I.			bert the King),	
1108				William the Bas-			
1127	Charles the Good		Philip I.	tard (King of Eng-	to		successors
	(the female line	the House	Louis VI (the Fat).	land, 1066). His			
	succeeds).			granddaughter m.			
	(1) House of Al-	to		Geoffrey Plantage-			
	sace (by fem. line),			net,			
1137		of Blois,	Louis VII (the	and has	Henry	who has	
1180	six		Young).		Plantagenet		
1183			Philip II (Au-	three successors	(Henry II	to	
			gustus).		of England).		
1189	counts	twelve	Eleanor,	to		twelve	
1199			who cedes it				
		counts	to Philip II.	John Lackland,	Richard		
1204	to			(from whom	John	successors	Conan IV, whose
1223				Philip Augustus	(from whom		daughter marries
1226		to	Louis VIII.	takes it).	Philip Augustus		Guy de Thouars.
1270			Louis IX (Saint).		but		(For several years
1280	(2) House of		Philip III.		St. Louis gives		held feudally
	Dauphiné,				it to one of his		of Normandy.)
1285		the last heir-			brothers.	to	Their daughter
		ess, who m.					m. Pierre de
		Philip IV.					Dreux (1213):
1285	four counts		Philip IV (the Fair).		Philip de		
1314			Louis X (the Brawler).		Rouvre,		
1316			John I (reigns five days). Philip V (the Tall).		dies 1361: it passes		in whose family
1322			Charles IV (the Fair).		to John II of France;		it remains till
1328	to		Philip VI, House of Valois.		who grants it to Phi-		1453.
1350			John II (the Good).		lip (le Hardi).		
1361							
1364			Charles V (the Wise).				
1380			Charles VI.				
1384	(3) House of Bur-						
	gundy-Valois.						
1422			Charles VII.				

TABLE VIII. ABSORPTION OF THE CHIEF FEUDAL STATES INTO THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE

A.D.	Flaunders.	Cham-pagne.	Vermandois.	France.	Normandy.	Gothia and Toulouse.	Gascony.	Aquitaine.	Anjou.	Burgundy.	Brittany.
987			High Capet.				Berengier dies childless; falls to Aquitaine.				
1036			Ceded by Eleanor (1183) to Philip II (Augustus).		Conquered by Philip Augustus (1204).	Falls to Philip III by lack of issue (1270).					
1183											
1204											
1270			Philip III.								
1285											
1453			Falls by marriage (1285) to Philip IV.								
1474			Charles VII.								
			Louis XI.								
1479											
1532			Francis I.								
1667											

S. Flaunders claimed and taken by Louis XIV.

Conquered and annexed by Charles VII (1453).

Annexed by Louis XI (1474).

Annexed by Louis XI (1479).

The daughter of Anne brings it with her to Francis I (1532).

TABLE IX.

SUCCESSIVE ADDITIONS TO THE FRENCH
MONARCHY.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>District.</i>	<i>King.</i>	<i>Circumstances.</i>
1068	Gâtinais	Philip I	Acquired from Fulk of Anjou.
1082	French Vexin	"	Acquired from Simon of Valois.
1100	Bourges	"	Bought of Herpin its Count going on Crusade.
1183	Vermandois, Amiens	Philip Augustus	Taken from Philip of Flanders, on his wife's death.
1185	Valois	" "	Ditto.
1203	Touraine, Anjou, Maine, Poitou	" "	Confiscated from King John of England. [Permanently acquired by St. Louis, 1258.]
"	Saintonge	" "	Confiscated from King John of England. [Ceded at Bretigny, 1360, to England; reconquered by Charles V and Charles VII.]
1205	Normandy	" "	Taken by conquest from King John of England.
1209	Auvergne	" "	Confiscated from Guy its Count. [Finally secured to the Crown by Louis XIII.]
1229	Béziers, Narbonne, Nîmes, Velay, Albigeois	St. Louis (IX)	After Albigensian war.
1233	Blois, Chartres	" "	Bought from Thibault of Champagne.
1255	Gévaudan	" "	Bought from Count of Barcelona. [Confirmed to Philip IV, 1306.]
1257	Perche	" "	Fell in on extinction of the Perche family.
1270	Languedoc, Vivarais, Rouergue	Philip III	On extinction of the House of St. Gilles.
1285	Champagne and Brie	Philip IV	By marriage with the heiress.
"	Lyonnais	"	By agreement with the Archbishop and Burgheis.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>District.</i>	<i>King.</i>	<i>Circumstances.</i>
1349	Dauphiné	Philip VI	Bought from the last Dauphin of Vienne.
1370	Limousin	Charles V	Conquered from the English. [Visc. of Limoges secured finally under Henry IV.]
1453	Guienne and Gascony	Charles VII	Conquered from the English.
1479	Burgundy	Louis XI	Annexed on death of Charles the Rash, Duke of Burgundy.
"	Marche	"	Confiscated from the House of Armagnac.
1487	Provence	"	On death of the last Count.
1523	Angoumois, Forez, Beaujolais	Francis I	Patrimony.
1531	Bourbon and Dauphiné d'Auvergne	"	Confiscated from the Constable de Bourbon.
1547	Brittany	Charles VIII and Louis XII and Francis I	By marriage with Anne of Brittany.
			By marriage with the daughter of Anne of Brittany.
1548	Comminges	"	On extinction of the Comminges family.
1552	Trois-Evêchés [Metz, Verdun, Toul]	Henry II	Secured to France by the Treaty of Westphalia, 1648.
1589	Béarn, Navarre, Bigorre, Foix, Armagnac	Henry IV	Patrimony.
1601	Bresse and Bugey	"	Exchanged against Saluces with the Duke of Savoy.
1648	Alsace	Louis XIII and Louis XIV	By conquest from Germany. Secured to France by the Treaty of Westphalia, 1648.
1659	Roussillon and Artois	" "	By conquest. Secured by the Treaty of the Pyrenees, 1659.
1665	Nivernois	Louis XIV	On extinction of the Nivernois family.
1668	Flanders and Hainault.	"	Secured by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.
1678	Franche-Comté	"	Secured by the Treaty of Nimwegen.
1681	Strasbourg	"	Secured by Treaty of Ryswick, 1697.
1684	Charolais	"	Confiscated from Spain.
1766	Lorraine	Louis XV	Secured by Treaty of Vienna, 1815.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory.

I. THE AIM OF THIS BOOK.

THE year 987 is the true starting-point for the History of France. Hitherto the Caroling kings had in some respects been more German than French; they fled into Lorraine, and took shelter under the Emperor, if their barons were too hard on them; they did not care to speak French, or to identify themselves with the bulk of the people of the land. But from the days of Hugh Capet all is changed. Hugh was a Neustrian baron; duke of France, with Paris as his capital: in reality he was the peer of those princes who made him King. We must always remember that the names France and Paris had not their modern significance: Paris was but the chief town of a petty dukedom, France the name of a narrow district, overshadowed by greater lordships, and almost unknown across the Loire.

The petty sovereign who reigned at Paris was in fact little more than a simple member of the feudal hierarchy of great lords. He had indeed a different title; he inherited certain traditions; but, as a king, he was a shadow. The custom of dividing history by arbitrary lines at the accessions of sovereigns has lifted these early Capetian kings into a false position: we must free ourselves from this delusion of monarchy. At a later time the greater kings often represent the age, and our chapters will follow their reigns. In these earlier days this ought not to be the case. Thus, the epochs of the conquest of England, and of the first Crusade, leave the feeble kings quite on one side.

The power and independence of the feudal barons reduced the kingship almost to nothing: by a rude kind of 'balance of power,' or rather of jealousy, the king managed to exist; and that was all. As however time went on, he neutralised much of the hostility of the barons: used first the Church, then the Communes, in his struggle with the landed interest: by war, by marriage, by management, he gradually absorbed the sovereign states, and rose to the full possession of the powers of that feudal monarchy, of which we propose to trace the growth in the following pages. The period is one of over three hundred years, from the election of Hugh Capet in 987, to the reign of Philip IV, the Fair, in whom feudal monarchy reached its highest point.

After him the kingly power recedes, and the period of the great English wars comes on, in which monarchy and feudalism seem to suffer equally. This period sees the beginning of the House of Valois; it sees the rise of the absolute (as distinguished from the feudal) monarchy, in the person of Charles V, the Wise; it attains its full height in Francis I at the Reformation time. Absolute monarchy continues till the end of the Valois, and through the reign of Henry IV; then it changes step by step, chiefly through Richelieu's influence, into a despotic monarchy, which towers up into the splendours of the reign of the 'grand monarque,' Louis XIV. After him an irresponsible monarchy, surrounded by an effete vassal noblesse, sinks rapidly in power and esteem, until the Revolution of 1789 sweeps away both, and creates a new epoch in the history of France.

II. THE CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY AT HUGH CAPET'S ACCESSION.

Gaul was still, in reality, divided into three well-marked countries. (1) The remains of the old Austrasia; that is, the two Lorraines, Arles, and Burgundy, German-speaking, holding chiefly of the Empire, and contemptuous towards the French—the 'Walli' or 'Galli' (as the Loherains or Lorrainers called

them), whom they despised for having abandoned the old Frankish tongue, and for having become somewhat more polished. (2) The old 'Neustria,' French-speaking, made up of three distinct races, the Norman, the old Gallo-Romans, and the Franks; including the kingdom of France, Champagne, Anjou, Normandy. (3) Aquitaine, south of the Loire, speaking a distinct dialect, inheritor of the Roman law and civilisation, centuries in advance of its neighbours, regarded with horror by the bishops at the Capetian Court as effeminate and corrupt, too delicate of dress and manners, and in all respects a foreign nation. This district embraced Aquitaine from the Loire, Gascony, and Septimania. Brittany is still a land apart.

The relations of men in these districts were all based on feudal obligations and ideas. The free aristocracy, lay and clerical, alone formed the nation: the mass of the people, chiefly Gallo-Romans by origin, still wore the bonds of a conquered race. The serfs, the lowest portion of the population, who tilled the soil without any hold on it, were nearly what in former days the Roman slaves had been:—above them were the villains, or small tenant-farmers, who held their lands on condition of a certain payment to their lords; above these again came the free and noble population, which has been reckoned, at the time of which we speak, at about a million of souls, living on and taking their names from about seventy thousand separate fiefs or properties: of these fiefs about three thousand carried titles with them. Of these again, no less than a hundred—some reckon as many as a hundred and fifty—were sovereign states, greater or smaller, whose lords could coin money, levy taxes, make laws, administer their own justice. Long before this time the instinct of castle-building had turned every noble's house into a stronghold. The Gallo-Roman gentleman had lived in an open house, spread out over some level and pleasant spot, quite undefended; the Frankish chieftains, whose views were those not of civilised, but of warlike life, and who dwelt in the land as strong-handed and hated conquerors, naturally looked out for safe and strong positions.

They fortified the Gallo-Roman villa, or chose for themselves strong places, hill-tops, river-bends, spurs of highland jutting out into the plain; or availed themselves of existing buildings, as at Nîmes and Arles, where they fortified the Roman arenas: ancient gates, even churches, they used in the same way. To be strong and isolated, this was their desire and their necessity. Gloomy, massive, and safe, these keeps must be. Little or no light could enter, save from the inner court; the entrance was dark and low, and carefully defended: there were unglazed holes for windows; unclean, dark, unwholesome dens, they were well enough while the feudal lord saw from his walls the smoke of the burning huts below, for he knew that his foe would break his rude strength in vain against the rock on which the castle stood. Such dens were intolerable as dwelling-places, and as such were not only the natural results of a violent age, but also a direct incitement to their lords to find their amusements abroad, either on the highways as a robber, or in pilgrimage to far shrines, or in private war with some neighbour, or in following their liege-lord to war against some unruly vassal or neighbouring prince.

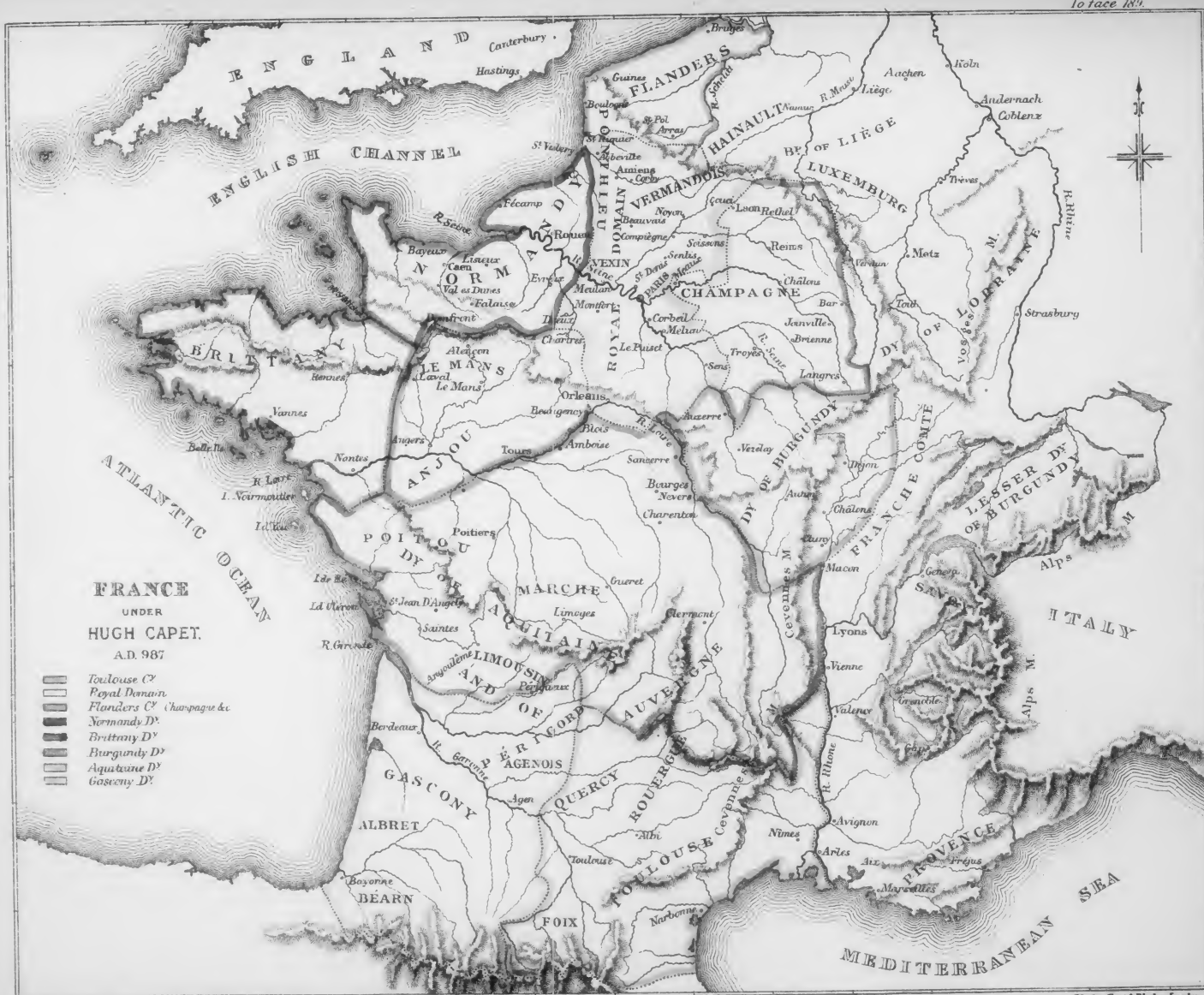
The state of the serfs, and often that of the villains, was inexpressibly wretched. For centuries they had been sinking, and it seemed as if the year 1000 would find mankind, at least in Gaul, sunk to the lowest depth. Agriculture was rude and uncertain: there was no skill to fight against adverse seasons, or to resist the ravages of man. Consequently, famine and pestilence, not rare before, became horribly frequent, with accessories of cannibalism and brutality which reveal the utter wretchedness of the age. Forty-eight famines, between A.D. 987 and 1059, are on record.

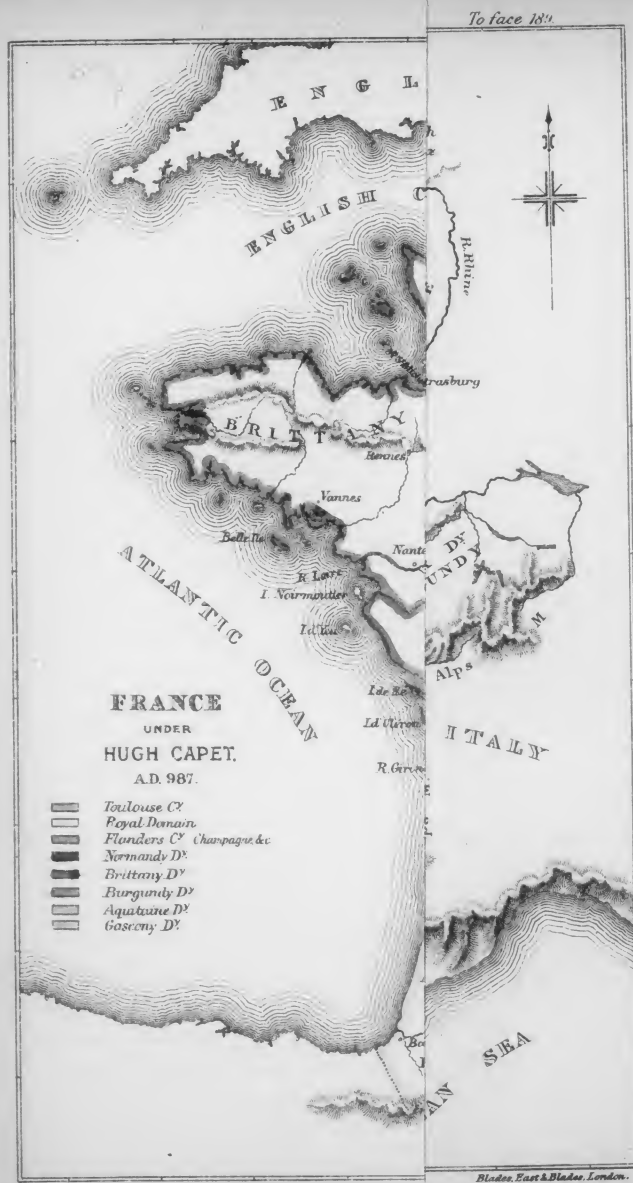
This was the state of society in the earlier stages of feudalism, and small hope there seemed to be: royalty was a mere name, the people were utterly depressed. Yet feudalism seemed needful to restore life and social energy to Europe:—slowly and fitfully the noble classes rose to a certain sense of duty and honour; the condition of woman improved; art and refinement

found some room for growth; the feudal castle became the home of some ideas of justice, such as they were; the royalty of the Capets, feudal in origin and character, gradually attracted more power; feudalism organised the Crusades, and led to that expansion of ideas and that consciousness of shortcoming which sprang out of intercourse with the more refined East. Thus, in spite of the many miseries arising from this unbridled form of aristocracy, we may hail it as the first condition of society which made a national life possible. It neither corresponds to the brilliant dream of the romancer, nor, on the other hand, is it the utterly wicked and desolate wilderness it seems to be when one first gets a real view of it.

III. THE LIMITS OF HUGH CAPET'S KINGSHIP.

Among the many sovereign states of Gaul, or France as we may now begin to call it, eight were pre-eminent in power and extent, and their lords, the great peers, thought little of the supremacy given to that one of their number who held the name of king. The counts of Flanders, Champagne, and Vermandois, and the dukes of Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, and Aquitaine, regarded themselves as the new king's peers or equals. He had just now been but count of Paris, and duke of France, and they had no thought of giving him the Caroling sovereignty. Some resisted him, and set up the claim of Charles, duke of Lower Lorraine, uncle of the late king, Ludwig V. Among the states which lie within modern France, Lorraine, Arles and Franche-Comté held of the Emperor, and were in fact German. The actual domain of the duke of France had been a long and narrow strip running southwards from near the mouth of the Somme, with Normandy on one side, and Flanders, Champagne, and Burgundy on the other; it reached down to the Loire. Thus the Seine, with Paris on it, crossed the domain, nearly cutting it in half. Hugh Capet, its lord, was also lay abbot of St. Denis, the most important church in France.

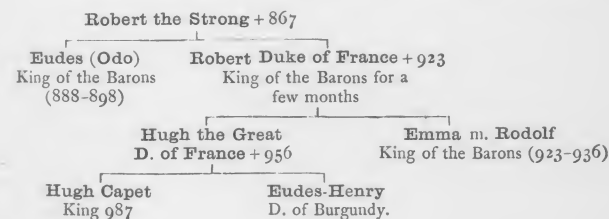




In addition to these narrow domains, the king was also the inheritor of the older Caroling sovereignty. This however was very little, and had but a slight hold on men's minds. In fact the Carolings had fallen so low that people were apt to think that the duke of France lost position by becoming their successor.

These, then, are the weak beginnings of the Capetian line,—the line which gradually welded France into a kingdom, and paved the way for that compact and vigorous unity which did so much to make its national life glorious.

TABLE X.
THE PEDIGREE OF HUGH CAPET (HUON CHAPETTE).



CHAPTER II.

*From the Accession of Hugh Capet, to the age of the
First Crusade, A.D. 987-1066.*

UNDER the influence of Gerbert, afterwards so famous as Pope Sylvester II, the French-speaking Franks proclaimed duke Hugh their king at Noyon, not far from Laon: the election was confirmed and sanctioned at Rheims by Adalberon¹, the archbishop, who solemnly crowned him King of Franks. This act, for which the whole life of Hugh the Great had been a preparation, was the natural end of the long struggle between the feudal nobles and the Caroling kings. As the barons, with their French language and interests, grew stronger, the kings, who spoke German, and had German interests, had been losing strength. And when things were ripe for the change, whom could they have chosen better than the duke of France? Vermandois had ceased to be great, since the death of Herbert; Normandy was but half French, and not central; Burgundy was too far to the east. The lords of the Ile de France were French in speech and interests; had shown great vigour of character; and Hugh the Great, had he wished it, might have deposed the Carolings of his day. Hugh was also, on the whole, the strongest of the barons; he was feudal lord of all Picardy, and had vast domains in Champagne; the city and county of Paris, Orleans, Chartres, the counties of Blois, Perche, Touraine, and Main, all held of him. On the other hand, as his was but

¹ There were at this time two Adalberons, one the archbishop of Rheims, the other the bishop of Laon, who was also called Ascelin.

a short pedigree¹, he aroused no jealousy in the minds of those who regarded him as but their equal. His connexions secured him the goodwill of the most powerful of those peers, the dukes of Normandy and Burgundy. He had the support of the archbishop of Rheims, the highest Churchman in Neustrian France; and Gerbert, rightly counted the wisest and most learned man in Christendom, was also on his side. The Church was generally favourable to the duke of France, as such: for he held in hand many rich abbeys and benefices, and was regarded, being abbot of St. Martin at Tours² and of St. Denis near Paris, as a kind of lay head of the Church: lastly, the Normans burnt with desire to avenge themselves on the Caroling race, who had done them so much evil by oppressing their favourite duke, Richard the Fearless.

And thus, as says the old French Chronicle³, 'in this time failed the lineage of "Challemaine" in France, and then by common assent was the kingship granted to "Huon Chapette," who was right prudent and valiant, bold and brave, so long as he lived.'

All these things could not secure Hugh in peaceful possession of the throne. Charles, Hludwig's uncle, resisted him, as being rightful heir to the Caroling throne. His pretensions were upheld by formidable chiefs: by the count of Flanders, the archbishop of Sens, the count of Vermandois, and others, and even by William Fier-à-Bras, the Aquitanian duke. Had Charles been as vigorous as Hugh, they had not been unequally matched. He took possession of Laon, and on the vacancy of the archiepiscopal see of Rheims, got it for his nephew, Arnulf the Clerk.

¹ No pedigree of any value traces him farther back than to Robert the Strong (see p. 189). Radulf Glaber, our earliest authority (he wrote before the middle of the eleventh century), after naming Robert the king, Hugh's grandfather, the reputed son of Robert the Strong, says, 'Genus idcirco adnotare distulimus, quia valde inante reperitur obscurum.'

² The name Capet is thought to come from the 'cape,' 'chape,' or 'cap,' the hood of St. Martin, which Hugh always wore, declining to wear a crown. 'Capetus, i.q. cappotus.' Others say he was so named from the size of his head.

³ Dom Bouquet, Recueil, tom. 10, p. 278.

The duke of Normandy undertook to hold in check the northern partisans of the Carolings, while Hugh attacked the Aquitanians; but William, whom he had shut up in Poitiers, turned fiercely on him, made him raise the siege, and draw back to the northern bank of the Loire. Then Hugh, feeling the need of help, called his friends together at Orleans, and had his son Robert crowned as joint-king by the archbishop of Rheims, on Christmas Day, 987. Thus he seemed to give a hereditary character to his kingship; he also showed that the centre of his kingdom was not yet firmly fixed on the Seine. And indeed the Loire, which ran through the southernmost part of his domains, might well have seemed to be chiefest river of France. The royal abbot of both St. Denis and St. Martin must have doubted whether indeed Paris or Tours was the true centre; and had his Aquitanian expedition succeeded, it is possible he might have been tempted to leave the Seine to the Normans, who held its mouths and most of its navigable course, and to plant the capital of France upon the banks of the Loire.

Hugh got no respite; for the Caroling party was not idle. He hastened to attack them in Laon, and came face to face with his rival: the 'king of Laon,' and the 'king of St. Denis,' as they are sometimes called, came to close quarters. Charles sallied out with his Lorrainers, routed the besiegers, destroyed their engines, pillaged their camp, burnt the villages in the plain, and drove Hugh away in disorder. Troubles thickened: his barons were shaken, his neighbours were cold. But he showed all the vigour and good sense of his race; by activity and reckless grants from the royal domain he secured his supporters. Another heavy blow came: Rheims fell vacant, and thinking to make friends with a dangerous man, Hugh gave it to Arnulf, 'the clerk of Laon.' He even seems to have adopted him as a relation¹. But the man was a traitor then as before;

¹ So says Hugh's letter to Pope John XV: '*Arnulphus, regis Lotharii, ut dicunt, filius, post graves inimicitias ac scelera quae in nos regnumque nostrum exercuit, loco parentis adoptatus est a nobis, ac Metropoli Remorum donatus.*'—Dom Bouquet, Recueil, tom. 10, p. 521.

and soon opened the city to Charles, giving the place over to pillage; the Brabant soldiery unwittingly punished his treachery by sacking the cathedral and his house. He also swore allegiance to Charles, who in his turn also became the victim of treachery. Adalberon of Laon pretended to join the Caroling party: he was reconciled with Charles and Arnulf, and restored to his bishopric. Once there, he let Hugh's troops into the place; the 'king of Laon,' his wife and nephew, fell with the town into Hugh's hands, who thus, without a blow, crushed his dangerous enemy. Charles was removed to Orleans, far from his sources of strength, and there died in prison. When Herbert, count of Meaux, died, and his son did homage to Hugh for his domains, there was no longer any prince north of the Loire who stood out against the new dynasty. Laon ceased to be a capital, and became a quiet country town; the castle, relic of those days, stood till 1832, when it was rased to the ground.

Hugh next (A.D. 991) persuaded the French prelates to depose archbishop Arnulf, and to set in his place the famous Gerbert; this brought on him the wrath of Pope John XV, and troubled the remainder of his life. It is noteworthy as an early example of strenuous resistance to the Papacy by the Gallican clergy and king.

Had Gerbert lived a century later, he would have led the crusading spirit; two centuries later he would have left a splendid name among the great Schoolmen: as it is, we know him chiefly as the Pope who had dealings with the devil, the magician who knew more than is good for man to know. He was brought up in Auvergne, where perhaps some savour of the old Roman learning lingered. But he heard that beyond the Pyrenees were those who could teach him yet better; and his eager spirit longed to learn, even from the Paynim. So he went to Spain, to the Moslem, who found him an apt pupil: thence he carried home a knowledge of mathematics and philosophy, and introduced the abacus, or calculating table, at which he could puzzle even the most skilful¹. He also carried back that

¹ William of Malmesbury, II, says, '*regulas dedit, quae a sudantibus abacis vix intelliguntur.*'

reputation for dealing with the black art, with which stupidity and ignorance have so often punished those who know more than themselves. He knew how 'to call shadowy forms from hell'.¹ He called up the devil, and pledged himself to be his man; thereon the fiend granted him all his will, even to the Papacy. He left at Rheims many specimens of his skill: among them a clock, and a very remarkable organ 'played by steam.' On his return from Spain he went to Italy, where Otho the Great gave him the abbey of Bobbio; then returned to France, and settled at Rheims as 'scholasticus,' master of the Cathedral school. There the young Robert, future king of France, was his pupil. Otho III also claimed him as his tutor, and in his letters styles him 'most learned of philosophers,' 'laureate in the branches of philosophy.' Being much under the influence of archbishop Adalberon, he attached himself to Hugh Capet (not without also keeping up friendly relations with the German Emperor), and in course of time became archbishop of Rheims. Deserted by Hugh, and driven out by the scruples of his old pupil, King Robert, he fled to the Emperor, who gave him the archbishopric of Ravenna, and on the next vacancy raised him to the Papal throne (A.D. 999) as Pope Sylvester II. He is, naturally enough, one of the most favourite figures of early romance.

Hugh Capet's reign was a constant struggle against his lay and clerical neighbours: he purchased his kingly name by a life of toil, and by the loss of much of his domain, given to his barons as pay for their services. And at his death he was far from being the strongest man in the land. William of Aquitaine had consolidated the southern power, and ruled over almost the whole of the two ancient Aquitanias: the Norman duke was lord over a people of warriors, far stronger and fresher than the French. In Burgundy Hugh's brother, Eudes-Henry, was a weak creature, whose barons were almost independent. The same is true of the kingdoms of Arles and Burgundy. The

¹ William of Malmesbury, II, (who, to say the truth, seemed to know that these were idle slanders,) says, 'excire tenebras ex inferno figuras.'

long reign of Conrad the Peaceful paved the way for the fall of Rudolf III, his son, who fell through sheer weakness, and retired into Switzerland, leaving the rest of his territories to be parcelled out as independent lordships: Savoy, Franche-Comté, Dauphiné, Provence (as they were afterwards called) became independent 'counties.' Everything seemed to point to a feudal subdivision of the country, with one strong state in Normandy, and another in Aquitaine.

The great historical distinctions marked by the dialects of the French tongue now began to appear. The South despised the rude speech of the North¹; but even in the North the dialects were beginning to take a literary character: one for Normandy, that most independent and characteristic district; another for the Picards, the French of the Northern March towards Flanders; another for the Burgundians, whose separate existence lasted so long and was so distinct; and lastly, a fourth for the Île de France, the French of Paris, which finally absorbed the rest, just as the duchy in time became the kingdom of France.

Nor was the character of Robert, who succeeded to the sole kingship in 996, an omen of promise for the future. If Hugh had been the friend of the clergy, Robert, the devout king, was likely to be their slave and tool. His name, 'Pius' or 'Debonair,' tells the tale of his life. A kindly man, goodnatured to folly, even to a crime, religious, easy-going, he had no chance of raising the monarchy; the wonder is that it did not perish in his hands. He was 'a man of distinguished uprightness and great piety, the ornament of clerks, the supporter of monks, the father of the poor, constant in reverencing God and God's word, humble as David, king not only of his people but of himself².' He was 'tall, with gentle eyes, and smooth well-dressed hair, broad open nostrils, a pleasant mouth, well-formed to give the kiss of

¹ The well-known names Langue d'Oc and Langue d'Oïl are of a later date.

² Chronicon Ademari Cabarrensensis, in Dom Bouquet's Recueil, tom. 10, p. 146.

peace¹. He had a beard of comely length, and high shoulders: oft prayed he to God: in the judgment-hall he was modest, helpful to the accused. He read his Psalter daily; gentle, gracious, polished, he sincerely loved to do a kindness. He was right learned in letters; he took delight in music, and would even join in at the singing of the mass. One day at Rome they saw him draw nigh the high altar at St. Peter's and place something on it very devoutly. The moment his back was turned, the priests, eager for the prize, hurried up; there was a rich silk purse; they opened it, and out fell a parchment scroll. Was it a gift of land? They looked, and saw that it was 'the Response called Cornelius the Centurion, written out and noted, the which he had newly made and invented².'

His whole character, the delight of monkish chroniclers, in its piety and weakness, is displayed in a series of anecdotes by his biographer Helgald, who cannot enough praise his good nature, his questionable almsgiving, his forgiving spirit. One day he saw a priest steal a silver candlestick from the altar: 'friend Ogger,' said he, 'run for your life to your home in Lorraine,' and, lest the candlestick might be hard to turn into ready money, he gave him something for his journey. Another day, out hunting with his bosom friend, Hugh of Beauvais, the Mayor of the Palace, he was attacked by twelve men-at-arms, set on by his queen and Fulk Nerra of Anjou. They killed his favourite before his eyes. 'But the king, though saddened for a time, presently, as was right, was reconciled to the queen³,' and took no farther notice of the murder and insult. He usually had with him twelve poor men, who formed a sort of squalid procession before him on his journeys. One of these cut off and stole a rich gold pendant from his robe; and though the king saw it, he only laughed and passed it by. He hated lying; and therefore, lest his vassals should swear falsely to him, he had made a splendid reliquary, crystal in a setting of pure

¹ From his life by Helgald, in Dom Bouquet, Recueil, tom. 10, p. 99.

² Chronique de S. Denis, in Dom Bouquet, Recueil, 10, p. 305.

³ Radulphus Glaber, 3. 2.

gold,—with nothing inside. On this his nobles took oath, thinking it a right holy relic: and then, if they broke faith, he thought it was no perjury¹. His charity provided another reliquary for his lesser vassals and the rustics,—a silver case with a griffin's egg in it, and nothing else. Thus he arranged matters so that lying and perjury might be harmless; thus, as they said of him, 'he showed his love of truth, and merited heaven.'

This King Robert began his sole reign in 996, and died in 1031, a long and inglorious period.

He began with trouble. The Church punished the weak and friendly, while she let the strong and hostile escape. In Robert she had a devout friend: his father with the bishops had resisted Rome;—he, to appease the Pope, alienated the national Church party, and lost the wife he loved.

Robert had married his fourth cousin, Bertha, widow of Count Odo I, to whose child he had also been godfather. Thus she was in two ways within the forbidden degrees. Fondly attached to her, the king had vainly sought to appease the Pope by sacrificing archbishop Gerbert; whereby he estranged his old friend and helper, the acknowledged head of the Church in France, without gaining his point with the Pope. For in 998 Gregory V laid the country under ban, and the bishops in council excommunicated the king and queen. After feebly struggling a while, the king yielded, and set aside his wife. Perhaps the belief in the approaching end of the world affected him, and made him willing to bear his cross for so short a time². Anyhow he soon consoled himself, and took to wife Constance of Aquitaine, beautiful and masterful, who

¹ Helgald, Ep. Vitae Rotberti R. 2. This was the opposite to the act of William the Bastard, who is said to have cheated Harold into swearing on the bones of saints, which were hidden away in a covered box (see below, p. 207), and so entangled him unawares in danger of sacrilege.

² There is some doubt as to this. Some think he clung to Bertha over the year 1000, whereas Labbe and Page say he married again before that date. Mabillon says his second marriage took place in 1004; Vaisset, in 998. Gregory V seems to have written a letter to Constance, as *Queen*, in 998, which is in favour of the earlier date.

made his life burdensome to him, not undeservedly¹. In her train came a crowd of Aquitanians to the Court at Paris, where Robert had built a new palace, and consecrated it with a miracle. The ruder Northerners, and especially the clergy, were scandalised at the manners, appearance, dress, and speech of the strangers. 'Their arms and dress were disordered, their hair cut short, and even shaven in front' (a relic of Roman custom), 'their beards clipped like mountebanks, their high boots most discreditable to them².' Though the bishops interfered, the courtiers admired and imitated, and there seemed some fear lest they should become refined, and exchange their rude vices for the polished sins of the South. The bishops denounced these new ways of dress and conduct as snares from below. The soul of the man who had been dressed by an Aquitanian tailor was in danger. It is another proof of the complete and national difference between Northern and Southern France.

The year 1000 drew near; 'the end of the world approaching,' and all Northern France was moved by it³. Many were the portents. The Pope was a magician, famine and pestilence were rife, and signs appeared in the sky. Panic seized on all. Many went on pilgrimage; sinners gave or bequeathed their lands to the Church⁴; monasteries were reformed, the monks beginning to be more influential than the bishops⁵; there sprang up a religious revival; the churches were filled; men thought to find safety in monasteries, as did Duke William at Jumièges; countless prodigies were seen, relics discovered and displayed; a new and more mysterious meaning was given to the

¹ The Monkish chroniclers are never weary of their poor puns on her name. She is 'inconstans Constantia' throughout. The king, when she bade him write her a love-song, indited a sacred poem beginning 'O Constantia martyrum,' and she, when she heard her name at the opening, was perfectly satisfied.

² Radulphus Glaber, 3. 9: 'Caligis et ocreis turpissimi.'

³ It was thought that the Millennium would begin, and our Lord return to judgment, in the thousandth year from his birth on earth.

⁴ 'Appropinquante mundi termino' often occurs in the heading of these deeds of gift.

⁵ Of this the very curious poem by Bishop Adalberon of Laon, in which he and King Robert are the talkers, is a singular proof. It is a fierce attack on monasticism, and a protest of the bishops against the new order of things.

Eucharist, and generally accepted. It was the first wave of that national movement which a century later led to the Crusades¹.

Robert's reign was a ceaseless struggle with the barons; the influence of Fulk Nerra of Anjou overshadowed the royal power; Count Odo II of Chartres made head against the king: though supported by the Normans, he struggled in vain against Burgundy; he could only burn and ravage the open villages and fields of the poor. Two movements took place, which, however wretched, were still indicative of the energies newly called into action. One was a rising of the servile population, which ended in a sad slaughter of peasants, with circumstances of extreme ferocity. Normandy, vigorous and oppressed, was the scene of this attempt, which embraced all the Gallo-Roman race, villains or serfs (A.D. 997). But the mail-clad Normans swooped down on their secret central assembly, seized the leaders, punished them horribly; and the people bowed their heads in terror, and submitted. They did but utter the first murmuring sounds of that voice so often heard throughout the Middle Ages; the voice of the many against the few, of the oppressed against the oppressor. The other movement was that of the Manichean heretics at Orleans; this also was quenched in blood. It marks the beginning of the religious persecutions of medieval and modern Europe.

Robert, following his father's example, had in 1017 crowned Hugh, his eldest son by Queen Constance, a youth of high promise, who combined what was good in both parents. Unfortunately, he died before his father; who then, against the will of Constance, raised his youngest son Henry² to the joint-kingship, while another son, Robert, was made Duke of Burgundy. Hence the latter years of the king's life were troubled by civil war, forced on him by his queen, and Henry and Robert, his sons. Burgundy and the Duchy of France suffered under the ills which then formed the sum of war. In Normandy, the

¹ The great Pope Sylvester, here, as ever, before his age, sounded the first note of that trumpet-call which roused all the West against the East.—*Scriptores Rerum Franc.* 426 (Epist. 107).

² Odo (Eudes) his eldest surviving son was an idiot.

strong duke Richard II, the king's faithful friend, died in 1027, leaving his sons Richard and Robert at war. They made peace: after which Richard died suddenly, as did some of his barons, after a banquet given by Robert to celebrate their reconciliation: thereon Robert became Duke, and won the title of 'the Devil.'

The other great prince of the time, William of Aquitaine, died just before King Robert, who fell ill and breathed his last in 1031, sore wept by his poor, and through all his domain; though almost unnoticed in the rest of Gaul. The Anjou chronicler, giving tongue to the hatred raging between Anjou and France, both sums up the reign and indicates the character of the new king in a few words: 'Robert, whom we have ourselves seen reigning most slothfully; and his son, the present kinglet Henry, who is not at all behind him in laziness'.¹

King Henry, whom his mother Constance hated, was at once attacked by her and by his brother Robert, duke of Burgundy. Normandy took up the quarrel, vigorously supporting the young king, and crushing Odo of Chartres and the revolted barons, until the name of Robert le Diable became terrible to the North of France. Fulk Nerra intervened, and brought about some sort of reconciliation²: Robert was confirmed in his dukedom of Burgundy; and Constance, a few months later, died and left the king in peace. Henceforward, the real power over the kingdom passed from Fulk of Anjou into the hands of the Normans. Robert le Diable delivered the weak king from his troubles, and took the French Vexin, on the Seine above Rouen³, as his recompense, bringing his frontiers within five and twenty miles of Paris.

The fear of the end of the world, which had died away when the millennial year was safely past, revived as the thousandth

¹ 'Cum Rotberto . . . quem vidimus ipsi ignavissime regnantem, a cujus ignavia neque praesens Henricus regulus filius ejus degenerat.'—Chron. Andeg. in Dom Bouquet, tom. 10, p. 176.

² 'Matrem redarguens cur hostilem insaniam erga filios exerceret.'—Radulphus Glaber, c. 8.

³ The Vexin, 'pagus Vaucassinus,' was in two parts, the French, reaching down the Seine from the Oise to below La Roche Guyon, and the Norman, from above Vernon to below Jumièges.

year from our Lord's crucifixion drew near. The miseries of mankind in Gaul were incredible: the seasons seemed to have wandered from their courses; there was such cold, such wind and rain, as had never been known. For three years (A.D. 1030—1032) there was neither seed-time nor harvest, and famine ruled from Greece to England. Thousands died, and there was scarcely strength in the living to bury the dead. Horrible accounts of cannibalism were current. A peasant exposed human flesh for sale in Tournus market; he was detected, seized, and burnt. Men dug up the dead, and gnawed their bones. Near Macon, in the wood of Chatenay, stood a solitary church; hard by it a hut, wherein a man dwelt alone. One day a traveller and his wife came, and deeming it the lowly cell of some holy man, turned in and begged leave to rest awhile. As they were sitting, the wayfarer caught sight of a heap of skulls and bones in the dark corners of the hut. He leapt up, and ran to the door, followed by his wife. The solitary tried to stop them, but fear gave strength, and the travellers escaped. They fled to Macon, told the Count Otho, who went back with them to the hut, seized the monster, and reckoned up the skulls of forty-eight human beings, men, women, and children, whom he had devoured. He was led to the town and burnt¹.

The poor folk, in their despair, ate roots and grass; they dug up white clay and devoured it. Paleness and dreadful leanness was on all faces; their stomachs were distended, their bones could be counted, their voices grew thin and piping, like the voices of birds; wolves came out in troops, and fed on human carcases. Then, after three years of this suffering came a sudden plenty, and mankind revived. Pilgrimages to Jerusalem grew more frequent: in 1036 the famous 'Peace of God' was proclaimed, and accepted in Southern and Eastern France, though Normans and Neustrians paid little heed to it. Synods of the clergy decreed an inviolable peace. The bishops of Burgundy, 'being now subject to no man,' had already bound

¹ Rad. Glaber, 4. 4. Radulf says that he was present at the man's execution.

themselves by oath to keep peace and do justice, and also had made their vassals swear the same. The bishops of France, seeing that by the weakness of the king and the sins of the people the kingdom was falling into ruin, soon followed their example. All old quarrels were to be forgotten; no violence might take place on the highways against such as travelled with a priest or a monk, a clerk, or a woman. But the effect was only transitory; the voice of peace soon lost its power; the barons returned to their fierce ways and private wars. Then the bishops met, five years later (A.D. 1041), and proclaimed the 'Truce of God,' whereby fighting was forbidden from Thursday evening to Monday morning in every week; on all feast days; in Advent, in Lent; so that the shield of religion sheltered all the year except about eighty days. This check on feudal passions was wonderfully successful: for two centuries it influenced social life, more however in the South than in the North, and did much to destroy the tyranny of private war and to develop the better qualities of feudal society. The family life grew more sacred; the baron in his castle was surrounded by a little court, which had other interests and pleasures besides those of fighting; courtesy grew into a system of honour; literature lifted up her head, and religion strengthened her hold on the growing life of the age.

About this time (A.D. 1035) Robert of Normandy, *le Diable*, summoned his vassals, told them he was going to the sacred places of Jerusalem, and presented to them William, his only son. He prayed them to choose the child, son of a tanner's daughter of Falaise, as their lord, that they might not be chiefless, were he to die over-sea. The barons approved, took the base-born child, and swore fealty to him as their lord. Robert went, as he said; and returning from Jerusalem fell ill, or was poisoned, at Nicaea: there he died, leaving his little son to the rough mercies of the Norman lords, the little son who was afterwards King of England, William the Conqueror. Far more striking is his boyish life than that of the feeble King of France. The Normans and their neighbours thought to win advantage

from the lad. Guy of Burgundy, who had been brought up with him, and ought to have known of what stuff he was made, hoped to wrest Normandy out of his hands; but William borrowed three thousand men from King Henry, and beat Guy thoroughly at Val-es-Dunes; the Normans all submitted. In 1048 the boy-duke showed Geoffrey Martel of Anjou that he was not to be trifled with. Geoffrey had seized and garrisoned Domfront and Alençon. William blockaded Domfront, and leaving men enough before it, rode all night with the rest, and stormed the suburbs of Alençon at the dawn; whereon the garrison, making no more resistance, surrendered. Then William came swiftly back to Domfront; and the Anjou men, hearing how sharply he had smitten Alençon, yielded at once. He garrisoned the place, built a fort on the river at Ambrières to keep Geoffrey in check, and came home in triumph to Rouen. Later, when the fickle king turned against him, the crisis of his fortunes was past, and he held his own with ease.

In 1051, King Henry, having lost his wife Matilda, daughter of Conrad the Salic, and fearing lest, in choosing another, he might be entangled in some hidden snare of forbidden degrees, sent an embassy to the most distant prince of whom he could hear, Jaroslaf¹, duke of Russia, whose capital was Kiev. His messengers came back, bringing Anne, the duke's daughter, who bore the king three sons, the eldest of whom, Philip, was so named because of a fancied genealogical relationship between his mother and Philip of Macedon. This child was consecrated king—his father still living, according to the precedent of his father and grandfather—in 1059, in the presence of the duke of Aquitaine, the counts of Flanders and Anjou. A full account of his coronation, worthy of notice as showing what form and consistency the hereditary kingship had gained, is still extant, written probably by Gervais of Rheims, who performed the chief part of the ceremony.

Mass was sung: before the reading of the Epistle, the arch-

¹ The chroniclers write it *Juriscloht*, *Georgius Sclavus*, *Gerisclus*.

bishop turned to the child, expounded to him the Catholic Faith, and asked him if he believed and would defend it. The boy assented; and a written declaration was placed in his hands, and read by him, 'though he was but seven years old,' whereby he promised to respect the privileges of the Church. Then the archbishop took the staff of St. Remigius in his hands, and discoursed quietly as to 'how the election and consecration of a king pertained specially to his sacred office, from the days when St. Remigius baptized and consecrated Hlodowig: he showed, too, how Hormisdas the Pope had given, through that staff, the power of consecration and the primacy over all Gaul to St. Remigius, and how Pope Victor had confirmed the same to the Church of Rheims. Then, with approval of King Henry, he elected the boy to be king. After him came the Legates of Rome, who allowed that all this might be done lawfully without the Pope's sanction, but that of their goodwill they had thought well to be present. Then came the archbishops, bishops, clergy; then spoke Wido (Guido) duke of Aquitaine; then the duke of Burgundy's son, acting for his father; then twelve 'peers': lastly, the soldiers and people, great and small, all applauded, crying 'Laudamus, volumus, fiat!'—'We approve, we wish it, so be it!' Philip then confirmed the privileges of the see of Rheims; and lastly, the archbishop, seated on his throne, read the privileges granted him by Pope Victor, in the ears of all the bishops. All which was done with the utmost devotion and readiness; without any disturbance, or opposition, or damage to the state. And all these barons and high lords did archbishop Gervais freely entertain, and kept them at his own charge, to the honour of his Church and of his own hospitality: for he owed it as a debt to none but the king¹.

Thus was King Philip crowned: a child of seven years, with a long inglorious reign before him, and a life dark and dissolute.

¹ From the 'Coronatio Philippi, seu Ordo qualiter is in regem coronatus est.'—Dom Bouquet, tom. 11, p. 32.

In these days lived one of the world's giants, Hildebrand, the monk of Cluny, son of a Tuscan carpenter, the great founder of the Papal Empire, who made Popes, and became Pope; and who, as Gregory VII, began the reform of the Roman Church and the struggles of the Middle Ages. In 1048 Henry III of Germany had named Bruno, bishop of Toul, pope. On his way to Rome, he lay at Cluny, and there this monk, the unconscious expounder of the antagonism between monasticism and episcopacy, showed the feudal bishop that his appointment was really void; that none but the faithful could confer the Papal chair; that the Church might not abandon her powers, or delegate them to princes; that the Papacy must be above even the Emperor; that in order to be so she must renounce the world, must sit in the dust, must throw in her lot with the faithful, even though they be slaves. Bruno was amazed and convinced; he set off bare-footed, with staff in hand, and with Hildebrand, his true staff, by his side; and reaching Rome, offered himself to the people for election. They chose him Pope; he took the name of Leo IX, and the great reform began. They attacked simony and the marriage of priests: the world might resist, but the monks heard the call, and recognised their true head in Hildebrand. The common people felt that a new life was dawning on them: their new apostles preached purity, and denounced the fierceness and brutality of the clergy, smote with their thunderbolts turbulent bishops and barons; and the people everywhere carried out their preachings, not without violence. Hildebrand meanwhile sat at the helm, guided and led on the Papacy under four Popes for twenty years, until at last, in 1073, he deemed it time that he himself should succeed to the perilous seat.

Meanwhile, on another field, the Normans were also rising into strength, and preparing to be his best helpers. With their old traditions of conquest and adventure, their vigorous northern blood, not tamed but trained and disciplined by the earlier influences of feudalism, they were the first to set the example of enterprise to Europe. With them begins that series of

expeditions, which were afterwards Crusades. The link between East and West was Sicily¹: thither the Saracen had already come; his ships were known and dreaded along the shores of Italy, where the Greek with his Eastern manners and civilisation still clung to the cities of his ancestors. It so fell out that forty Norman adventurers, on their way back from the Holy Land, reached Salerno, just as the trembling citizens were buying off a band of Saracen pirates. They fell at once on the unbelievers, and drove them panic-stricken to their ships. That was in 1016. The petty lords of Southern Italy, who were at that time trying to solve in small wars and intrigues the problems of their feudal anarchy, heard of these brave strangers, and sent eagerly for other such from the banks of the Seine. A steady stream of Normans flowed into Italy. The sons of Tancred of Hauteville led many into that land of promise; defeated the Apulian Greeks and founded for themselves a feudal principality. The Greeks appealed to Henry III of Germany, who bade the Pope chase these barbarians from Italy. When he tried to obey, the Normans, instead, took him prisoner. Having him in their hands, they demanded the investiture of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily. Hildebrand, who knew the strong from the weak, and was ever inclined to make the Normans his friends, counselled Leo to yield. Robert Guiscard² (the Wisard), became Duke of Apulia and Calabria, and one of his brothers ruled over Sicily (A.D. 1057). Thus the Normans were planted in another soil; they were prepared to thrust back the Saracen, and, as the Pope's feudatories, to defend him against all comers. The influence of the Normans, who were not always the Pope's friends, on the later development of the Papacy, and on its attempt to rule the world, in the struggle against the Holy Roman Empire, is a chapter of European history which does not fall to us.

¹ As is remarkably seen in the time of the Emperor Frederic II, whose sojourn in Sicily seemed to be the meeting-point of both worlds.

² Guiscard or Wisard, the names are the same. The name means prudent and crafty, 'wise' in its lower sense.

During these same years the relations between Normandy and England had been growing critical. Edward, a descendant of Alfred, who, while Danish kings sat on the English throne, had been brought up in Normandy, was called back to England by the advice of the great Earl Godwin, in 1042. He brought over a crowd of foreigners; banished Godwin, who represented the English party, and fell completely under Norman influences. It was said that when Duke William came to see him, Edward promised that, being childless, he would make him his heir. A little later, Harold, Earl Godwin's son, crossed into Normandy, and was seized by the crafty duke, who refused to let him go free unless he would swear to aid him in his pretensions on England. Harold, under this compulsion, swore it, with his hand on a covered box: William lifted the lid, and there lay the bones of saints; holy relics, by which, and to which, Harold had unwittingly pledged himself. When in 1066 Edward died, William at once summoned Harold to fulfil his oath. He refused, holding that it was an oath under compulsion and with deceit: and the English chose him king. But the religious feeling of the age was against him. William appealed to Pope Alexander II, who naturally turned towards the Norman. Gladly the Pope sent to William a ring and a flag, with his blessing and a command to reduce England into due obedience to the Papacy. The ring and flag were regarded as signs of investiture, expressing the claim of the Papacy to dispose of far-off islands of the sea: Harold was excommunicated.

The Duke made peace with Brittany, Anjou, and Flanders, his neighbours, and therefore his natural enemies; unfolded his intentions to his unwilling barons, whose help he won by lavish promises; went to King Philip, offering to do him homage for all his conquests, if he would give him aid. But the foolish young king listened to his counsellors, whose dilemma was, 'If the Normans win with your help, they will be stronger and more dangerous to you than ever; if they are beaten, you will share the loss and disgrace: on the other hand, if you do not

help them, and they win, you will be where you are; if they lose, you will gain.' As this fell in with the poor creature's tastes, he approved, and refused his help. Then William, far from being discouraged, sent forth an appeal to all men to join in this holy war: and the Pope blew the spiritual trumpet. From all sides adventurers streamed in. So with a goodly army he set sail from St. Valery, and landed in Pevensey Bay. The rest we know. William the Bastard became William the Conqueror; the English fell into political nothingness; the Normans became feudal lords of the land; and England began a new period in her career as a nation.

Of the effects of the conquest on France we must take more note.

1. It was fortunate for the Capets that the Norman centre of power passed over to England: otherwise how could the feeble king have stood, had the ambition of the stronger race, guided by the stoutest prince of the age, turned eastward instead of to the west? The Duke of Normandy had become so powerful that he could easily have overthrown the Capets: the Norman Conquest gave them a breathing space.

2. The Papacy gained greatly in the world's eyes. New claims had been made; the Pope appeared arbiter in the quarrels and change of princes and realms; men learnt to look once more to Rome; her angry voice had smitten down the rebellious English prince.

3. A real King arose. Not a shadowy Emperor, nor a feeble indistinct prince like the earlier Capets; but a strong King, ruling over a compact kingdom. It was shown to society that in France feudalism contained the germs of monarchy.

4. The removal of the Norman power to England lightened the weight pressing on the common people, and led, as will be seen in the case of the commune of Le Mans, to an attempt at town-talk, an attempt which failed for the time, but was, like many failures, the forerunner of success.

5. And lastly, Europe saw in England the development of a well amalgamated nation, such as had not yet arisen elsewhere.

The necessities of conquest, the desire of the Norman barons to get the whole power into their own hands, and the resistance of the kings and of the English, all tended to bring about this result.

And while all these things were growing clear before men's eyes, what was French royalty doing? The two kings, Henry and Philip, reigned nearly eighty years,—and did nothing. The Empire had been offered to the weak and pious Robert, near the end of his reign, and had dropped from his harmless hand. His son and grandson followed in his steps. They made no effort to rise above their neighbours the feudal barons; they did but imitate them in their petty wars. They had no ambition to rival the Emperor, whose large claims to parts of Gaul were in fact conceded almost without a struggle; they left their Flemish border undefended; they neither resisted the rapidly-rising Papacy, nor sided with it in its long contest against the Empire; they suffered Norman William to win a new kingdom, unhelped, unhindered; they had no heart to lead the great movement now beginning to stir all Europe; the first Crusade swept by French royalty as it lay slumbering in the bower of its base pleasures: it never woke to claim its place, and to lead, as it might have done, the moving heart and soul of France.

CHAPTER III.

The Age of the First Crusade, A.D. 1066-1100.

THE annals of France again are silent for half a century; and again the people were not happy. For it was no true silence; but a din of jarring elements, in which the nobles did their rude will; under their madness, take what form it might, the common folk bore all the blows. The dreary time drags on, full of petty private wars; royalty slumbers, the people perish in crowds. Sword, famine, and pestilence, God's three sore plagues, afflict them without mercy and without stay. Meanwhile the elements of a national life begin to stir; there is promise in the premature movement of the communes, in the revival of religion, in the building of noble churches, still more in the rise of great monasteries, in which the more popular form of Christianity begins to assert its independence and vigour¹. All men are restless, ready to be guided into any general movement: the guide comes and the object, at the end of the century; the century is spent in preparing for it.

Meanwhile the Normans reduced Calabria, Campania, Sicily, and made them their own. One of their hereditary foes², regarding their character and works, says of them: 'God chose these Normans to exterminate the English, as he saw that they surpassed all men in singular energy. When they have no foe to oppress, they oppress one another, and reduce their own lands to want and desolation; as is ever more and more clearly seen in the rich lands of Normandy, England, Apulia, Calabria, Sicily, which God has put under their feet,'—a sufficient testi-

¹ A like monastic revival took place at the same time in Germany.

² Henry of Huntingdon, Bk. 6.

mony to their vigour and success; and Henry of Huntingdon is forced to allow that their strong rule brought not desolation but security and plenty, for he adds that 'a maiden laden with gold might cross the whole breadth of England unmolested.'

In 1071 we find a rare thing—the French king in action. Robert the Frisian had wrested Flanders from his brother's widow Richildis: Philip set forth, attacked him boldly, was overthrown, and retired to Paris in disgrace. Later on, the German Emperor and Godfrey of Lorraine espoused the widow's cause, and did what the French king had failed to do. Philip had to look on and see his influence on his northern border destroyed, and the German power, already supreme in Lorraine, spreading to the ocean.

In 1073 another danger threatened him. William the Conqueror attacked and reduced Maine, thus moving first along the path so often trodden by the kings of England. Norman ambition looked towards the South; the Normans hoped, by means of the Aquitanian hatred of the northern French, to form a strong power which should stretch from the Seine to the Pyrenees. This went on, till, in 1076, Philip once more roused himself, drove back the Normans, and made a fair peace with William.

When the Conqueror died, Norman and English interests were somewhat sundered. Rufus had England, Robert Normandy; and the Norman ascendancy, which was overshadowing France, was averted, though the dragon's teeth of future wars had been sown.

About this time the feeble king was occupied in a strange series of dealings with the Pope. He sent submissive letters, repenting, relapsing, professing much that was good, and performing all that was evil. His vices demanded money: money could be best got by sale of Church preferments; against which shameful blot on Christianity Rome had made a wise and a vigorous stand not long before. And not content with this, Philip also divorced his wife, on some convenient plea of infringing degrees of relationship, and carried off by force

Bertrade, wife of Fulk of Anjou. He was called to amend his ways, excommunicated in 1094, and summoned to appear at the Council of Piacenza. He temporised, made excuses, did not appear; promised to send Bertrade away, kept her all the same;—a man whose immorality 'leavened the whole lump,' and made him false and dishonourable as well as feeble and self-indulgent. And yet, though the case against him was so clear, the Papacy had no strength to take advantage of it. The reaction since Hildebrand's death in 1085 had helped to restore the power to the Emperor's hands. Germany opposed the Papal claims—there was an Antipope always floating about—what if the French king were to become contumacious and recognise that Antipope? The Papacy felt that the Normans were terribly independent in England afar, and dangerous in Calabria at hand; the Church's claims on England had been slighted, the Paynim were threatening all Christendom, menacing not only the Greek Empire, but the Latin shores of the Mediterranean; the Greek Church was still a powerful rival. In this alarming state of things the Papacy was driven to look around for some new force by which to recover her strength. It had long cherished a dream of heading Christian Europe against the Saracen. Sylvester, the Pope-Magician, had seen the advantage of this, even at the very opening of the century; Hildebrand had declared himself ready to head a crusade: negotiations on the subject had passed between East and West. Again, the Church had been much involved in the turbulent beginnings of feudalism; the Truce and the Peace of God shewed that she desired to lessen the evils of private warfare. Lastly, the sword of the strongest had an irresistible attraction for the Papacy. Thus both her necessities and her instincts led her into the path which saved her. If she could enlist the great fighting nation of the French, together with the younger valour of the Normans, in a common enterprise, which Rome should bless and forward and seem to direct, then the Papacy might rise above her difficulties, and win the favour of all Christendom by driving back the Paynim, and making peace

within her own borders. Again; the Papacy felt that feudalism was very willing to assert itself. William the Conqueror had shewn his independence; even Philip of France, had played with the Papacy, careless of its thunders: the centrifugal forces of feudalism tempted each chieftain to make himself independent, and even the higher ecclesiastics tried to do the same. Every year the barons grew worse to deal with; the barbarities of private war, the contempt for human life, the slackening of moral bonds, seemed to add daily to the perils of the august central power which sat at Rome. 'Christianity,' says Fulcher of Chartres¹, 'was growing fearfully worse in both clergy and people; war was preferred before peace by the princes of the earth, who quarrelled ceaselessly.' At last the Pope determined to cross the Alps, and plunge into the very heart of this wild world, to see whether he could not turn into another and a safer channel these forces which were at once self-destructive and perilous to him. Other reasons as well doubtless influenced Pope Urban. He was himself a Frenchman, born in the diocese of Soissons². Peter the Hermit, whose enthusiasm or frenzy he was accepting and using, was also French, a native of the district round Amiens. Both of them knew the French temper: the chivalrous Frank who thirsted for adventure; the hardy Norman great in conquest; the eager mobile Celt, loving all things new.

Therefore the Pope did wisely when he descended into France; and Clermont in Auvergne was well chosen for his appeal. It was central enough, yet not too far from the Alps, and easily reached from Lyons. The Pontiff's voice would resound thence through Frankish and Aquitanian France, would reach Provence and Normandy, while at the same time the Pope would not commit himself by coming too near the excommunicated king at Paris.

¹ Fulcher of Chartres, in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 381. He was an eye-witness of these things, as we learn from the author of the *Gesta Francorum Expugnantium Hierusalem*, in the *Gesta Dei*, p. 562.

² Not far from Châtillon-sur-Marne. He had been archdeacon of Rheims before he was called, first to Cluny, next to Ostia, lastly to the Vatican.

And yet at first the success of the appeal seemed very doubtful. The Pope reached Clermont in November 1095, and was met by a goodly number of Churchmen. Over three hundred of them were there¹, and their proceedings were harmonious. The earlier business being done, the Pope descended from the cathedral into a large open space or street, and delivered his famous harangue on the duty of taking the Cross. Two of the Churchmen then at Clermont, who doubtless heard it, have left us their impressions of this great sermon². Their reports vary much, and we can only say that the Pope depicted in lively colours the hard case of pilgrims, dwelt on the fierceness of the Turk, and the danger to Europe from him, spoke of the hereditary valour of the Franks, their love of glory, their taste for booty; drew a bright and very false picture of the wealth and fertility of Palestine; quoted those words in which our Lord bids men leave all and follow Him; and, finally, promised all the blessings of the Church, here and hereafter, to such as gave themselves to this sacred cause. Then, after one account³, arose the famous cry of 'Deus le volt!' 'God wills it!' and the Pope, skilfully seizing the moment, accepted the words as the motto and war-cry of the Cross.

Yet through all the accounts of this great movement, we can see signs of coldness and doubt. When the Pope turned to the bishops, begging them to preach the 'way to Jerusalem,' they were sore disturbed. 'Some wept, some were agitated, some doubted⁴.' There seems to have been no lay-lord of great name there⁵; no lay-captain could be had; and the

¹ Fulcher says (*Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 382) that there were 310 bishops and abbots in all. Others reckon up 14 archbishops, 225 bishops, 90 abbots of high rank, or 329 in all.

² These are Robert the Monk and Archbishop Balderik.

³ Robert the Monk says so; Archbishop Balderik does not.

⁴ Or 'Deu le volt!' which is the form given by Ducange in his second Dissertation on Joinville, p. 206.

⁵ So says Archbishop Balderik, an eye-witness (*Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 88): 'Alii suffundebantur ora lacrimis, alii trepidabant, alii super hac re disceptabant.'

⁶ Robert the Monk says (*Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 32): 'Nondum erat inter eos aliquis nominatorum principum.' On the other hand, Balderik

charge of this great enterprise fell to Adhemar, bishop of Puy, who undertook it reluctantly¹, as one who felt the peril more than the excitement. Still, his appointment probably saved the movement from failure, thanks to his influence with Raymond of St. Gilles, Count of Toulouse, the greatest prince of the South. His adhesion to the cause was made known before the council broke up, and 'animated those who had before been downhearted.'

As the prelates and others returned home, and began to preach the Cross in their dioceses, they found the minds of men prepared; the latent enthusiasm then sprang into life; chiefly however at first among the lower classes, except perhaps in the South, where the brilliant example of Raymond of Toulouse led many of the nobles to join the crowd. But the first-fruits of the movement were poor serfs and monks; the first army, led by Peter the Hermit, was a rabble, not an army; he preached chiefly to the common folk. In the crowd that gathered round him the foremost figure was a poor knight, Walter the Penniless; no man of higher rank was there. As Peter moved from place to place, he spoke straight home to the hearts of the people. He was short and mean of figure, barefooted, riding on a sorry ass, dressed in a rough robe, with a crucifix in hand; so he went through all the land. When men looked at him, they saw a pinched and starved face, like a death's-head, in which rolled two wild gleaming eyes, full of enthusiasm and that half-madness which has so much power over excitable natures². His appeals were fervid and turbulent in their eloquence, which carried men along with him. The patriarch of Jerusalem had been deeply impressed by him; Pope Urban fully believed in his sincerity and power. As he

affirms that there were many men of note: 'confluxerant etiam ad consilium e multis regionibus viri potentes et honorati innumeri, quamvis cingulo laicalis militiae superbi.' (*Gesta Dei per F.* p. 86.) But it is significant that he mentions no names.

¹ 'Licet invitatus,' says Robert the Monk of him.

² He is thus described by Gregory of Terracina (given in Mabillon), who had actually seen him.

passed on, men rose up and followed him¹. Some sewed the red cross on their shoulders, others took a hot iron and branded themselves—even women did so—and loudly declared that they had received the sign on their persons from Heaven. Monks fled their cloisters, some with leave, many without, and swelled the rabble. The poor farmer sold his land or his produce for such few pence as he could get, yoked to his oxen and set forth, driving wife and children eastward. When they came in sight of the tall pinnacles and towers of any city, the children would cry aloud and eagerly ask the bystanders if this was Jerusalem². All manner of portents, as is usual in times of excitement, were visible; notably a wonderful star-shower, which portended the movement of Christendom³. Wives urged their husbands to go, and shed tears of joy at their departing; some even had the boldness to set forth as well. Gradually the stir and excitement took form; the preparations went on throughout the whole of the year 1096⁴.

While the forces are mustering, let us review the many and various causes which had been preparing men for this first great movement of modern Europe; as France led the way, our investigation will be chiefly confined to her shores.

At the opening of the century the belief in the near end of the world produced a kind of religious revival. The natural form it took was that of expectant gaze fixed on the Holy

¹ Abbot Guibert says (2. 6) of the way in which the enthusiasm spread: 'Nec illud minus ridiculum, quod hi plerumque quos nulla adhuc eundi voluntas attigerat, dum hodie super omnimoda aliorum venditione cacinant, dum eos misere ituros miseriusque redituros affirmant, in crastinum repentino instinctu pro paucis nummulis sua tota tradentes, cum eis proficiscebantur quos riserant.'

² Abbot Guibert says (2. 6) of the poor folk: 'Videres mirum quiddam et plane joco aptissimum' (though in truth it was no matter for a churchman's laughter, seeing that scarcely one of these poor babes came home again), 'pauperes videlicet quosdam bobus biroto applicitis, eisdemque in modum equorum ferratis, substantiolas cum parvulis in carruca convehere; et ipsos infantulos, dum obviam haberent quaelibet castella vel urbes, si haec essent Jherusalem ad quam tenderent, rogitare.'

³ So says Archbishop Balderik (*Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 88).

⁴ The bright picture which historians make of the scene at Clermont seems to rest on a scanty foundation; but there is no doubt as to the enthusiasm which sprang up in 1096.

Land, whence Christ, men thought, would speedily come again to judgment. Pilgrimages multiplied: the more went, the more had a mind to go; and the more pilgrims were ill-used, the more their treatment became the common grievance of all men. The pilgrimage brought together all classes; all suffered and worshipped side by side. The growth of monasticism and feudalism gave the taste an impulse. The monk was free to move, and glad to move; and he won merit by the long journey: the feudal lord had done wild work at home; there were dark spots on his conscience which Jerusalem would wipe away. When he reached the Holy City, he became aware that the Paynim despised him; he returned to France, easy in conscience, but hot to avenge the slights put on him, and to free the sacred places from Pagan hands. Even the very misery of the age drove men to wander—it was better than the monotonous penury of life at home. We see in Pope Urban's sermon, false as it was, a telling allusion to the misery of daily life in France, when he contrasted it with life in the 'land flowing with milk and honey.'

Nothing had so much turned men's eyes towards the Holy Land, as the news of the destruction of the church of the Sepulchre in 1010. It was felt to be a wrong done to all Christendom: it is, at the same time, a curious instance of the popular feeling against the Jews. A tale was invented to the effect that some wealthy Jews of Orleans, vexed at the respect paid to our Saviour's tomb, bribed a pilgrim to carry in a hollow staff a letter to Al Hakim, Khalif of Egypt. In the letter they told him that unless he destroyed the church at Jerusalem, the Christians of France would never acknowledge that he was a great prince. The Khalif was convinced, did what they asked, and destroyed the church. The real reason for the act may have been a suspicion felt by the Saracens as to his orthodoxy¹; for he was related to Christians, his mother's uncle being

¹ The deed was done before Al Hakim proclaimed himself 'the visible image of God most high,' while he was still a fanatical Moslem.—See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. 57, and Dean Milman's note.

Orestes, patriarch of Jerusalem. To prove his faithfulness to Islam, he struck this great blow at Christian feeling, through the church which was that patriarch's especial care. The Jews in France suffered horribly for Al Hakim's act. Some were slain with the sword, some were drowned, some perished by fire, some hanged themselves, 'to escape'; many were 'converted and despised.' Thus did the excitement take natural refuge in cruelty. It was a savage time: the murder of the Jews, the cruel persecutions of the Orleans heretics, the fierce repression of the Norman peasantry, all fall within this quarter of a century.

The voice of the Greek Emperor was also heard. Islam had taken up its position face to face with Constantinople. At the beginning of the tenth century the Moslem were already divided into two sects: of which one was that of the Sunnites, whose Khalif or spiritual head was at Bagdad, and who included the 'orthodox' Mahometans of Arabia and part of Persia; while the other, that of the Shiites or followers of Ali, Mahomet's son-in-law, had their head-quarters at Cairo, and commanded the obedience of Africa, Egypt, and Syria¹. But it is said that before the end of the tenth century, a horde of Tartars poured in on the Abbasides, seized Bagdad, became fanatically Moslem, and gave to the faith of Mahomet a fresh impulse. Not long after, a great wave of Tartar or Turkish invasions under Togrulbeg, one of the Seljuk family, came westward, sweeping all before it. These were the beginnings of the Seljukian Turks. Their Sultan reduced the Khalif of Bagdad to nothingness, and passing on, conquered Cairo also. Alp Arslan, Togrulbeg's nephew, seized Iconium, and made it the seat of his power. He even captured Romanus Diogenes, the Greek Emperor, and threatened Constantinople. In 1073 Suleiman took the title of 'Prince (or Sultan) of Roum,' and made Nicaea his capital, over against Constantinople herself.

¹ The Sunnites hold that the succession of the Prophet was through his immediate successors, while the Shiites declare that all between Mahomet and Ali, his son-in-law, are false prophets. There are also other points of difference, but this is the original one.

Then it was that Pope Gregory VII wrote his famous letter¹ to Henry IV of Germany, declaring that he would himself lead Christendom to the rescue. The Turks thus already shewed a tendency to split into three main branches, whose head-quarters would be Iran, Kirman (in the south of Persia), and Nicaea. Of these the last, before crusading times, had been already broken up into the independent principalities of Aleppo, Damascus, Antioch, and Mosul. In 1086 Jerusalem was given to Orthok, chief of a horde of wild Turcomans.

To sum up these motives for the Crusade;—the Pope's necessities, the turbulence of Western Europe, the ignorance and misery of daily life, the desire to expiate a bad life by a new and holy adventure, the cry of distress from pilgrims, from the Christians of Jerusalem, and from the Eastern Emperor, —here were the chief causes which set all Europe aflame, and brought on what Gibbon calls 'the world's debate,' the Crusades.

In dealing with the history of France, we must not give too much space to these Eastern expeditions. We will note their effects on the growth of France herself, on the strength of the monarchy, the Church, the feudal chivalry, the cities, rather than chronicle events on the more distant scene.

The Council of Clermont had fixed the fifteenth of August, 1096, for the setting forth of the armies of the Cross. The eager crowd could not wait so long; and Peter the Hermit, their Moses, their Saint, whose very ass they revered², was obliged to set out with them. So great was the throng, that they had to move in three separate armies, for fear of exhausting all the food on the way. The one soldier of name in the host, Walter the Penniless, led the vanguard, which was almost entirely made up of footmen, some fifteen thousand strong. Then came Peter with the main body of French pilgrims: monks frocked or unfrocked, debtors who had escaped from their creditors, robbers and rascals, mixed up with harmless serfs and villains,

¹ In Labbe, tom. 10.

² They treasured up the hairs that fell from his tail as relics.

their wives and babes. Behind these came Godescalc, a monk, leading a rabble of German peasants; and lastly, moving independently, a considerable body of horsemen, who hung upon their skirts. It is said that the movements of this great host were directed by a goose and a goat, which strayed whither they would, and were patiently followed by the senseless crowd.

We need not recount their doings. They crossed Germany and Hungary, rested a while under the walls of Constantinople, became unendurable to the Greek Emperor, were put across the Bosphorus, and fell an easy prey to the Turks, who were directed by the fanatic ability of Kilidj Arslan, Sultan of Nicaea. A pyramid of whitened bones showed to the next host that passed that way, where their misguided brethren had found their rest¹. The bravery of a small body of Norman knights alone showed the Turks that there was something formidable behind all this froth and scum of the ferment in the West.

One thing they did; they aroused the Greek Emperor, Alexius, to a sense of the risk he was running from his new allies. He had asked for a few thousand warriors from the West, and here was the whole population, without order or discipline, pouring in upon him. He saw his danger, and met it, Greek fashion, with subtility and weakness. A century later, the patriarch Alexius, disputing with the Emperor, Manuel Comnenus, as to the alternative of Saracenic conquest or alliance with the West, deliberately declared that, of these two evils, subjection to the Moslem would be better than a humiliating alliance with Rome; so bitterly did the Greek Church resent the treatment she had met with from the Latin Christians².

While the hasty crowd was thus rushing to destruction, the more solid elements of the movement gathered in France into three great armies, separated partly by anxiety about supplies, but still more by the then defined divisions of the country. The

¹ The next army of Crusaders used these bones to build themselves a wall with for defence.

² This fact comes from a MS. dialogue between the Emperor and the Patriarch, preserved in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford.

Northern army was not French at all: it was made up of Lorrainers, men of Flanders and of the Rhineland, led by Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine, a descendant of Charles the Great. This army was entirely composed of feudal subjects of the German Emperor, and had no proper French elements in it. It followed the Danube, appeased the just anger of the King of Hungary, who had suffered grievously from the lawless hordes which had already passed through his land, and reached the Bosphorus in safety. There the Greek Emperor first tried guile with Godfrey, then force, then sent his son into the Crusaders' camp, inviting Godfrey to make peace, and lastly, adopted him as his son, and lavished gifts on him. He aimed at passing on his visitors in such a way that no two armies of the Crusaders should be under his walls at the same time. And so, as soon as he heard that Bohemond was drawing near with the second host, he persuaded Godfrey to cross the 'Arm of St. George' into Asia. He crossed, and encamped at Chalcedon.

This second army was composed of French, rightly so called, as well as of Normans and Burgundians; it was headed by Hugh 'the Great,' Count of Vermandois, King Philip's brother; by Robert, Duke of Normandy, who was followed by Englishmen as well as Normans; by Alan, Duke of Brittany; and by Stephen of Blois, who was said to be lord over as many castles as there were days in the year. This central host, with a countless swarm of hangers-on, crossed the Alps into Italy. They drove out the army of Henry IV of Germany (the tedious War of Investitures was going on there), and entered Lucca, where they found the Pope, who blessed them. Thence on to Rome, where many pilgrims, weary already of the way, turned back and went home. Thence through South Italy to Bari; but, the season being far advanced, the shipmen would not take them across, and they must needs winter in Calabria. Here, too, a great number 'of the poor and cowardly' sold their bows, took up their staves, and wended their way homewards. The rest, next April, took ship at Brindisi, crossed to Durazzo,

and thence at last to Constantinople by land. Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard, and with him Tancred, famed in song, had preceded them with the Italian Normans.

The third army, composed of Gascons, Aquitanians, men of Provence and Toulouse, was led by Raymond, Count of Toulouse, who has left a splendid name in the literature of the Crusades. His was the best-appointed of all the armies: the wealth and civilised manners of the south enabling them to face all the difficulties of the expedition; this force never suffered as the others did. Raymond was helped by the counsel of the Pope's legate, Adhemar of Puy, who did not live to see his cause triumphant: for he died soon after the taking of Antioch. This army set forth last. They crossed the Alps, as the French had done, but kept straight on through Lombardy, passed the Julian Alps, and made for Constantinople across the wild regions of Slavonia and Servia. After a harassed and exhausting march they eventually reached Constantinople before the French host.

Alexius succeeded in persuading most of the leaders to swear homage to him, and to promise to give up to him such cities as they might capture, if they had been formerly under the Greek Empire. To this promise they paid small heed. He got them over the Strait, and breathed freely again. Cleverly as he had managed, there remained in the minds of the chiefs an unpleasant sense of humiliation. They felt they had been outwitted by one far weaker than themselves.

And now the whole forces of Western Christendom were for the first time gathered together; and William of Tyre says that, at the great review of their troops, there were numbered six hundred thousand footmen and a hundred thousand horse; figures which, though they must be doubtful, may be taken as indicating the greatness of the force. They besieged and took Nicaea: Kildj Arslan, who fought them bravely, found them much tougher stuff than Peter's rabble had been. The Crusaders then marched southward. Again Kildj attacked them at Dorylaeum, and was repulsed with great loss; after this he

could only annoy their march. With loss and suffering, with adventure and triumph, the host dragged its huge body through Asia Minor and reached Antioch. After a long siege the city was taken, but not till famine and disease had smitten the victors. The sufferings were so great, that William of Melun, 'the Carpenter,' and even Peter the Hermit, who had joined the main army, fled away, and were scarcely brought back by Tancred. The common folk plunged into debauch; they drank and quarrelled. It was said that they ate the corpses of the Saracens. Though they took the city of Antioch, the citadel still held out; and Kerboga, Sultan of Mosul, appeared under the walls three days after the town had fallen with a great army of Turks. Then began the critical struggle: on it depended the possession of the coast-line, the key of the situation. The Christians again fell into fearful want, except, perhaps, the Provençals, whose stores seemed never entirely to fail. Robert, Count of Flanders, begged his bread in the streets. At last the princes determined to risk all on one great stroke. Raymond of Toulouse caused the head of the spear of Calvary to be discovered, buried before the high altar of one of the churches¹. The crowd, full of excitable feelings, was roused to the highest fervour; and the whole army, in twelve columns, after the twelve apostles, sallied forth and fell on the Turks. With the spear in their midst, and their minds aglow, they were irresistible: they saw a troop of heavenly warriors descending to their help. The vast host of Turks at last fled, leaving their camps, which contained the whole wealth of the Khalifate, in the hands of the Christians². This battle broke the power of the Seljukian Turks in Syria; they offered no farther resistance to the Crusaders. The Egyptian Fatimites³ now held undivided sway over Jerusalem and Syria.

¹ This relic was long a point of faith with all the *Langue d'Oc*, but of doubt and unbelief with the *Langue d'Oil*.

² Wilken, *Bk. i. c. 8*, shews that there was also much dissension and insubordination in the Turkish camp.

³ The followers of Ali, or the Shiites; but soon to fall under the orthodox Sunnites.

After six months of rest—if that was rest which was spent in the death-grip of pestilence and famine—the Crusaders marched out of Antioch, leaving Bohemond, the Norman, as its prince. Baldwin, Godfrey's brother, had previously been called to help the tyrant of Edessa, who adopted him as his son; Baldwin soon wrested the throne from his new father, and established the Frankish county of Edessa, which subsisted for forty-nine years (A.D. 1097–1146).

At last from the heights of Emmaus (Nicomolis) the Crusaders saw with transport the Holy City. There were scarcely forty thousand of them left, survivors of so many myriads; and Jerusalem was held by a large Turkish army. But the prize was too near and too dear to be lost; and after five weeks, in which Gaston of Bearn with his engines of attack made the assault possible, the Christian army at last stormed the city, and in their triumph broke out into the wildest excesses of bloodshed and devotion (July 15, 1099). Eight days later the Latin princes elected Godfrey of Bouillon King of Jerusalem; but his pious heart refused that title 'in the city in which the Christ had been crowned with thorns'; and he became 'Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre.' Well he did his work, for the short time that was left him. Soon after his election he was called on to face the Vizir of the Fatimite Khalif, who had hastened up from the South to support his deputy at Jerusalem. Here, as before, differences among the Moslem greatly helped the Christians, as did also the distance at which Syria lay away from the centres of the Turkish power. Godfrey met the Vizir at Ascalon, and won an easy victory over the effeminate Egyptians. As the battle of Antioch had crushed the Seljuks, so the victory of Ascalon overthrew the Fatimite power in Syria, and left Godfrey safe at Jerusalem: a few Moslem strongholds had to be reduced, and then the Latin kingdom became coextensive with the ancient kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Godfrey died within the year; first his brother Baldwin of Edessa, then his cousin Baldwin, succeeded him. They reduced the seaport cities, and ruled over the whole coast from

beyond Tyre to the borders of Egypt. Raymond of Toulouse established himself at Tripolis; and thus sprang up four Latin principalities,—Jerusalem, Tripolis, Antioch, Edessa, results of the first Crusade.

The great conquest had now to be organised; and this was done on the strictest feudal principles. Nowhere can we trace the mechanism of feudalism so clearly as here; for here it is not the slow growth of centuries, crossed by all the accidents of history, but a deliberate setting out of a feudal kingdom, after the principles of political life then received, with no prior rights or claims to interfere with the symmetry of the institution; no kings to resist from above, no cities to rise up at its side, nor private feuds to disturb the ground-plan of the scheme¹.

Meanwhile the stillness which had settled down on France, and was one of the best results of the Crusades, was rudely broken by the harsh war-cry of Red William of England. His brother Robert Courthose had pledged his duchy of Normandy to him when he went on Crusade: and it seemed likely to William either that his brother would not come back, or, if he did, that he might be satisfied with some lesser dignity than that of his own duchy. So William revived the old Norman claims on the French Vexin—the territory which lay on the Seine, between Paris and Rouen²; and at the same time made war on Helias, Count of Maine, after whose lands his father had ever hankered. From 1097 to 1099 war went on between William and the indolent Philip, who left the defence of his borders to Louis his gallant son. But Walter Tyrrell's³ arrow in the New Forest delivered France from this danger. The careless Robert of Normandy, who had idled a year among his

¹ This feudal constitution is described in Chapter IV.

² See above, p. 200, note 3.

³ If indeed he had anything to do with it. Suger's testimony is very interesting, and almost convincing: 'Imponebatur a quibusdam cuidam nobilissimo viro Galterio Tirello quod eum sagitta perforaverat. Quem, quum nec timeret nec speraret, iurejurando saepius audivimus et quasi sacrosanctum asserere quod ea die nec in eam partem silvae in qua rex venabatur, venerit, nec eum in silva omnino viderit.'—Suger, *Vita Lud. Grossi*, chap. 1.

kinsfolk of Italy and Sicily, came too late to claim the crown of England. He did not reach Normandy till the latter part of 1101, by which time Henry Beauclerc, his younger brother, was secure on the English throne. Robert was strangely unlike his kin; he was indolent and not ambitious; he scarcely cared to bestir himself against the Count of Maine or the King of England. Henry was a very different character; he crossed over into Normandy, and defeated his brother; seized on the dukedom, and sent its rightful owner, Robert, a half-prisoner to England, where he lived 'in all sorts of enjoyment and content' for seven-and-twenty years, far from dissatisfied with his lot. Under Henry's wise rule, Normandy tasted something of that peace and comfort to which she had long been a stranger.

After the fall of Ascalon many of the Crusaders took ship for Europe, leaving Godfrey and Tancred with three hundred knights at Jerusalem: others followed the fortunes of Bohemond and Baldwin; and Raymond, who had sworn never to return, ruled over his little principality of Tripolis. Peter the Hermit went home, and passed the rest of his days in the uneventful quiet of a monastery in the Liège country. Those who brought back tidings of these great triumphs, found that he who had set Europe in motion was gone to his rest, and that another sat in the Pontiff's seat. But the Papacy reaped the fruits: all Europe saw that the Pope had moved the world successfully. The new feudal kingdom of Jerusalem 'held of him'; he seemed to be lord of both Rome and the Holy City, two centres of the faith. The moral result was great, the actual increase of power great: henceforth for two centuries the crusading power was to be the weapon by which the Papacy should hold its own against the Empire¹, and rule the minds of men.

When it was known that Godfrey was dead, that the Saracens pressed on the Christians, and that Jerusalem was scarcely safe, a new movement at once began. William IX of Aquitaine, the

¹ The way in which the Emperor Frederick II was hampered by his vow to take the Cross is a well-known proof of its power.

foremost prince of the time, a libertine and a troubadour¹, who had resumed the lead in Southern France on the departure of Raymond, headed the new levies. But he went with regrets and doubts, as his poem² shows,—regrets quite justified by the event. With him went Herpin, Count of Bourges, who sold his lordship to King Philip to raise funds for the war. Thus the French King benefited by the reckless enthusiasm of his neighbours, and for the first time got some hold on the south bank of the Loire. Stephen of Blois and Hugh of Vermandois also joined Duke William IX; they had before deserted the Crusade, and were now forced by public opinion to wash away the stain of that disgrace: they went, and expiated it with their life-blood. This army also passed through Constantinople: the Sultan of Iconium (Konieh) harassed their passage through Asia Minor, and only a remnant of their host reached Jerusalem. William with much difficulty got back to Aquitaine, with hardly a follower. The Aquitanians called on him for their kinsfolk whom he had led forth; and there was no reply.

Some years later, Bohemond of Antioch came back to Europe to revive the enthusiasm of the West, and led a strong force of Frenchmen and Italians with him,—not to Palestine but to the Bosphorus. He attacked Alexius, the Greek Emperor; but the Latins were not yet ready to make war on the Empire; and the expedition came to nothing. And thus ended the first Crusade.

We may pause here to consider the general effects of the crusading movement; though, properly speaking, we ought to wait till after the days of St. Louis, when the enthusiasm had died out. There is, however, some advantage in noting these results at once, so that they may be before our eyes as we move on: and besides, at no later time can we expect to have such leisure as here: never again will the life of France at home be so uneventful.

¹ He was the first of the Southern Trouvères whose poems have remained to our day.

² See Mary Lafon, *Histoire du Midi de la France*, 2, p. 207.

It seems impossible to lay out a full table of good and bad results, and to strike a cold unimpassioned balance between them. We may only state the chief consequences, and their import, one way or other. Men must ever differ as to the relative weight to be given to this or that element in the problem. To some the Crusades are the means of a natural development of the world from worse to better; to others, they are but the results of a low and hateful state of society¹. Let us try simply to set out what came of them, and that briefly; remembering that we are considering not merely the first Crusade, at the close of which we stand, but the whole movement and period.

To begin with the evil results:

1. Set in the scale the awful waste of human life on an object which from afar may seem noble, but which was to the actors in it little more than a fanatical instinct. It is idle to say that life at home was worth nothing, and that the soldier of the cross bartered a long dreary life for a short and brilliant one. The myriads whose bones marked Eastern highways, or were bleached in the sun of Asia, or who perished in that charnel-house of Christians, Antioch, neither attained their end, nor were happy in the pursuit of it. The aggregate of human suffering and the waste of human power were horrible.

2. Next we may put the degradation of man's moral state. The Crusades made men worse than before; more bloodthirsty and cruel, and more depraved. The cross had long been fastened to the sword; now the sword became shameless in its lust for blood. The sack of Jerusalem in the first Crusade was a deep stain on the moral character of Christendom; and morality suffered even more from contact with the East. Man-

¹ Thus, to one the growth of the Papacy (to take an indisputable result) must seem an unmixed good; to another, an intolerable evil: or, one may think that literature was awakened by the Crusades; another, that it was quite independent of them; one, that the Crusades thrust back the Turk; another, that they really paved the way for the fall of Constantinople: and so on.

ners, without becoming refined, became far more dissolute; the canker of immorality, ever the sore evil of France, spread swiftly under Eastern influences¹; men learnt cunning and lies from the subtle Greek. The Pullani, the half-breed offspring of the Crusaders, were a degraded and despised race. These things cannot be passed over, when we place the glories of chivalry in the other balance.

3. Connected with this is the often-forgotten fact that these wars made the sword the arbiter in all the religious disputes of men. For centuries all wars of intolerance were Crusades. How could Christianity but suffer from this destruction of her loving spirit? Hence sprang the wild wars of the Teutonic knights in the North; the cruel ruin of the fair cities of Provence and Aquitaine in the South. The Frank had long deemed himself the sword-arm of the Church: the Crusades taught him that his tradition was right, and that Christianity rested on that arm. Heroism and chivalry were linked with war against the 'miscreant,' the unbeliever: the comforts of religion here, and the blessings of eternal life hereafter, were believed by the Crusader to be secured by the sword; and that whoever was banned by the Pope became a wretch in whose heart's blood it was the Christian's duty to imbrue his pitiless hands. 'I came not to bring peace on earth, but a sword,' seemed to these ages a prophecy worthy of literal fulfilment. So they turned the sword against Paynim or heretic alike: the Crusade in Provence was a legitimate sequel to the new principle; each war the Pope meddled in was styled a Crusade. Paschal II egged on Robert of Flanders (on his return from the first Crusade) to make a holy war against Henry IV of Germany, whom the Pope styles 'the head of all heretics'; and a free promise of the 'New Jerusalem' was made to the warrior if he would undertake this godly enterprise. The Pope let France loose on Frederick II, and called it a Crusade; the Netherlands war was a Spanish Crusade; so too was the Armada. This

¹ In the *Roman de Renard*, p. 59, we have it briefly, 'Qui bon i vont, mal en reviennent.'

heritage of violence is the worst evil which sprang from the Crusades: there is no good side to this.

4. No permanent results followed in the East. The Mahometans were thrown back awhile; but the spirit of resistance was also weakened. The Crusades never reached the heart of the Moslem power. As a great political movement they failed: they neither crushed the Saracens, nor made permanent colonies on the sea-board, nor strengthened the natural outpost of Europe, Constantinople. The Mahometans were in a divided condition when Europe fell on them: the common danger roused their heroism, and taught them fresh lessons in the art of war. Meanwhile, the Latins sapped the foundations of the Greek Empire; and when the Eastward fervour cooled down, and Mahomet recovered his lost ground in Asia, he found his old foe across the Bosphorus weaker than before. The marvel is that Constantinople survived so long: there is no greater wonder in history than the long vitality of that dying Empire.

5. Connected with the last remark, we may also note that the estrangement between Greek and Latin widened the breach between the two branches of Christendom. The Crusades destroyed the last hope of unity; as the Pope grew stronger, the Greek grew more stubborn; the West trampled with mailed foot on the East; the subtle Greek felt that between his own taste for religious subtleties, and the hard warriors, who cared nothing for his theology and speculations and despised his feebleness, there never could be union. The Greek had looked towards Rome with willing eyes before; now he averted his face with pious horror.

6. We may perhaps add to the account the great growth of the Pope's power. I put this, which is one of the best marked consequences of the Crusades, here among the evil results, though many naturally count it as good, and deem it the most potent instrument in the growth of the modern world. No such power can be all good or all bad, at any time; and the Papacy was clearly necessary as a counterpoise to the tyranny of the temporal power: it kept alive some sense of right in the world. Yet we

cannot look historically at this august institution with unmixed feelings. There is in it too much selfishness and self-assertion; it crushes all movement of society in which it has not the first place; it resists the most vigorous Emperors; enslaves national Churches; makes reform impossible; detests civil rights and freedom. One day it may be possible coolly and fairly to trace its whole influences on the world for good and evil; meanwhile, let us salute without prejudice the grandest figure of the Middle Ages, as it towers in its strength above the princes and peoples of the earth.

7. Lastly, and connected with the foregoing, are the evils which resulted from the great increase of the wealth of the clergy, more especially of the monastic orders; and (in part at least) the establishment of the religious orders of knighthood, the standing army of the Papacy.

These are the chief counts of the indictment against the Crusades: we will now look, in the same way, at the other side.

1. Though the waste of life was horrible, we may set against it the desolate character of men's life at home, and the fact that the wider horizon there opened out, and the theatre of action provided, were blessings of no small magnitude. The growth of Europe might be stunted for a time; but the blanks were soon filled up; and the comparative stillness and peace at home favoured the progress of population.

2. Though man's moral nature suffered sorely, yet there was a compensating result in the great spread of commerce and of the activity of the human mind. Commerce strengthened the cities, tended in the end to humanise life, and developed fresh wants and new enterprises. As has been often noticed, the Crusaders saw two civilisations, the Greek and the Mahometan, each in some respects higher than their own; and though, as happens when the lower meets the higher, they were very apt to choose the evil and leave the good, still they gained something, and brought back new ideas and feelings, beneficial to Europe in themselves and in their effects. Life became somewhat less

harsh; its interests spread more widely. Men learnt something from Eastern diet and dress, usages, arts of war, literature, produce; the pulses of life were quickened, the sense of enjoyment in life put forth some sweet blossoms. And the moral nature of man got some good from the display of the nobler side of chivalry, and from the sight of endurance and heroism. We need not enlarge on this point: we have gone through a reaction against Don Quixote and the distaste for the 'barbarous Gothic,' and in our days chivalric qualities are put above rather than below their due place, while we shut our eyes to the coarse vices and faults which went with them: forgetting that chivalry was often brutal in its strength, coarse in its manners. A few brilliant exceptions have cast eternal glory on chivalry, in whose dazzling light we fail to see of what poor stuff the most are made.

3. While the Crusades provided this splendid stage for the display of feudal virtues, they also silently undermined the whole caste system of Europe. If feudalism shone bright, it was with a consuming fire. For the Crusades were fatal to many of the great lords. They went and perished, by mischance of war, by famine, by pestilence, or on the journey. These not coming back, their lands often fell to churches or kings. And those who did return were the poorer: some had sold lands; others had taken everything of value they possessed, and had spent it. Many became the paid men of the richer lords; others took vows and ended their stormy lives in the still cloister. And, besides, other influences were at work on them: the Crusades had freed multitudes of their human cattle; the serf who went on pilgrimage learnt to be free. The isolation too of the feudal lord ceased. He had to jostle with others; had not to lord it over burghers and men-at-arms, but to find himself among men greater than himself. Good knights won at least as much renown as he, and the rise of the military orders indicated the existence of fresh forces in the world, before which the proud nobles stood abashed. Service, as connected with and flowing from tenure of land, the essential quality of

feudalism, was rudely shaken: for knights and even barons were glad to enrol themselves for pay, and not as a matter of feudal service, under the great chiefs. Joinville's 'Life of St. Louis' illustrates in every page this weakening of feudal power. The general result was this: royalty was presently enabled to make head against the anarchy into which feudalism had thrust society, and European national life began to shape itself into form.

4. And while feudalism lost, the cities gained. They could not go on pilgrimage, or squander their wealth, as private persons did. They had lords eager to sell them their freedom: the money paid enabled the lords to take themselves out of the way, to the Holy Land, whence, may be, they never came back to harass the burghers and renew their claims of lordship. Kings too, not feeling that they had anything to fear from the cities, granted them many privileges, often for ready money: the quickened pulse of commerce aided them; they grew in size and importance, and were the market-places of the world.

5. And serfdom was lightened. In many cases the serf and the villain bought their freedom of their lord. He, setting forth eastwards, cared little for the persons of his dependents, much for a purse of gold. Thus many emerged into liberty. Others took the cross; and who could hold him less than a brother in arms who was sanctified by the same sacrament of devotion? Instead of slaves and mere beasts of burden they became comrades in days of difficulty and risk: they even made the great discovery that their strength and spirit had a marketable value: they became paid soldiers,—a great step upwards. They took something from the weight of feudal power, and transferred it on the whole to royalty.

6. And royalty was above all the gainer. The kings at first stayed at home, while they were weak, and so gained by not exhausting what little power they had, or coming into dangerous competition with vassals and others stronger than themselves: when they were stronger, they also went crusading,

and then they gained again by placing themselves before the world as the great heads and leaders of the movement; they taught mankind to regard them with new respect as the true rulers and lords of men. We have already shown that they gained largely by the weakening of the feudal barons. To trace the growth of the French monarchy, the feeble infancy of which is almost lost to sight during the earlier turmoil and enthusiasm of the Crusades, will be our task for the future.

CHAPTER IV.

Of Feudalism and Chivalry.

HITHERTO we have been content with passing notices as to the earlier state of the feudal hierarchy; the time has now come when we may look more closely into it. For on two different theatres feudalism had lately been called on to display its characteristic qualities: in England and in the Holy Land. Whereas in France and Germany it gradually grew up, one knows not how, in England and Jerusalem its principles may be seen in their later development, consciously applied to the founding of new societies. Both these new kingdoms were, more or less, French; that of Jerusalem almost entirely; that of England such in the character and views of the Norman conquerors. By studying these we avoid the confusions and anomalies which sprang up in wild times; we discern the plan of feudalism, as understood by its chief actors: its clean-cut theory, side by side with the imperfections which inevitably resulted from its application.

We know that conquering races, settling in a new land, possess themselves of the soil, while the former owners, if they survive, drop into dependence or slavery. We know that when the Germans seized on Gaul this was the case. The chieftains of the incoming tribes became territorial lords, holding their lands by alodial tenure¹, with no master over them, and only a slight subordination to the chieftain whom they made their king, who was in truth little more than their peer. He and they rewarded their followers with gifts of land and substance, and attached to these gifts the sense of obligation, remaining lords over both lands and men, though without claiming the produce or taking rent. These grants were called benefices, and were said to be held by

¹ See above, p. 76.

feudal tenure. These smaller holdings, some of them of great extent, were again often granted in portions by these vassals to their dependents, and a system of what is called 'subinfeudation' sprang up, until the whole country was occupied by the conquerors, standing to each other in the hierarchical relations of lord and vassal; first the King, then the lords and barons, his immediate vassals, then the *arrière* vassals who held their lands of the higher lords. The lord had full power even of life and death over the original inhabitants of the land, who became *villains* or *serfs*¹. Between these, and clear of them, stood the freemen, not noble but free, the burghers and the free tenants in the country: of these we need not say much; for at the time of which we speak they had but little footing in France². At first powerful vassals strove to turn feudal into alodial tenure, regarding it as more free and independent; as time went on, it became safer to convert the smaller alodial properties into fiefs, so as to get the protection of some powerful lord. By the end of the eleventh century this change had passed over the chief part of the alodial lands, though many still remained untouched, more particularly in the South. Beside this prevailing feudal relation, based on the land, for which the vassal paid homage to his suzerain, there was yet another relationship, more obscure in nature, between the persons, irrespectively of the land. This was called 'commendation³,' under which the weaker paid homage to the stronger, with certain conditions, especially of military service and help; the stronger undertaking to defend him against all comers. It was a condition mid-way between the alodial and the feudal, and akin to the relations of knighthood.

¹ *Villain* is the name for the small farmer, who tilled his field or two, and paid his lord a heavy rent in kind. He was 'ascriptus glebae,' tied to the soil, unable to leave his lord's estate. *Serf* is the lowest class of all; he was in few respects better than the slave of classical or modern days.

² There were plenty of them in England, in town and in country. The 'socagers' held their lands by free tenure, and very many besides them were tenants for life: from these in later days came the famous English yeomen, against whom France had none to set at Crecy or Agincourt.

³ Hallam likens it to the relation between patron and client at Rome.

At the time of the First Crusade the land we now call France was under a comparatively small number of independent lords, of whom the chief were the French king, the Duke of Normandy, and the Duke of Aquitaine, besides several of lesser name. Under these were counts and noble vassals, who held their lands on divers tenures; under them again their vassals, in the state of sub-infeudation, till the land could bear no more subdivision. Though the most of these held their fiefs on a condition of military service, others held by other tenures, such as offices at the lord's court¹, payments in money or in kind, sometimes of a trivial and grotesque nature, as, for example, tenure by the reek of a roast capon.

All territories held by feudal tenure in the North of France were also under the uncoded system of rights; governed in fact by custom, not by law; by custom sadly apt to vary with the varying strength and weakness of the parties. In the South the imprint of Roman law was never lost; it deeply modified feudalism. That part of France which was under the rule of German custom was called the 'Pays du droit coutumier,' the land of custom-right, extending from its northernmost borders to the right bank of the Loire; where Roman law prevailed, it was called the 'Pays du droit écrit,' the land of the written law, extending from the Pyrenees northwards till it met the other district.

Let us see how this institution was transplanted in its full growth to Jerusalem, and there reorganised, clear of the trammels of European life and custom. It developed itself with surprising rapidity and clearness². 'The ancient Assises of Jerusalem provide us with the clearest and brightest reflection of the manners and laws of feudal Europe³.' It will show itself very distinctly on the background of the dark and unknown

¹ Of which the most splendid example is that of the Seven Electors of Germany, who were, strictly speaking, the *seneschal*, *cup-bearer*, *sword-bearer*, &c. to the Emperor.

² Whoever will compare English feudalism with this kingdom of Jerusalem should study it in Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, vol. 4. chap. 17.

³ So says Beugnot on the Assises, vol. 1. p. 19.

East: the feudal towers stand up in strong relief, bright under the Western sun, against the thunder-cloud of the Moslem power, ever threatening to overwhelm them in an angry storm¹.

Jerusalem was taken by the Crusaders on July 23, 1099; and after a few days given up to the wildest excesses, the chiefs of the army reasserted the feudal principle of elective monarchy by choosing Godfrey, their worthiest prince, as king. He however refused that name, and became Defender of the Holy City. After the battle of Ascalon, which secured and extended the Latin conquests, Syria was called the 'Principality of Jerusalem'; and, that the Latins might hold together, and communications by land be kept up with Constantinople, the really independent territories of Edessa and Antioch became great fiefs under Godfrey. After a time the Principality of Tripoli was separated from that of Jerusalem, and put on the same footing: and Jerusalem, Tripoli, Antioch, and Edessa, became the four elements, the four high principedoms of this Eastern feudalism. The homage done and allegiance promised to the Byzantine Emperor were forgotten; the new kingdom was declared to be held straight from the Pope; and a Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem was established to complete the insult to the Empire². Round the King's³ person was grouped a court of officials, modelled on the Capetian court at Paris: the whole of Syria was parcelled out; Joppa became the seat of a marquis, there were counts of Bethlehem and Nazareth: in every town a viscount watched over feudal interests. Much of the open country was still in the hands of the Syrians, and they swarmed in the towns: their relations to the invaders became afterwards a source of trouble; but at the outset the Crusaders paid no heed to them, and divided the land at will.

These territorial arrangements made, and made so wisely that none murmured, the wisdom of Godfrey and the Patriarch

¹ The best account of the kingdom of Jerusalem is to be found in the two folio volumes of Count Beugnot on the Assises of Jerusalem, whence much of the text is drawn.

² The Archbishop of Pisa first filled this new office.

³ Godfrey's successors did not imitate his modesty, or his virtues.

and the Court was exercised on a new task¹—that of the construction of a code of laws and customs, civil and criminal, memorable as the first attempt of the kind in the history of feudalism; for even Charles the Great had not attempted a code of laws.

First, they made a code dealing with the rights and privileges of the noble-born, and called it 'the Assise² of the High Court of Jerusalem,' and followed it up with a like work on the duties and rights of burghers, both among themselves and in their relation to the barons, and this was 'the Assise of the Burgher Court.' These two codes were written out fair, in a manuscript with richly-painted capitals, each law being set forth in uncial characters, and were deposited in a coffer, securely locked, and laid up among the treasures of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre³; doubtless not without reference to the Ark of the Covenant, and the Tables of the Law laid up therein in the Temple. Here they were jealously guarded: the box could not be opened and the Law displayed to the light except in the presence of nine persons; the King and two of his men representing the High Court; the Viscount of Jerusalem and two Burghers representing the Burgher Court; and the Patriarch with two canons the Church of the Sepulchre, as guardians of this precious deposit.

Thus they made and hid away their great work, unique and far before the age. They hid it, for though they had made a code of 'written law,' the Northern French barons could not reconcile themselves to the Southern system, or abandon their dear familiar 'Custom law.' Any attempt to compel them to

¹ 'Par le conseil des princes et des barons et des plus sages homes que il lors pot avoir,' says Ibelin, c. 1 (Beugnot, I, p. 22).

² An Assise is defined in the 'Clef des Assises' as 'toute chose que l'on a vue user et accoustumer et delivrer en cour du royaume.'

³ Whence they came to be called 'the Letters of the Sepulchre.' P. Paris (*Journal des Savans*, A.D. 1831) holds that these 'Lettres du Sépulchre' were a simple Doomsday Book, a register of fiefs and duties. But such a book did exist independently under the title of 'Secreta Regis,' 'the King's Secrets'; and Count Beugnot (Introduction to vol. 2, p. 14) shows conclusively that the Letters must have been more than a register of feudal estates.

live under such a system must have failed. It was as natural to the barons to hide away their Code, as for the College of Pontiffs and the patricians of Rome to keep the Twelve Tables out of sight of the people, though the reason of the act was not quite the same in both cases. No copies were made of the Assises, nor were they often appealed to: they lay in the treasury of the Church, jealously guarded from sight, till one day Saladin's men burst in, at the taking of Jerusalem (A.D. 1187), to plunder the sacred place of its pious wealth. Then the chest with the manuscripts, valueless in their eyes, disappeared for ever¹.

Under these laws the feudal kingdom was governed; and pilgrims returning to Europe, carried glowing accounts of them to their ill-regulated homes. The Kings of Jerusalem were men of prudence, who did their best to rule their turbulent brethren after the law, and from time to time made such amendments and additions to the Code as were needed. Thus Baldwin I, a prince of learning, made considerable changes: to him the Code owed an 'Assise du coup apparent,' or justice when a baron smote his man; a first law of assault, made necessary by the outrageous tempers of the crusading lords. And Amaury², another wise prince, modified the conditions of tenure so far, that all *arrière-vassals* (like those of William the Conqueror in England) had to take oath of allegiance to the King, and to be under his protection; thus at once defending them from their immediate lords, and also showing that the tendency towards an increase of the royal power was spreading from France and England to Jerusalem.

The High Court had the King as President, and all the King's men sat in it. If we may accept the account given in the written Assise, it regulated the position and succession of the royal power, the rights and duties of the King's men; the functions of the great officers of the kingdom, the Marshal,

¹ The Collection of the Laws and Customs of Jerusalem, made by Jean d'Ibelin in the thirteenth century, seems to be a faithful exposition of the customs of Jerusalem as then in use, and to be based on the original written code.

² A.D. 1162.

Constable, &c.; it settled points as to donations, service, sales, succession to fiefs, and the like; and, finally, all questions between lords and burghers. The influence of this Court was thoroughly aristocratic and feudal. It became a kind of Privy Council, settling all important questions as to peace and war, the royal succession, and the like. In character it answered nearly to the Court of France, from which the Parliament of Paris was an offshoot.

The Burgher Court, or Low Court, was under the presidency of the Viscount of Jerusalem; and the 'sworn men'¹ of the city sat in it. It is notable as an early draft of a municipal constitution, though in political interest it falls far below the French Communes of a later date. As in the introduction of a code of feudal laws, so in this foreshadowing of civic rights, the Kingdom of Jerusalem is the eastern harbinger of modern Europe. Two things helped to give these Courts their marked character: first, the risks to which the Latins were exposed, from Saracens without and Syrians within their walls, and from their own turbulent unbridled vices; and secondly, the position of the colonists who streamed over from Europe². These were often rich and free merchants, to whom rights could not be refused. Yet, in a Syrian town the commercial usages of France would have been fatal; consequently the court of each city had well-marked relations and rights, and was closely bound up with the feudal aristocracy of the kingdom; the town was made as like as possible in its government to the feudal castle³.

These City Courts were ruled by laws, which formed the 'Assise de Basse Cour'; a collection made with no great system, regulating all sales, loans, sea-faring, pledges, contracts for hire of servants or land, and agreements. It also ruled the civil

¹ These were twelve men chosen by the King, or the Lord of the fief in which the Court was sitting. They took oath to him, not to one another.

² In some cases the Latins expelled all natives, to make room for these colonists.

³ A little later the merchant cities, Genoa first, then Venice and Pisa, established colonies for trade purposes; these towns soon became communes, with their own special courts, 'Cours de la Fonde,' or Bazaar-courts.

procedure, and asserted emphatically the authority of the civil power over clergy, and even over the military orders. Marriage, testaments, slave-holding (even burghers had slaves), were all regulated there; every question in social life was dealt with. Penal laws were laid down with the usual severity; torture, ordeal, mutilation, follow one another in grim procession, and death, by comparison the merciful, closes up the rear¹.

And lastly, the Syrians were permitted to live under their own laws and uses, with their own courts, presided over by their reis; an arrangement which, though often dangerous, and sometimes accused of rashness, was probably more prudent than any attempt to compel the disaffected natives to live under French customs would have been.

These three Courts sat at Jerusalem, and speedily became the patterns for others of like kind throughout the kingdom: they were the basis of all feudal justice; over these local courts the King presided, if present at their sittings: all the political power seems to have been established at Jerusalem.

Such was the constitution of the feudal Kingdom of Jerusalem; a system which in many ways reflected 'French ideas'; but was also, by force of circumstances, in some respects far in advance of anything yet seen in Europe. The Assises, and they alone, gave Frank feudalism sure footing in the East. The Crusaders had been gathered from many lands; it was no easy task to hold them together. For, in fact, their life in Palestine was very turbulent and vicious², and indeed defiant of the first principles of the feudal polity. The kingdom was an attempt to establish a great colony on French principles, and with French colonists; and, as such, it was a failure. The brightness, gallantry, enthusiasm of the French character won brilliant laurels in the war; but the national

¹ John of Ibelin says he compiled the Assises, 'selonc ce que j'ay oy et apris et retenu de ciaux qui ont esté les plus sages homes dou dit roiaume et des plaïs de la dite Court.'

² That the corruption of morals was fearful is shewn by the Assise of Nablous, which is dated A.D. 1120, and unfolds to sight a dark picture of moral degradation.

weaknesses soon came forward when the enemy was no longer at the gates, and patience and prudence were the qualities needed. Then society fell a victim to the corruption of Eastern climate and example.

Together with this great development of feudalism came the outburst of the brilliant qualities of chivalry, which have dazzled the world, making it almost impossible for us to discern the real value of the life of these ages. 'There are,' says Hallam¹, 'three powerful spirits, which have from time to time moved on the face of the waters, and given a predominant impulse to the moral sentiments and energies of mankind. These are the spirits of liberty, of religion, and of honour. It was the principal business of chivalry to animate and cherish the last of these three.' And thus far it is true, that the belief that a man must be ruled by what is due to himself, and must do nothing below himself, and must hold his own place, and keep others in theirs,—the special characteristic of the aristocratic principle in the world,—obtained great prominence in connexion with chivalry, and grew stronger through the high dignity conceded to it by the public opinion of the crusading ages. At its highest and in theory, chivalry sets before us the perfect gentleman,—gently-born, gentlemanly, truthful, faithful, courteous to women, pure, brave and fearless, unsparing of self, filled with deep religious feeling, bowing before God and womankind, haughty in the presence of all others. This is the true knight of romance. That such an ideal could even be set before man for imitation, and that in the chaos of feudal turbulence such flowers could be thought to grow, was in itself a great step towards better things. Yet it must be allowed that the actual knight was usually far below so noble an ideal, and that, in the earlier times at least, coarseness was far more common than courtesy.

The institution of chivalry is usually traced back to Charles the Great, in whose reign we find a Capitulary of the year 807²,

¹ Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. 2. p. 450 (ed. 1846).

² In Baluze, *Capit.* 1. p. 460.

summoning to the King's court of justice the beneficiaries or feudal lords, as well as the 'Caballarii,' or cavaliers, who came on horse, or rather were bound so to present themselves. These latter seemed to have been the sons of the leudes, who went through a form of institution on reaching the years of manhood. They, being stout youths, and having the advantage of being on horseback, soon learnt to think themselves specially brave and to be quite self-reliant. In these early days, however, they were but ordinary elements in the general feudal relationship; they had their own territorial standing, their 'hauberk fiefs', small feudal lordships; and, in fact, there was nothing peculiar about them.

These were not the true Knights of Chivalry; the knight was a man of honour, holding his dignity without tenure of land; having a personal not a territorial claim to consideration. This bright figure of medieval history owes its grandeur, not to Charles, but to the Crusades. We may find it in the ancient Commendation, by which a well-born but powerless man placed himself under the personal protection of some stronger chief; or we may deduce it from the growth of certain principles of human nature, the sense of honour, of valour, of the dignity of man; in a word, from the nobleness of noble natures in every age;—still it is clear that the Crusades were the soil in which chivalry first flourished. There personal merit got a field for its display; the example of the noblest spirits there roused men to applaud and imitate;—Godfrey, Tancred, Raymond, became names of undying glory in romance and song. There, too, the landless gentleman was on a level with the lord of half a realm; his strong arm and prowess had a real value and price. The younger sons of a feudal chief were thus provided for without any subdivision of territory, a thing naturally disliked: the boy was sent to a neighbouring castle, or to the court of the feudal chief, to be brought up in gallant exercises. As page in my lady's bower², while yet a tender

¹ Ducange has these as 'feoda de lorica.' See under 'Feodum.'

² He was also called 'Varlet,' i.e. probably = 'Vassalet,' or little-

boy, he learnt obedience and courtesy, and, perhaps, respect for woman; and, when he betook himself to the courtyard of the castle, he picked up from the old retainers a certain knowledge of the use of arms, and handled sword and spear; or, best of all, was set on a horse, tasting the first delights of that great power,—hereafter to be bound up with his name and life as a chevalier;—the power of ruling the steed, and overlooking the common crowd. When however the varlet grew too strong for such child's play, he passed in among the squires, and took place as one of the devotees of war. He was led to the church, and there received from the priest a sword and belt. Henceforth he was on the road to the high estate of knighthood. Religion blessed the sword as heretofore; and the youth, in the warm zeal of his years, set himself to win a name, and to defend the faith which had given him this baptism of nobility. He was now no longer in lady's bower, but at his lord's heels. He held his horse, or carried his lance and helm, or watched his banner, or guarded his prisoners; he saw that his lord was worshipfully served at meals, he carved the meat at board¹. Then, at twenty-one, if he had borne him well and loyally in the trials of his younger life, he prepared himself for the greater consecration, after the humble diaconate, of arms. We all know the common forms of the reception of knighthood; the white robe, the nightly vigil in the chapel, the oath at daybreak, the bed gaily decked, the priest's address expounding these moralities, the Eucharist, and a sort of catechism of knightly faith; then the oath to keep the good laws of chivalry; then the new armour brought out and donned; lastly, the novice bidden to kneel down, and dubbed a knight by his lord. His horse was led to the church-door; he mounted and rode forth, the crowd shouting, the heralds blowing trumpet-peals: and so he entered the second order

vassal, alluding to his father's relation to the superior lord at whose court he was.

¹ So Joinville tells us that he, as squire, carved at the King of Navarre's table.

with every possible religious sanction. He now had only to 'win his spurs' at the next feat of arms, to cut down some dozen unarmed rustics, or to put to flight a few men-at-arms, or to unhorse a hostile knight; then he became a full member of the hierarchy of chivalry.

There runs throughout a parallel between knighthood and priesthood. They were the two sanctified classes, living under a lifelong vow, given up to God's service in field and Church. St. Paul's language seemed to be applicable to both; the 'Christian Warfare' was localised and made human by the taking of the cross. The knight's oath bound him to defend the faith, protect the weak, honour womankind: in course of time the worship of the Virgin blended still more closely the relations of chivalry and religion, a union which can be traced through many ages, till we see its last development in the dreams of Loyola, the knight of the Mother of Jesus.

Picturesque and noble though the conception of knighthood is, it would have been an indistinct branch of feudal customs and conditions, but for the Crusades. Then the order stood out clearly, when knight and baron were far from home. Then the greater lords took knights into their paid service—kings gladly attached them to themselves. The feudal lord mortgaged his lands; the knight, who had no lands to sell, sold his sword-arm to defend the Church, and grew in men's esteem. He stood upright on his personal service, while the territorial basis of the baron's power was slipping from under his feet. In him we see the rudiment of a standing army. The knight demurred at no length of service, that great difficulty of a feudal army; and the kings must have felt that they had in the loyalty of the knightly estate a counterpoise to the utter anarchy and turbulence of the greater vassals. Moreover, both King and knight had one grand task in common—the repression of lawlessness, the redress of wrong, the doing justice and judgment, and the punishment of the evil-doer. The belief that he was the fountain of justice was an element in the character of the King, which secured the eventual triumph of royalty: and the good

King was also a good knight. Even Saladin is said to have been glad to receive the honour of knighthood: and it is probable that chivalry gained much in courtesy and a high sense of honour by its contact with the nobler natures among the Eastern princes¹.

Still more did the military orders indicate what a new force was growing up. They showed the world a new form of combination. They began in the noblest strain—carrying out the belief that their knighthood was a brotherhood like that of the religious orders. Their early history is full of rare self-devotion and charity: they took vows of celibacy, their whole life was bound to be religious. With one hand they held the sword, with the other they tended the sick and poor. With great irony they called these humble friends their 'lords' (*nos seigneurs*); as though they would tell the feudal barons that they owed less allegiance and honour to them than they did to the poor sufferers whom they helped. But this did not last: the glories of chivalry, and the picture of the faithful knight, with its bright foreground of rich colour, high adventure, and fair ladies' smiles, with the picturesque towers of a castle rising from the neighbouring hill, must not blind our eyes to the truth. The knightly life, good though it was, and school of men in its day, had in it from the outset seeds of decay. Its basis was war; and the love of war, and the valuing of men by a warlike standard, form a bad foundation for any institution. Knighthood was completely aristocratic in character: it widened the gulf between classes. The 'raskall rout' were of no account with the knight; he held no faith with such, nor had any sympathy with them. The knight and the priest here stood on very different footings. Religion, low as she fell, never quite lost the sense of her duty towards the down-trodden: knighthood came to despise and ill-treat all below it. Knightly privileges sapped the strength of the order. The knight abused his advantages, was cruel in war, riding down the half-armed and feeble; was licentious in peace. Even so early as the middle

¹ See Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. 2. p. 463 (ed. 1846).

of the twelfth century, St. Bernard, who had no bias against war, attacks chivalry with an unsparing pen¹. The military orders also early fell into great looseness of manners; and it became clear that in spite of its gallantry, chivalry must fall. Yet it held its place till the growth of regular armies in the English and French wars elbowed it out of the way, and the kingly power grew so strong that it could hold in check both feudal turbulence and knightly prowess, and make them fight under the royal flag. Above all, gunpowder was fatal to chivalry. What could gallantry under the coat of mail do against cannon and the new tactics of war? Gunpowder blew down the robber-nests of feudalism and the pride of chivalry. The low-bred man-at-arms with the new engine in his hands came to be on a level with the noblest knight in the battlefield. Hotspur's fop in Shakespere² was not so far from the point, when he cried—

‘It was great pity, so it was,
This villanous saltpetre should be digg'd
Out of the bowels of the harmless earth,
Which many a good tall fellow had destroy'd
So cowardly; and but for these vile guns
He would himself have been a soldier.’

¹ ‘Non militia sed malitia,’ he says of them in his *De laude novae militiae*, quoted in Dom Bouquet, *Recueil*, tom. 11. p. 231.

² Henry IV. Part 1. 1. 3.

CHAPTER V.

Louis VI, surnamed le Gros, A.D. 1100–1137.

IN the year 1100 Philip the idle king, desiring to shift from his shoulders the burden of his duty, made, after Capetian usage, his son Louis¹, then about twenty-two years old, joint-king, and disappeared into obscurity. He lived yet eight years, was reconciled to Rome, broke his promise of amendment, and to the end clung to the vicious woman he had long before stolen away from Fulk of Anjou. In 1108 he died in the dress of a Benedictine Monk, giving orders that he should be buried in the Benedictine Church at Fleury on the Loire; ‘for greatly he feared lest for his sins, were he buried at St. Denis, he should be carried off by the devil, as was Charles Martel of old²;’ under St. Benedict's protection he hoped that his bones might rest in peace. There let us leave the weakest of the Capets, and turn our eyes towards a worthier prince, These early kings were feeble, but it was the feebleness of childhood, not of old age, as with the previous races. There does not seem, except in Philip, to have been that extinction of all energy and power of will, which marked the fainéant princes of the Merwing and Caroling dynasties. These men did little, and were little, because they had small opportunities for more. When Louis was adopted by his father in 1100, the crown had as its own domain only the county of Paris, Hurepoix, the Gâtinais, the Orléanais, half the county of Sens, the French Vexin, and Bourges, together with some ill-defined rights over the episcopal

¹ The Life of King Louis by his school-fellow friend and adviser, Suger, abbot of St. Denis, is our chief authority.

² Ordericus Vitalis, 2.

cities of Rheims, Beauvais, Laon, Noyon, Soissons, Amiens. And even within these narrow limits the royal power was but thinly spread over the surface. The barons in their castles were in fact independent, and oppressed the merchants and poor folk as they would. The King had also acknowledged rights of suzerainty over Champagne, Burgundy, Normandy, Brittany, Flanders, and Boulogne; but, in most cases, the only obedience the feudal lords stooped to was that of duly performing the act of homage to the King on first succession, to a fief. He also claimed suzerainty, which was not conceded, over the South of France; over Provence and Lorraine he did not even put forth a claim of lordship¹. The very first acts of Louis show how feeble he was in resources, and how close to his gates were his antagonists. From the high ground near Paris their castles could be discerned; the din of arms might almost be heard. Northwards, the lord of Montmorenci disputed with him the plain of St. Denis; the new fort called the Châtelet was built to protect Paris from this powerful neighbour. Southwards, Montleheri barred the way to Orleans and the Loire, and cut the royal domain in two.

What forces had the young King with which to awe his turbulent barons, and to protect or enlarge his borders? He had his own force of character, indicated by his two names of the 'Wide-awake' and 'the Fighter'²; he had the prime of youth and good looks³, and lively pleasant ways⁴; a real genius for war, and prompt energy to use such tools as he had, in the 'damsels' who were sent to Paris by the greater vassals and others, numbering full three hundred gallant youths, eager to win glory under the young King⁵. In addition to these household troops, he got some help from his feudal vassals, and specially from Robert of Flanders, his maternal uncle. The Crusades

¹ See Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, tom. 5. p. 8.

² L'Éveillé, le Batailleur.

³ 'Elegans et formosus,' says Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi*, 1.

⁴ 'Jocundus, gratus et benevolus; quo etiam a quibusdam simplex reputabatur.'—Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi*, 2.

⁵ These 'Damsels,' *Damoiseaux*, were the *Maison du Roi*, even at that early time. Louis himself was styled 'the Royal Damsel.'

also helped him, by carrying off the most vigorous of his neighbours, and turning men's attention elsewhere; and lastly, he had an unfailing source of strength in the goodwill of the clergy and people. He was regarded as their champion; he was penetrated with the royal belief—the very salt of kingship—that he was the pure fount of justice, the defender of the weak¹. In the great struggle which will hereafter come up between Pope and King, this royal quality will be seen to have great weight. The Papacy lost ground, as the King gained: her justice was not based on a sense of right between man and man, but on the ancient laws and distinctions of the Church, which drew a marked line between the clerical and the lay. So long as the Church could show herself as Justice walking serenely on earth, in the midst of a turbulent world, her authority remained unassailable; but when she strove to withdraw her own militia from the hand of law, she ceased to be a judge and became a partisan. Then the kingly power resisted her with success; for law and right ranged themselves under the banner of secular authority. We shall see how the lawyers of France became the most powerful opponents of papal claims.

With such strength as he could muster King Louis reduced Bouchard de Montmorenci and his petty allies, and freed the northern walls of Paris from insult. Then, with seven hundred 'men of choice,' he fell on Ebles, count of Rouci, and defeated him, so succouring the oppressed Church of Rheims; and this too, though Ebles had Burgundy at his back. Soon after he did the like good turn for the Church of Orleans. Next, when Guy Troussell, son of Miles, lord of Montleheri, came back from Crusade, (he had let himself over the walls of Antioch by a rope, leaving behind his luckless men-at-arms to shift as they best might,) the two kings, Philip and Louis, persuaded him in his shame and dejection to give his only daughter to a son of King Philip by Bertrade: with her he handed over Montleheri to them, thus removing the obstacle from the royal

¹ 'Ecclesiarum utilitatibus providebat, aratorum laboratorum et pauperum, quod diu insolitum fuerat, quieti studebat.'—Suger, *Vita L. G.* 2.

highway southwards,—‘whereof the two kings were as glad, as if they had taken a mote out of their eye¹.’ Montleheri was entrusted to Guy of Rochfort, uncle of Guy Troussell, who had gone over to King Philip on his return from Jerusalem. The young King was forthwith affianced to Guy of Rochfort’s daughter, and the father was made seneschal. But, for some reason, we know not what,—it is one of the puzzles of this reign,—Louis threw away this chance of securing Montleheri, the key of the position. He broke with Guy, declined his daughter, and plunged at once into the delights of war. In 1107 Pope Paschal came to France, to confer at Châlons-sur-Marne with the archbishop of Trèves on the Investitures’ quarrel, and Louis persuaded the Pope to release him from the child-marriage²: Guy was deposed from his seneschalship, and dismissed the court. He fell to war, backed by the troubled spirit of Bertrade, who hoped to place her son Philip on the throne, and by the discontented barons, who feared the vigorous young King. But Louis was too quick for them. The inhabitants of Montleheri ejected Philip, Bertrade’s son, and opened their gates to the King. Bertrade seeing that her plans had failed, took the veil in the convent of Haute-Bruyère, a dependency of Fontevrault, that strange double foundation, in which the nuns in their cloister sang and prayed, while the monks in the field tilled the land and supported the community; a lady abbess being set over both nuns and monks, the nuns also taking precedence. No institution so favourable to woman had ever been established in Christendom: it is among the proofs of the new powers of chivalry. There Bertrade did not continue long before she died.

In the midst of this struggle died King Philip, in 1108; and on the very next Sunday Louis was crowned at Orleans by the archbishop of Sens: one wonders why he should not have waited a few days; and why not have gone to Rheims, where the kings were ever wont to be crowned? The truth seems to

¹ Suger, Vita L. G. 8.

² ‘Filiam ejusdem Guidonis necdum nubilem.’ Suger, Vita L. G. 8.

be that he was afraid of delay, which in the midst of these wars might be dangerous to his crown. No sooner was he crowned than he hastened away to renew his struggle with his neighbours; and slowly he gained strength and firm footing, till in 1111 we note the rise into prominence of a new and significant ally. He was besieging Le Puiset, a castle belonging to Hugh the Fair; and in his army were the peasants of the Church-lands, who smarted under Hugh’s depredations, armed and led by the curates of their parishes. Suger tells us how one village priest at the head of his rustic troop first broke into the robber’s den. He made his way unharmed and alone to the palisade, and began to pull the stakes away: finding himself unmolested, he beckoned to his men below, who hastened up, and broke their way in. The King’s troops were at the same time attacking the place on another side. Thus the serfs appear as a faithful militia. There was no doubt as to their loyalty or readiness. It was a peasant rising, under guidance of authority and right, against the shameless oppression of the barons. This opportune help was probably gained for the King in great part by Suger himself, to whom Louis had entrusted the priory of Toury, hard by Le Puiset, where a kind of fortress of observation was built. In this, and in many other acts, Suger showed himself one of the most important founders of the French nation. He supported the King in his desire to do justice; he brought great administrative gifts to bear on the social state of the country; his advice was ever sage, and generally successful; he was the ruling spirit of the reign of two kings, the first of those great churchmen who presided over the growth and fortunes of the French Monarchy.

In this series of petty wars King Louis showed great energy and bravery, sometimes fighting in the forefront, like a common soldier; always first to begin and last to leave off; until he brought his own vassals into tolerable order. Throughout all he gave to his wars the stamp of right and justice. The ill-doer was called to appear before the King’s court, for the judgment of his peers: if he came and was condemned, the King executed

judgment on him; if he refused to appear, he was attacked and brought under for his contumacy. The conceptions of justice and loyalty became daily more and more closely connected.

It is usual to say that the King was wisely inclined to defend the poor, to side with the Church, to encourage the Communes in cities. The first and second of these statements are quite true; of the third there are no substantial proofs. Indeed, it assumes a state of things which had as yet scarcely begun to exist. The King was active and intelligent; but it was too much to expect him to foresee the future importance of cities. Even Suger himself shows no sign of such discernment. In fact, Louis, in the case of Laon, did not hesitate to sell his help to the bishop, because he outbid the citizens; they offered him 400 livres, the bishop 700, and the King at once accepted the higher bid. He had before granted the citizens a charter, he now revoked it at once; and when they resisted, he crushed them without mercy. He gave privileges, it is true, but not free constitutions, to the five chief cities of the royal domain, Paris, Orléans, Melun, Étampes, Compiègne. Otherwise, he hardly seems to have done more than let the movement take its course: nor is his name so closely connected with the cities as are the names of some other great lords of the same period. The feudal lords of towns were glad to sell their claims for ready money: even the King did it. In Burgundy, Normandy, Guienne, this first stir of civic life took place: in the South of France the cities, inheriting the traditions of old municipal rights from Rome, were already well advanced in the path of independence.

Meanwhile, as King Louis grew stronger, the hold of Germany on Provence and Lorraine relaxed: the long war of investitures, fully engaging the Emperor, left him no leisure to look after these outlying portions of the Empire: and the feudal lords in these districts became all but independent sovereigns. This rendered the King's eastern frontier safe from danger; these princes were so new and so isolated that there was nothing to fear from them. The Norman border was very different.

There, a united and warlike race was ruled by a King who had all the resources of England at his back, and was infinitely stronger for war than his restless brother of France. But Louis recked nothing of all this. He espoused the cause of William Clito, son of Robert, grandson of the Conqueror, and plunged into war. In early life he had resisted William Rufus with great credit; he won no credit now. Normandy was laid low, churches became the barns and refuges of the country folk—the Norman churches, so solid and warlike in structure that they might easily be turned into fortresses—and the usual misery was inflicted on the defenceless. Louis was well beaten at Brenneville¹ in 1119, and though the clergy responded to his cry for help, he felt that he was in the grasp of the stronger man, and sought how to escape from the difficulty into which he had thrust himself. Pope Calixtus II was holding a council at Rheims; he laid before him his complaints against Henry of England. The Pope brought about a reconciliation, the terms of which were honourable for Louis, though he failed in his nominal object, the establishment of William Clito, who had to fall back into obscurity and abandon his claim to the duchy.

Louis was not likely to rest; and in 1124 there was again a threat of war. Henry of England made alliance—prophetic of many later combinations—with his son-in-law, Henry V of Germany, who undertook to invade Eastern France and to threaten Rheims. Then the King summoned his vassals to his help. The men of his own domain, now quite broken in, came readily. Rheims and Châlons sent six thousand men; Laon and Soissons the like; Orléans, Étampes and Paris with the King's own body-guard, his 'damsels,' formed the centre of his army. In their midst waved the Oriflamme², the sacred

¹ Described in Ordericus Vitalis, bk. 12. But Suger has very little to say about this disaster of his royal friend (ch. 25). The name of the place at that time was Brenmula.

² The Oriflamme was a flame-red banner of silk; three-pointed on its lower side, and tipped with green. It was fastened to a gilt spear. It was in fact the banner of the Counts of the Vexin, who held under the Abbey of St. Denis, and laid their flag on its altar. When the Vexin fell to the King (in the days of Philip I, circ. 1087) the Oriflamme was adopted as the royal standard.

banner, which King Louis had with great solemnity taken from the altar of St. Denis. The Count of Champagne was there with a strong force; the Duke of Burgundy did not fail; and Vermandois brought his horsemen and the footmen of St. Quentin; Pontoise, Amiens, and Beauvais completed the army. The greater lords, who lay without the circle of the King's immediate influence, did not dare to refuse, but managed to arrive too late. 'The most noble Count of Flanders would have tripled the host, had he been summoned earlier;' William of Aquitaine, Conan of Brittany, the warlike Fulk of Anjou were also hindered by the distance and the suddenness of the appeal¹. The King prudently showed no dissatisfaction: and the French chroniclers tell us that the fame of his energy and preparations deterred the Emperor, who halted, abandoned his enterprise, and fell back on Germany: a rumour of troubles at Worms was probably the true reason of his retreat. Still in France herself the knightly King won no small credit²; men began to regard him as the central figure of all France: though the great feudal princes had not joined him, they had recognised the validity of his summons as against the foreigner. Peace was made with Henry of England; and the sacred Indict³, which contained a nail from the cross, the crown of thorns, and the bones of saints, which had all been brought forth to fight for King Louis, were restored with much reverence by his own hand to their shrine at St. Denis. The death of Henry V within a year confirmed the truth of men's belief that heaven fought for their King. The royal power thus slowly rose clear of all feudal powers: the King was no longer one among his peers; but had superior rights and powers of his own. Nothing shows this so clearly as his intervention between the Bishop of Clermont and the Count of Auvergne, backed by William of Aquitaine. The King, in spite of his unwieldy bulk and the

¹ Suger, *Vita L. G.* c. 27 (Dom Bouquet, tom. 12. 51).

² 'Idem aut superum fuit, quam si campo triumphasset.'—Suger, *Vita L. G.* cap. 27.

³ The 'Indict' was said to have been deposited at St. Denis by Charles the Bald; it had belonged to Charles the Great, and was laid up by him at Aix.

summer heats, marched southwards, with the lords of Flanders, Anjou, and Brittany in his train, 'army enough to have conquered Spain,' says Suger: these great lords were in good time now. William, great prince as he was, humbled himself, came into the King's camp, begged 'his Majesty' to accept his homage, and offered to submit the dispute to the judgment of the barons. It was easily adjusted; and men discerned that King Louis was a real power even beyond the Loire. Thence to the Northern border; to Bruges, where the Provost Bertulf had set on his nephew Burchard to slay Charles the Good at his prayers in church. The King avenged him brutally, with fiendish malignity of punishment; and then, as Suger says, 'having washed and rebaptised Flanders with much blood,' he made William Clito the Norman, his protégé, their Count. Thence he returned home; and as soon as he was gone the Flemings cast William out; and presently he perished at the siege of Alost. Then Louis and Henry of England agreed to appoint Thierry of Alsace Count of Flanders. Thus was the King's activity felt from North to South.

He was much oppressed by his infirmities and needed help; so, like his fathers, he had his eldest son Philip crowned King in 1129. But in 1131, when the lad was sixteen, as he was riding out of Paris with his men, in the suburb a 'diabolical pig'¹ ran between his horse's legs, and down came steed and rider. The boy was picked up senseless, and died that night, to the infinite grief of his parents, and of all the great men of the land. They buried the 'hope of the realm,' the boy of high promise, at St. Denis, and within a fortnight crowned in his stead his brother Louis, 'the Young,' a little lad, in the presence of a vast crowd from every part; Aquitanians, Germans, English, Spaniards, being there²; and from their presence the happiest auguries were drawn;—auguries not destined to be verified by time.

During these same years troubles fell on Normandy. In 1129

¹ Suger, *Vita L. G.* in Dom Bouquet, *Recueil*, tom. 12, p. 59.

² *Ibid.*

the Empress Matilda, widow of Henry V, heiress of Normandy and England, married Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. On the death of Henry I, the Norman barons and the citizens of London passed them both over, and in 1135 chose as King of England Stephen of Blois, a grandson of William the Conqueror. Hence sprang a wild and desolating war in Normandy, as well as in England.

While Louis, worn out by illness and his bulk, against which he chafed and fought in vain, was devoutly preparing for death, there came messengers to him from William of Aquitaine with a proposal of great moment. William had a daughter, Eleanor; her he offered in marriage to the boy-King, Louis the Young. The old King, rejoicing greatly, and hoping that the rich and civilised South would hereby become a part of the kingdom, spent all his remaining energies in hastening his son's departure, entrusting him to the care of his most valued friend, the Abbot Suger. The child-bride and bridegroom met at Bordeaux; in the presence of the chief men of the South the marriage took place, and Eleanor was crowned Queen of France. The two dying princes, the fathers of the pair, did not live to hear the end: William never returned from his pilgrimage to Compostella, whither he went to make but a poor and tardy acknowledgment for a life of crime; Louis, on his way to die at St. Denis, yearning once more to see the home of his pious boyhood, was seized with the pains of death at Paris, and expired, lying on a cloth strewn with ashes. They buried him in a worthy place among his fathers at St. Denis (A.D. 1137).

Thus ended the formal independence of Aquitaine, and at the same moment the great founder of the royal power of France breathed his last, without seeing the fulfilment of his life's labours. He was a noble king, a noble man. His loving biographer, Suger, has left us a full account of his energy, ability, merriment in health, and cheerfulness in sickness,—‘he was so mirthful that some even reckoned him a simpleton,’—his piety and humbleness of heart, his untiring activity of life, his holy end. He tells us, too, of the love his friends bore him,

and of the gratitude of the common folk towards him. ‘As he seemed to recover health, shortly before his death, and rode a horse, or was carried in his litter, he came to Meudon on the Seine: as he went all men ran together from castle and town, or from the plough-tail in the field, to meet him and show their devotion to the King who had protected them and given them peace¹.’

Had his work been less thoroughly done, it could not have survived the folly of his successor. As it was, Louis the Young and his queen, instead of uniting all France in one great kingdom, retarded for half a century, though they could not stop, the building up of the French monarchy.

While France was waking to a sense of national unity, she was also rising in moral dignity, through the influence of the reviving Church. Her noblest architecture dates from this time; and a nation's life may be said to be marked by its buildings as much as by its speech. In these days ‘Gothic’ architecture was born. The massive Norman churches gave place to the more cheerful French style. The huge column was enriched with light and graceful shafts; the circular arch, unbroken, unyielding, was replaced by a sharp-pointed one. The conventional and heavy ornament of the older period gave way before more graceful and truthful forms. For the solid tower, men built the light spire; the small windows expanded, and were filled with richly coloured lights. The Norman style had expressed the old Scandinavian feeling, modified by the sense of warlike power and resistance, and by contact with the Roman style of building; the new style told of the influences of chivalry on a race which loved colour and light and change, which looked on things bright and vigorous, less defiant, less permanent, more refined, more sensuous².

The Church, in fact, rose as a mistress and a mother. The King was devoted to her service; the feudal world pledged its

¹ Suger, *Vita Lud. Grossi*, Dom Bouquet, *Recueil*, tom. 12, p. 62.

² This is the change in architecture from what is called in England the ‘Norman’ to the ‘Early English’; from St. Cross to Romsey Abbey, from Romsey Abbey to Salisbury Cathedral.

homage to her; the chief minds of the age were reckoned among her children. Bernard, 'last of the Fathers,' Abelard, the subtle Rationalist, Suger, the prudent politician, were the three greatest names of the time. St. Bernard, the great Abbot of Clairvaux, the Pope's champion and adviser, moved alike in the Church and the world as the guiding spirit of the religious revival. He made peace or war, taking part in all the affairs of Europe, and carrying into all an intrepid and clear faith, a warmth of devotion, and a noble purity of conduct. Over against him we may set Suger, Abbot of St. Denis, the politician, the King's champion, a man far in advance of his times, sound and practical; capable of feeling all the movements of the day: at one time a courtly abbot with princely train, at another moment a humble ascetic, influenced by the revival of the age, and winning a reputation for piety, even for sanctity; a scholar, and for the age a writer of taste, a consummate man of business, who could build a noble church, and recover the lapsed possessions of his abbey, or sit in the councils of his prince as chief, governing the kingdom with singular sagacity and success. And Abelard, who had been an unwilling sojourner at St. Denis when Suger was first made abbot, a name of romance, the most learned scholar and most luckless lover of his time; who brought back to the world the supremacy of Aristotle; who roused the desire to inquire into the causes of things; who founded all knowledge on the human reason and on the investigation of facts; who wrote bold treatises on things the most mysterious, even on the nature of the Holy Trinity:—he it is who established the intellectual reputation of Paris, and, though he bowed the head before the clergy, and did not dare to measure swords with St. Bernard, began a new and all-important epoch in the history of Philosophy.

CHAPTER VI.

*Louis VII, 'the Young,' and the Growth of
Civic Liberties, A.D. 1137–1180.*

LOUIS VI had been a firm friend to and defender of the Church; but Louis VII, the Young, was its slave. The strong man drew strength from the connexion; the weak man only displayed his weakness. Brought up by the piety of his father under Suger's eye among the monks of St. Denis, he sucked in prejudice and feebleness from the cloister, while he learnt nothing of real wisdom from the sagacious abbot. Yet, though Suger could not give him wisdom, he impressed him with respect for it; and the weak King, deferring often to his tutor's judgment, was saved from utterly marring his father's work. He listened to Suger because he honoured him as a Churchman, not because he recognised in him the shrewd, long-headed man of the world. The monkish historians cannot enough praise the monkish King. Stephen of Paris begins with high hopes of him, 'so pious, so clement, so catholic and kindly, that were you to see his bearing and simplicity of dress you might think he was not a king, but some good monk¹.' His queen afterwards said something like this, not meaning it as a compliment. 'He loved justice,' adds Robert, 'and defended it with zeal; he was in life and conversation a thorough Churchman.' And Stephen, eye-witness of his hero's doings in this earlier time, adds two tales, as to his humility before the Church: how he made even the

¹ Robert of Paris, in Dom Bouquet, Recueil, tom. 12, p. 89.

lowest sexton and bedell go before him into the church; and how he humbled himself at St. Denis one day for having, without leave of the community, supped at their charges, at Creteil one night, when overtaken by the darkness before he could ride on to Paris. No wonder that the monk was delighted with his piety. This pliant weakness and soft conscience towards the Church bore its natural fruits, as we shall see. He was called 'the Young' when he came to the throne, being but a lad when first crowned, and a youth of about eighteen when he became sole King: he retained the name, and deserved it, as long as he lived.

For a short time all went tolerably straight. He was crowned with Eleanor of Aquitaine by his side; and in that public act men saw the sign of the alliance of North and South. Yet ere long he was discredibly repulsed in an attempt to make good his claims against the great house of Toulouse; and was quickly taught what was the real extent of his authority over the South.

In this same year of his accession, Stephen of Blois and England took Lillebonne on the Seine, and passed thence with his Normans and Flemings into Anjou; but there a quarrel arose between the two nations over a 'hose of wine'¹, and the invaders had to withdraw into Normandy.

Next, the King plunged into a quarrel with Innocent II, touching the Church of Bourges. Supported by Suger, he very properly asserted his right to name the archbishop; but the Pope replied that he was but a child, and at once consecrated a nominee of his own. To this quarrel, in which the King was in the right, are due all his mishaps:—hence sprang the second Crusade; hence the divorce; hence the claims of Henry of England. For as this dispute went on, Theobald of Champagne thought well to fish in troubled waters, and sided with the Pope: the angry King attacked his lands, took Vitry by storm, and burnt down the parish church, with some hundreds of poor folk in it. The King's conscience smote him after this

¹ 'Una *hosa* vini, sc. *ocrea* vino plena,' in England called a 'jack.'

horrid act, and he made peace with the Pope,—on condition that he should do penance by a Crusade. St. Bernard had throughout supported the Pope against the King; he now threw himself hotly into the scheme for a second Crusade. He passed from city to city, preaching, like a second Peter, with all Peter's enthusiasm and his own power and learning. The Latins had been losing ground in the East, and now came news that Edessa, the outpost of Christendom, had fallen to the Turks with a horrible slaughter of Christians. All Europe was moved: at Vézelay Louis and his young wife took the cross; and men hastened to follow their example. The King did it as a penance for his crime; penance was throughout the leading thought; the Crusade was a crusade of criminals.

Suger tried in vain to stem the tide. His clear sight discerned the risk the young French monarchy was running, and the thankless task which awaited his own old age. But nothing could turn aside the excitable King; and Bernard's enthusiasm easily overbore Suger's prudence: thus these two great churchmen, with ever diverging sympathies, took part, even at that early day, in the constantly recurring struggle between Papal Empire and French Monarchy.

The fire was kindled through all France. Once more monasteries grew, churches sprang up. At Chartres, for example, there was a complete 'revival': men yoked themselves to carts and dragged stones, timber, provisions, for the builders of the cathedral towers: the enthusiasm spread across Normandy and France; everywhere with the same penitential symptoms. 'Humility and affliction on every side; penitence and confession of sins; grief and contrition in every heart. You might see men and women drag themselves on their knees through deep swamps; scourge themselves; raise songs and praises to God; take part in the working of plentiful miracles¹. On such sensitive ears as these fell that 'heavenly organ,' St. Bernard's

¹ So says Robert de Monte (A.D. 1145), in Bouquet, Recueil, tom. 13. 290. He ends his account of the carts dragged by the devout peasants to Chartres with the curious reflection that 'you might say it was the fulfilment of the prophetic words "Spiritus Dei erat in rotis."'

voice, 'after its sort pouring forth the dew of the divine word'; and France sprang to her feet. It was the same with Germany; though the Germans did not understand a word, the great preacher's voice and manner were enough: they took the cross by thousands. Even Conrad III, the Emperor, with several princes of the Empire, was carried away by the enthusiasm. To Bernard, mainspring of the movement, was offered the chief command; but he, wiser than Peter, perhaps warned by his fate, refused to accept it: he set himself, instead, to save the wretched Jews. For, just as before, the Christian enthusiasm broke out in cruel persecution of these inoffensive people. It is to the infinite credit of the Saint, that he threw the mantle of his protection over them, and saved them from the horrors of a fanatical and selfish persecution.

In 1147 the French army was ready: Conrad with the Germans was a little before them. France was entrusted to the care of Suger, as Regent, together with the Count of Nevers. Nevers fled from his responsibilities into a convent, and then Suger in reality administered the realm alone, though the Archbishop of Rheims and the Count of Vermandois were appointed as his nominal assessors.

Nothing could be more wretched than the result of this grand Crusade, headed by the two greatest princes of Christendom. Manuel Comnenus at Constantinople did them all the harm he could. Conrad pushed on across Asia Minor without provisions or trustworthy guides. He fell into the hands of the Turks, who routed him utterly. The poor remnant of his host, some five to six thousand, fell back on the French, who had also suffered much from the Byzantine Emperor², and were painfully moving along the coast of Asia Minor. At every step they felt Greek treason and Turkish enmity; until at last, on their reaching Attalia, it was agreed that the King with his knights

¹ Odo of Deuil, in Dom Bouquet, Recueil, tom. 12, p. 92.

² The bishop of Langres actually advised Louis to storm Constantinople, and make it a true bulwark for Europe against the Infidels. But the King, loyal to his vow, refused to do it, and went on.

should take ship, and the rest push on by land to Antioch. Thus the unstable King left his flock to its fate; its fate of death or slavery. It is said that he did it reluctantly; anyhow it is one of those things which no true King of men could have done at all. Very different was the conduct of St. Louis in a somewhat similar case. Of all that mighty host of pilgrims, reckoned at nearly half a million, scarcely ten thousand reached the Holy Land. From Antioch the King pushed on, caring only to fulfil his vow, and to do penance for the scene at Vitry; and so made his way to Jerusalem. There, on the altar of the church of the Sepulchre, he offered up the lives of that great host which he had misled and abandoned: with half a million souls he bought his absolution; while with it he also won the alienation and hatred of his queen, and consequent loss of all Southern France, and the utter disgrace and discredit of his reign. He turned his face homewards, after a miserable attempt to take Damascus, which only showed the discord of the Christians, and added somewhat to the great and useless sacrifice of life that had been made. Nor was he allowed to reach France without further disgrace. The Greeks captured him on the high seas; he was rescued by the Sicilian Normans, who put him ashore safely on the French coast, in 1149. So he returned home, a miserable degraded being; he had abandoned his army, his Queen Eleanor had abandoned him, with expressions of uttermost contempt: unstable as water, he could not excel.

One thing alone came out of this Crusade¹. The German and French armies having joined, and the remnant of the Germans having ranged themselves under the French King's banner, the French learnt to look on Louis as at least the equal of Conrad the Emperor: they felt they were a nation of one speech, while the Germans were a nation of another; that is, they felt themselves marked off from other people by distinct national characteristics: a clear step forwards in the growth of the French Monarchy.

¹ La Vallée, Histoire des Français, tom. 1, p. 327.

Louis found France stronger and more compact than when he set out. Suger as Regent had repressed turbulence and crime, had administered the King's estates prudently, had done justice, had helped the poor and oppressed, until his name spread to distant lands, and men came from far to see the wisdom of this new Solomon. With joy and thankfulness, as a good steward, he rendered up his charge into the King's hands; and went humbly home to St. Denis, whence he seldom afterwards came forth, living only to protect the poor, the widow and the fatherless, and to administer the affairs of the Abbey with the same wisdom and success which had attended his management of the greater business of the kingdom¹. So he spent the rest of his days in peace:—Suger, the poor monk, one of the true founders of the French kingdom.

Louis, left to himself, soon went wrong. On his return to France, Suger had prudently advised him to dissemble his grievance against Eleanor his wife, seeing that an open breach would rend France asunder. But the foolish King consented to a divorce, after a slight and heartless opposition; and Eleanor left the court, bearing with her Poitou and Aquitaine as a dower for the next husband she might choose. St. Bernard, at the time of the quarrel between Louis and the Pope, had accused the King of marrying his cousin²: and doubtless the accusation stuck in the King's tender conscience, and made him all the more ready to acquiesce in the divorce. After a romantic journey, in which she narrowly escaped more than one turbulent suitor, eager to carry off the heiress, Eleanor reached Poitiers in safety; and before long found in Henry of Anjou a worthy mate. In 1152 he had succeeded to his father's lordships. He was Count of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine; he had strong hold on Normandy, indefinite but not despicable claims on England; a brave soul of his own, and a strong hand to take and

¹ See the Encyclical Letter of the Chapter of St. Denis on his death; *Œuvres Complètes de Suger*, p. 404.

² Hugh Capet's wife was sister to William Fier-à-Bras, Eleanor's grandfather, so that Eleanor was the King's cousin seven times removed.

keep. Wherewith he wedded the great heiress, in spite of the King, who, as his suzerain, forbade the banns. He wedded her and went at once to do homage to the King, his liege, for the very lands he had in fact wrenched out of his hand.

In vain did Louis make league in 1153 with Stephen of England, Geoffrey of Anjou, Henry's younger brother, and Henry of Champagne, to check the growing power of the great Count of Anjou. Henry was far stronger than the three; and forced Louis to make peace, securing his position in France, as lord from sea to sea, from the Norman coast to the Gulf of Lyons. Then he crossed over into England, a new Conqueror, at the head of a strong army, and the English barons, all discontented, fell to him. Stephen made what peace he could, recognising him as his heir. And thus Henry overcame the coalition in the usual way; dividing its members, and conquering them in detail. Next year Stephen died, and Henry ascended the English throne without a murmur¹. The great controversy between England and France takes definite shape from this time, in the form of a life and death struggle for the French monarchy and nation. At first the contest lay between two Frenchmen, and between lord and vassal (for Henry had done homage to Louis for his possessions on the mainland), not yet between two equal sovereigns, and two proud and hostile nations. Still the general issue was the same in the earlier age, though the high interest of the later periods was wanting. The present struggle lay half-way between the old squabbles and half-private wars arising out of feudal relationships, and the new and grander wars which were soon to spring up between monarch and monarch, nation and nation. A day would come when the very throne of France would be claimed by an English king; and the claim all but established by the sword. This later quarrel lay involved in the earlier one; and Henry of Anjou, with his determined character and splendid resources, might well, even without hereditary claims, have joined the

¹ William of Newbridge, Bk. 13, p. 102.

French crown to that of England. From the weakness of Louis the Young no obstacles could arise; the growing sense of national life in Northern France alone resisted and staved off the evil day, till the vigorous son of this poor creature became King, and then the peril passed away for a time.

No men could be more utterly unlike than Henry and Louis; and it was no small part of the invariable ill-fortune of the French King that he was forced to stand, in all his littleness, side by side with the bold form of the successful Count of Anjou, who is one of the grandest figures in the history of royalty. In the words of the Anjou chronicler he was 'vigorous in war, marvellous in prudence of reply, frugal in habits, munificent to others, sober, kindly, peaceable'.¹ He secured his broad territories and held them wisely and firmly. He reformed England, driving out the locust-cloud of Flemings who had come over in his predecessor's train, abolished 'certain imaginary earls; bore himself so wisely, defended himself so manfully, that all men, even his foes, praised him.' And if in later life he gave way to his passions, and his strong nature grew more vehement, we must remember that never was prince so sorely tried.²

Against so great a rival what chance had the French King?—a man whom his wife despised and escaped from—carrying her knowledge of his weakness straight into the enemy's camp; a man who was the humble servant of the clergy, and yet too impetuous and unstable to follow their advice; who threw away half his strength, and did not know how to husband the remainder; who had been foiled in the South, and had deserted his soldiers in the East:—how could men trust in him, and rally round him in his struggle against the King of England?

In 1156 Henry gathered a great army to subdue Ireland,

¹ In Dom Bouquet, Recueil, tom. 12, p. 482.

² It must be remembered also that the monkish historians are certain to have exaggerated his faults. They had a natural antipathy to a strong man; especially if he opposed all they counted most sacred.

but diverted it from its purpose, and landed on the French coast, to support his claims to the remains of his father's property in Anjou and the Breton country. He and his allies disturbed the whole land, from the Pyrenees to the borders of Flanders; but we have no record of noteworthy deeds. Two years later (A.D. 1159) Henry marched on Toulouse, and might have taken it; but he forbore, because Louis was in the city; and the great vassal was never unmindful of his feudal loyalty to his suzerain¹. In the next year the King made peace. Henry, the English King's son, did homage for Normandy to Louis, and soon after espoused Margaret, the French King's daughter, who brought him Gisors and two other castles on the Norman border, as her dower, places which were said to pertain of right to the duchy. Next year King Henry made vigorous use of this peace. He prevented others from building offensive strongholds on his frontiers; he strengthened all his border-fastnesses, especially Gisors; made a park and palace hard by Rouen; restored the hall and chambers by the tower of that city; for Rouen, rather than London, seemed to him the centre and capital of that Anglo-French monarchy which all his life he struggled to found and consolidate; he built a fine lazaret-house; and in many ways showed activity and discretion. The same he did in Aquitaine, in England, in Anjou, and elsewhere. A little before this time he had begun to lay hands on Brittany; and, after a resistance which lasted for ten years (A.D. 1156–1166), he compelled the sturdy duchy to do him homage. Henceforward Brittany, hitherto so isolated and independent, enters into our history, and takes her share in the struggles between France and England, though in language, manners, and feeling, she was still—nay, has continued to be up to our own day—distinct from the rest of France.

¹ Robert de Monte, App. ad Sigebertum, in Dom Bouquet, Recueil, tom. 12, 303: 'Urbem totam Tolosanam noluit obsidere, deferens Ludovico Regi Francorum, qui eandem urbem contra regem Henricum Angliæ muniverat.' Henry afterwards showed a like respect for his feudal obligations, to his own loss, in the boyish years of Philip Augustus.

Thus, by about the year 1160, Henry had secured Normandy, Poitou, and Aquitaine; had feudal suzerainty over Auvergne; was lord of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; had firm hold on Nantes, with good hopes of the rest of Brittany; had wrested Quercy from Toulouse; had subjected Gascony; was ally to Champagne, and protector of Flanders. And yet, with all this overwhelming power, he had now reached the highest limit of his success, and could do no more, even against the feebleness of Louis VII.

For, as he grew older, the worse side of his character became stronger. He made the clergy his bitter foes. He tried to curb that dangerous power by the Constitutions of Clarendon, which were passed in 1164, and were designed to bring the clergy under secular restraints: the quarrel soon broke out into open war. On the one side was the King, with his barons and some bishops; on the other side, Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, once the King's favourite and chancellor, now his deadly opponent. Behind Thomas were the Pope and the French King, as well as the general favour of the English clergy, and the national dislike and resistance of the English, who had no sympathy with the foreign King, who was not even like the Normans who had conquered them and settled down among them. Thus, at the end of Louis's reign, the two Kings were nearly evenly balanced. This period may be divided into two parts;—the struggle between Henry and the archbishop (A.D. 1164–1170), and that between the King and his undutiful wife and children (A.D. 1173–1180). In spite of all, Henry persisted, strengthened himself in Brittany, lost no ground in Aquitaine, and conquered Ireland. His plan was to yield nothing of worth, but to show himself ever ready to be reconciled to Becket, who with his many reservations and obstinacy sorely tried the irritable monarch's temper; to enlist the goodwill of the easy-going Pope, Alexander III, as we see in his appeal to him to sanction the conquest of Ireland; and to pay the utmost respects to his suzerain, so far as homage and declarations went, as we see at the opening

of the contest between the kings for the possession of Auvergne. Auvergne was on the skirts of either power: the French King's influence had spread beyond the Loire, and the English King's claims on Aquitaine included those of suzerainty over it. So, when Louis redressed the wrongs done by William, Count of Auvergne, to the Bishops of Clermont and Puy, though Henry wrote to beg he would hand over to him the illdoers, being his vassals, still he fully recognised the French King's rights as superior lord, and declared that he would 'do whatever he ought, as to his lord'.¹ Thus, as he often did almost ostentatiously, he proclaimed himself the French King's vassal.

Moreover, while Henry's power was thus suffering from his contest with the Church, a mishap befell him, the whole importance of which did not appear till after his death. In 1160 Constance, King Louis's second queen, died in giving birth to a daughter. 'The King and the whole realm were exceedingly sad thereat; but, afterwards comforted by his barons, he somewhat forgot his deep sorrow,'—and (fifteen days after the poor lady's death!) wedded Ala or Alice, daughter of Theobald of Blois, a noted beauty of the court. She, in 1165, bore him a son (as yet he had none but daughters), to the great joy of all France. Well-omened names were bestowed on him: he was the 'God-given,' the 'Magnanimous,' the 'August';—Philip Augustus, who was destined to raise the contest between England and France to really national proportions, and to teach the English King to regard England, and not Normandy as the true centre of his dominions; who was destined also both to expand and to consolidate the French Monarchy.

It is not ours to relate the painful contest between angry King and stubborn Prelate, in which it is impossible to feel full sympathy with either. The French King supported Becket; the English King was not, as one might have expected, opposed by the Pope, Alexander III, a man of a soft and

¹ Dom Bouquet, *Recueil*, tom. 12, p. 130, 'faciam quicquid debuero, sicut domino.'

timid nature, who perhaps scarcely grasped the importance of the issues raised by Becket. Ceaseless negotiation, more or less sincere, went on. At one moment Becket, at Vézelay, is thundering excommunications against the followers of 'the old customs of England,' and heralding the dawn of the new glories of the Papacy; at another time, the King interposes to reconcile the foes; again, the Pope himself sends his messengers, whose names and fruitless mission the chronicler turns into a pretty pun¹. At last, in 1170, the great crime and greater blunder was committed; Becket fell, a martyr in the eyes of the Church, victim of a courageous and inflexible adherence to his principles. When Henry heard of his death he was struck with horror—at least he seemed to be so. For days he shut himself up in his chamber, refusing sustenance. He saw at once that his foe would be more formidable dead than alive, and hastened to disavow the act of the four knights. He offered to take the cross; he was compelled to repeal the Constitutions of Clarendon; he spent large sums of money at Rome—and money he had always at command, like a prudent prince;—he swore that he would support Alexander and his successors, so long as they recognised him as 'a catholic king'; swore that he would not hinder appeals to Rome; that he would take the cross for three years, and go in person to Jerusalem; and he would give the Templars money to pay two hundred soldiers for a year²; he allowed the Bull of the yearly celebration of the Martyr's memory to be published in England. In a word, he took in much sail, and so weathered the storm.

As yet the French King could reap no advantage from all this humiliation. It was from another, and that a very unexpected side, that his revenge was to come; namely, from Eleanor, the wife of his own youth, the wife of Henry's manhood. Whether or no the romance and tragedy of Fair Rosamond

¹ 'Sicut penes Regem Gratianus gratiam non invenit, sic nec penes Archiepiscopum aliqua vivit Vivianus in memoria!'—Dom Bouquet, Recueil, tom. 13, p. 188.

² Benedict of Peterborough (ed. Stubbs), 2. p. 32.

be true, it is certain that, in 1172, Eleanor declared herself deeply wronged by her husband, and set herself to rouse her Aquitanians to revolt. Louis played a mean part in this sad drama, by poisoning the mind of Henry Courtmantel against his father; under his influence the young man summoned King Henry to give up to him either England, or Normandy and Anjou. In order to enforce this demand Louis, at the head of a great league of Frenchmen, Flemings, men of Chartres, Champagne, Poitou, Brittany, attacked Normandy and Anjou, which defended themselves in a very half-hearted way. Then Henry II fell back on his last reserve, his treasures, and with them called out of the earth an army of defenders of a kind hitherto but little known in European warfare. The lawless times, and especially the Crusades, had created a large floating population of unsettled adventurers, who were usually called Brabançons (as many came from Brabant), or Cottereaux, from their long knives. These wild fighting men crowded gladly round a King who offered war and pay; he enrolled, some say ten, some twenty, thousand of them. They formed a rude standing army, a new power, which was not hampered by feudal customs: the King could keep them afield as long as he would, and, while he had them out, could handle them far more certainly than he could the half-independent barons, who answered his summons, and did him feudal service. With this new army he faced Louis VII, who had seized and burnt Verneuil by an act of low treason¹. Henry routed him, then quelled the Bretons; then, in the following year, mastered Anjou and the south-west; then came swiftly back to England, where he recovered his influence by doing ostentatious penance at Becket's shrine;—with what strange feelings and thoughts, as the monks laid the scourge across his bare shoulders, who shall say! Tidings reached him at the same moment of the taking of William of Scotland; and he felt he might safely return to France. There he

¹ See Benedict of Peterborough's Gesta Regis Henrici II, vol. I, p. 54 (ed. Stubbs).

relieved Rouen; and, in the same autumn, received the submission of his three rebel sons, Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey. Geoffrey retained Brittany, Richard became Duke of Aquitaine; where, in spite of the patriotic songs of Bertram de Born, who roused all the fire of the South by his stirring 'Sirventes' or war-songs, his vigour, courage, and military genius entirely crushed the spirit of resistance in Poitou and Guienne.

A new element of discord arose in these warm southern climes; their quickened intellect their higher though perhaps more corrupt civilisation, led the Southerners into strange forms of belief, and the authority of the Church was shaken. Louis was called in to stop the tide; but he was very reluctant to interfere in the way of persecution.

His days were now drawing to an end. In 1179, being hard on sixty years of age, and already touched with paralysis, he called a great assembly at Paris, and told them his wish that his boy, Philip, should forthwith be crowned at Rheims. All princes and prelates applauded; and, after a short delay, caused by the King's illness, Philip was crowned at the age of fifteen.

There are two circumstances to be noted at this coronation: one, that the Cathedral of Rheims was thereby marked out as the future coronation-place of all French kings; the other, that the 'Twelve Peers of France' are said to have been present at the ceremony. These were the nobles who held the great fiefs immediately from the Crown; and their number had been fixed by Louis VII at twelve; six lay, and six ecclesiastical. They were the Dukes of Normandy, Burgundy, Guienne, the Counts of Champagne, Flanders, Toulouse; the Archbishop of Rheims, and the Bishops of Laon, Noyon, Châlons, Beauvais, and Langres¹.

Thus, for five generations without a break, the custom of crowning the son during his father's lifetime had been recom-

¹ It is worth noting that the immediate vassals of the Duchy of France, who held of the King as Duke, not as King, were not Peers of France, —Duruy, *Hist. de France*, i. 293.

mended by the King and accepted readily by the nobles and people. The 'King never died'; and the result was that the thought of changing the hereditary succession seems never to have entered the French mind. Of all the hereditary crowns in Europe, the French became the most firmly established.

The father lingered on a few months at Paris, passing away in September, 1180; he was buried in the Abbey-church of Barbeaux, near Melun, which he himself had built. Thus ended, in peace and silence, the long, stormy, inglorious reign of Louis VII, 'the Young.' A prince pious, learned, gentle, he wins all praise from his monkish biographer, save that he could not be roused to persecute the Jews. He brought much land into cultivation; built many churches and abbeys; set the example of enfranchising serfs; founded many of the 'new towns,' the Villeneuves of France; advanced to some extent, where it did not clash with other interests, the Communal movement; he issued four-and-twenty charters for cities, and confirmed the ancient privileges of the Paris merchants. With the great Abbot Suger at his side, he was saved, doubtless, from many blunders: if he leaves behind him no great name, he still has the honour of having done less than many French kings to hinder the welfare of his people.

CHAPTER VII.

Philip II, surnamed Augustus, A.D. 1180-1223.

PHILIP AUGUSTUS was fifteen years old when he began to reign alone: yet, boy though he was, he never for a moment swerved from his course, or made a false step in it. Coming so young to his crown, he grasped with all a boy's eagerness at the dignity of the royal name; and being proud of disposition and not without a tendency to romance, he at once set his kingship in his own mind far above all, even the greatest, of his neighbours; while at the same time he pleased his imagination with dreams of the restoration of a Caroling realm, to which his attention was specially called by his first marriage; he deemed himself destined to recover the whole breadth of the Empire of Charles the Great. There is a story, which may well be true, to the effect that when he was scarcely twenty years old, his courtiers saw him gnawing a green bough, and glaring about him wildly. One of them asked him boldly what he was thinking of: and he replied, 'I am wondering whether God will grant me or my heirs grace to raise France once more to the height she reached in the days of Charlemagne!' For forty-three years he pursued this end, and brought to bear on it a cold pertinacity, a freedom from uneasy scruples, a clear sagacity in conceiving crafty plans and constancy in carrying them out. No wonder that his reign is an epoch in the history of French monarchy, and that he succeeded in raising the royal power far above the highest level it had hitherto reached.

I. FIRST PERIOD, A.D. 1180-1199.

When Louis 'the Fat' died in 1137, he had taken good care not to allow the unity of the kingdom to be weakened by those grants to younger sons which so often had undone the work of a lifetime: he left, in substance, all the royal domain to his successor, Louis the Young. Fortunately for the monarchy, this weak prince left only one son, and had therefore no temptation to divide his territories; and Philip Augustus succeeded to all the power which had been painfully gathered together by his grandfather. The kingly office at this moment was regarded by men as a power distinct from feudalism, and as only partly territorial. The King was not merely the headbaron of the system; he was possessor of a real, if indefinite, claim on the respect of mankind, as one solemnly consecrated to his office, and inheritor in a dim way of the ancient conception of kingship; he was felt to be the brother of the kings of England and Normandy, and of those of Spain; as something between Pope and Emperor on the one side, and the independent and powerful Dukes (as of Burgundy or Flanders), on the other. His was an independent and general power, with claims on the allegiance of all France, the centre round which the unity of the nation was already beginning to form.

The first act of the young King's reign was a sad one. Glad to taste the pleasures of power, and urged to it by his clergy, Philip marked the opening of his career by a violent attack on the Jews, whom his weaker and more humane father had spared. They were all banished the realm in 1182. Other like acts followed. An edict was issued which punished profane swearing with death: the Paterins also, an obscure sect, who 'ventured to attempt a reform of morals as well as of dogma', were hunted down and burnt, 'passing'—so ran the formula—'from the short temporal flames to the eternal flames that awaited them.'

¹ Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, tom. 6, p. 12.

² *Chron. de S. Denis*, p. 350.

Even in his father's lifetime, Philip had shown his kinsfolk that he could and would act for himself. Alice the Queen and her four brothers, had formed a sort of council, in whose hands the old King left the care of all things. But Philip had gone to Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders, and without asking leave of any one, had married Isabella of Hainault, his niece, by which step he allied himself with the older dynasty. No sooner was the old King gone than almost all the great vassals, including the Count of Flanders himself, attacked the youthful King. But he was helped by Henry Courtmantel, son of Henry of England, and held his own till winter brought rest. Henry of England then interfered in hopes of peace. Philip, in right of his wife, claimed the succession of her mother Elizabeth of Vermandois, who had just died; he was persuaded to content himself with Amiens and some lesser concessions. Amiens had been held as a fief under its bishop; and when that churchman claimed homage from Philip Augustus, the proud boy answered haughtily that he, as King, 'neither could nor ought to pay homage to any man':—and claimed for monarchy a lofty superiority over feudalism.

Yet did he not disdain the aid that feudalism brought him: he accepted the homage of Henry of England, and such help as that great vassal, well-nigh worn out with war and the turbulence of his sons, could give. Those four sons of his, Henry Courtmantel, Richard Cœur de Lion, Geoffrey, and John, had done all they could to destroy their father's power and happiness; and in the end they succeeded in ruining their own fortunes. They kept up great state and court, with many followers; but having neither money nor estates with which to reward these hangers-on, they were tempted, even against their own true interests, to struggle for whatever they could get. Thanks to this, the French monarchy was enabled to rise above all its dangers. Henry Courtmantel died; so also Geoffrey, leaving a posthumous son, Arthur, whose name recalled to the Bretons their great hero, and towards whom they seemed to be drawn by all the force of their romantic and imaginative nature.

Philip now embarked in a series of wars. First, in 1185, he waged successful warfare against his old friend the Count of Flanders; successful so far that the Count, although he had on the whole the best of the fighting, ceded to the King the county of Vermandois, and confirmed him in possession of Amiens. Success tempted the young King to go on; he was no sooner clear of the Flemish count than he fell on Hugh III, Duke of Burgundy (A.D. 1185–1186). Hugh appealed to Frederick Barbarossa, whose vassal he was for part of his lands; but as the Duchy of Burgundy was no part of the ancient Kingdom of Burgundy¹, nor was held under the Empire, Frederick refused to interfere on another man's ground. Philip relieved Vergy, besieged by the duke, and encouraged the Burgundian bishops to carry their grievances before him, raising the remarkable plea that all churches held direct from the crown, even though they were within the borders of the greatest fiefs. He then took Châtillon on Seine, and was moving forwards when Hugh met him with submission. The young King exacted severe conditions, to which the great vassal submitted: then, with a prudence marvellous for his years, and possibly with some of the generosity of youth, he remitted them all. He was content to have shown his power, and not less content to secure the friendship of so strong a neighbour: he also foresaw a still harder task before him, and desired to make his eastern frontier quiet and secure.

And now began the many restless years which lay between the French King and the attainment of his great desire, the subjection of Normandy. In 1186 we have the first of a long series of discussions under the 'Elm of Conferences' between Trie and Gisors: all went peacefully awhile; but

¹ Burgundy was in three parts, lying side by side: (1) the Duchy of Burgundy which was nearest to France, on the upper Seine and the Saone, south of Champagne, north of the Lyonnais, and was a fief under the French Crown: (2) then (going eastwards) the County of Burgundy or Franche-Comté, from the east bank of the Saone to the Jura (a fief under the Empire): and (3) the lesser Duchy, which occupied a considerable part of modern Switzerland, and formed the northernmost portion of the ancient kingdom of Arles (also under the Empire).

things were in such a state that pretexts for war were never wanting. Richard Cœur de Lion had attacked Raymond V of Toulouse, who called on the French King as his lord for help—a great change from the older attitude of the Southern states. Next Philip claimed the restitution of Gisors and the Vexin, which had passed to the other side when Margaret married Henry Courtmantel. When he died and she married again, the French King, with no small show of justice, claimed them as having lapsed to him by her second marriage. There was a third dispute as to the lordship over Brittany, whose duke, Geoffrey Plantagenet, was dead; but his widow gave birth to a boy, Arthur, and by his birth this point was settled for a while. Lastly, Philip pushed on the marriage of his sister Alix to Richard, who was still at variance with Henry: he seemed eager for open war with the veteran of England. But conference followed conference under the ancient elm, truce followed truce: for the old King could not trust his sons or his followers, nor did Philip feel at all sure as to the fidelity of his comrades. War however at last began. Philip attacked Aquitaine, which was under Richard's care; the impetuous prince was false to his father, and seemed likely to go over to his enemy. Then Henry made peace for two years, on terms favourable to Philip; and Richard hastened into the French King's camp, where he became so friendly with him that they drank of the same cup, lodged in the same tent, even slept in the same bed¹.

And now came terrible news from the East. The Christians had grown ever weaker; till at last, in 1187, Saladin met them in the Tiberiad, and defeated them utterly after a two days' battle. The true cross, Guy of Lusignan, the titular Prince of Antioch, the Grand Masters of the Temple and of St. John all fell into the victor's hands. He swept on over the powerless land, and Jerusalem lay prostrate before him: nothing was left to the Christians save Tyre, Antioch, and Tripoli. When these sore tidings reached the West, all men stood still and held their

¹ Chron. de S. Denis, p. 365.

breath. The Pope, Urban III, died of grief: war, pillage, debauchery, crime, suddenly ceased: 'Verily we are guilty by reason of our brother,' was the thought in every heart; and the danger was brought home to all minds by the descent of a vast host of Arabs on the Spanish coast. The voices of the new Pope, Clement III, and of William, Archbishop of Tyre, broke the silence; the Kings of France and England once more met at Gisors; they embraced and took the cross. Richard joined them; as did a crowd of great princes and barons. The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa did the same.

Yet even then Philip and Henry could not be still. War recommenced in 1188; but now Henry's strength was gone. His barons deserted him, his sons betrayed him; he was compelled to make a shameful peace, to declare himself Philip's liegeman in full, to yield Berri, a duchy lying south of the Loire below Orleans, and to promise pardon to all who had betrayed him. We are told that he asked to see the list of those whom he was thus compelled to pardon; and that when he saw the first name, the name of his favourite son John, for whom he had done and suffered so much, his heart broke; and with a bitter curse on all his children, he lay down and died.

Henceforth the power of the house of Anjou receded, and the lordship over France was assured to the house of Capet.

And now the great princes of Europe began to think seriously of their vow. The brave old Emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, took the land route; passed safely through the snares of Constantinople, and led his army unscathed over the worst part of its march; took Iconium, and was pushing on, when, in crossing a little river, he was by some trivial accident swept away and drowned. His Germans fell into despair; the Duke of Swabia, who took the command, brought only about five thousand men through to the camp under the walls of Ptolemais.

Richard, impetuous, eager to be gone to fresh fields of fighting, sold his lands by auction, not content with the large sums which his father had left behind him. Philip, whose

heart never went with the Crusade, bade his faithful Parisians fortify their city; he saw that Paris was to be the heart of France. They set off, Richard for Marseilles, Philip, who had no port on the Mediterranean, for Genoa; and both were constrained by contrary winds to winter in Sicily. Here jealousies, which might have been avoided in more stirring times, broke out between the two Kings. But Philip patiently endured the turbulence of his rival, and set forth first for Ptolemais. Richard, following later, and being driven by storm to Cyprus, seized that island and kept it. At last he reached Ptolemais, and, after innumerable skirmishes and feats of arms, the place capitulated. But the French King liked neither the holy war nor the wild heroism of the English King, and knew well that his right place was at home. He was in no sense a knight-errant; on the contrary, his cold calculating nature made him dislike the bootless war, which wasted his resources and did not even give him barren glory in return. He swore to respect his rival's territories, handed over his army to Hugh of Burgundy, and set sail for home.

As he passed through Rome, he shamelessly tried to persuade Pope Celestin III to release him from his oath to respect King Richard's lands. The Pope however refused to be a party to such a scandal; and Philip was compelled to content himself with doing Richard what harm he could by means of his brother John. The English King had declared Arthur his heir; and John in revenge threw himself into the arms of Philip, whose mean and ungenerous nature gladly took advantage of his rival's absence.

Richard, after feats of heroism and gleams of warlike genius, gave way before the impossibility of his task, made a treaty with Saladin, securing to the Christians the seaport towns, and a safe roadway for purposes of pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and, having thus done what he could for his cause, set out by sea for home. Shipwrecked in Dalmatia, he tried to cross Germany in disguise; he was detected and taken by his mortal foe, Leopold of Austria, whose banner he had outraged at Ptolemais. Leopold handed him over to Henry VI, the Emperor.

No sooner had tidings of his captivity reached France, than Philip attacked Normandy, taking Evreux, and besieging Rouen. John joined him with such help as he could bring. They did all in their power to persuade the Emperor to hold the English King prisoner; but the whole of Christendom was moved at the sight of its hero in chains, and, on hard terms, Richard was let go free. John at once gave way, and made his peace with his brother. The war was languid, partial, indecisive—for both Kings were exhausted by the efforts they had made in the Holy Land. The upshot was a truce, under the terms of which Philip became master of Auvergne in 1196.

In the next year, however, we find Richard everywhere more than a match for his rival. The great vassals turned towards him, jealous of the power of their suzerain. Château Gaillard rose to bar the French King's progress towards Rouen; for Richard was aware of the great blunder committed when part of the Vexin and Gisors were ceded to France, and the road to Rouen laid bare. He had a true genius for fortification; and was not only his own engineer, but his own master of the works.

In the midst of his successes, the new Pope, Innocent III, interfered in the interests of peace, and made the two Kings conclude a truce for five years. But Richard could not rest. Some one told him that a great treasure had been found in the Castle of Chalus, near Limoges. After the feudal custom it pertained to the suzerain, and Richard claimed it. The Viscount of Limoges either had nothing to give up, or had it and refused; whereon Richard attacked the castle. One on the walls drew a bow on him as he was looking at the defences; the arrow wounded him, and after ten days he died. His men had taken the castle meanwhile, and had hung all the garrison, except the soldier who had wounded the King. It is said that Richard, with a gleam of his nobler nature, pardoned him, and ordered him to be set free; whether this be so or not, they kept him till their master was dead, and then put him to a brutal death. Thus the chivalrous King passed away in the midst of wild scenes of war and murder.

So died the chiefest fighting man of that royal race. Richard had all the worse qualities of chivalry in an exaggerated form. He was proud, cruel, turbulent, furious in anger, licentious, rapacious; but withal heroic in combat, almost to madness; far in advance of his time in military skill; splendid in court, worshipped by his knights. There was a belief at the time that the house of Anjou were sprung in part from demons, and the character and conduct of Henry's four sons gave point to the popular fable. Richard especially seemed to be given over to a wild spirit of reckless bravery and as reckless crime. He was the last King of England who ruled from Rouen: during all his reign he hardly spent six months across the Channel, so little did he regard England as his home. When he and Philip swore faith to each other, before setting forth for Ptolemais, their oath was that they would defend one another's rights: Philip, as he would defend his city of Paris; Richard, as he would his city of Rouen¹. In this respect a change was now coming; for the misfortunes of King John's reign drove him perforce to England, and the loss of Normandy, which we have next to relate, made London for the future the sole capital of the kingdom.

II. PHILIP AUGUSTUS ADDS NORMANDY TO HIS DOMINIONS.

A.D. 1199-1206.

When tidings of Richard's death came to Philip, he must have felt that the moment for which he had waited so long was come at last. Against the experience and sagacity of Henry II he had been able to do but little; though even from him he wrested something: and Richard's heroism and warlike ability had been at least a match for his cold and cautious antagonist. But now there remained of all the Plantagenets only young Arthur of Brittany, who might be more useful than dangerous, and John, the great King's last and feeblest son. According to the popular belief, the evil spirit that possessed

¹ Roger of Hoveden, p. 664.

him was the demon of cowardice and sloth, of luxury and self-indulgence: weakest and worst of all the race, he was destined to degrade himself before the French King, before his barons, before the Pope. Whatever he touched, he spoilt.

England and Normandy at once declared for John, despising the Breton Arthur; but Anjou, Maine, Poitou, Touraine, raised Arthur's banner, and, feeling themselves unable to stand alone, put themselves under Philip's protection. The wily King suggested that a fair division would be, the French provinces for Arthur, and England for John. But John was not prepared to accept England as his home; he was as little English as his brother. War broke out at once, Philip desiring nothing so much. In the name of Arthur he swept across Brittany, and every town he took he at once dismantled, to the dismay of Arthur's party. But he soon felt that he could not prosper so long as he continued to be at variance with the Church; consequently, he made peace with John, retaining Evreux and some strong places in Berri, agreeing to marry his son, Louis, to John's niece, Blanche, and abandoning altogether the defenceless Arthur to his fate. Philip's quarrel with the Church was on the old lines, the old struggle as to matters of divorce and marriage. Philip had taken a great dislike to his bride, Ingeborg of Denmark, and had made obsequious bishops dissolve his marriage with her soon after the wedding-day. The poor young Dane, who knew no word of French, was told by signs that Philip had divorced her; and in her grief and anger she appealed to Rome. In the chair of the Pontiffs sat Innocent III, ever ready to interfere, only too glad when the passions of Kings gave him so good a reason for interference. For Philip had not only sent Ingeborg away, but had taken to wife the beautiful Agnes of Meran, whose misfortunes form one of the romances of the age. The Pope at once threatened Philip with excommunication, and the kingdom with an Interdict; and, in 1200, this curse was laid on the unoffending people. It is true that it did not directly punish the offender; but, on the other hand, it oppressed his subjects, and their dis-

content must after awhile compel him to yield. Philip fought vigorously against this foreign interference: his pride and passion were alike engaged in the struggle. Still, he was too clear-sighted not to see that he must be the loser; and therefore, even after a council had been called at Soissons to judge the case, he did not stay for the sentence, but took again his Danish wife, and left the town. He treated her with no affection, and with the scantiest courtesy: still the Pope had won; Philip was restored to clerical favour, and the cloud gathering on his fortunes melted away. The time had not yet quite come when he could brave the imperious Pope; nor was his cause in itself sufficiently strong and good to enlist the hearts of his great vassals, the goodwill of his clergy, and to neutralise the distress arising to the people from the Interdict¹.

Meanwhile, changes were passing over the face of the age. The fourth Crusade, from which the King stood coldly aloof, never went near Palestine; the Crusaders took and sacked Constantinople (A.D. 1204), and spread across Macedonia, Greece, Roumania, extending the power of Venice over the Peloponnesus and the Isles of Greece. The old thought, that a Crusade must strike straight at the holy places, had now almost died out. The Moslem was attacked on his flanks, in Asia Minor, or in Egypt; the Christians, on the whole, had made little impression on the unbelievers.

Royalty at Paris gained greatly in strength: the King's hand was felt everywhere; everywhere men had a fresh sense of security; royalty and the law sprang into full life together. The University of Paris, now first created, became the centre of European learning, first type of universities soon to spring up elsewhere. The studies there encouraged passed far beyond the old curriculum: by the side of the recognised seven studies, the old trivium and quadrivium,—grammar, rhetoric and logic, arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy—the laws of man's thought

¹ An Interdict suspended all the offices of religion. No man could be christened or shriven, could be married or buried, while it hung like a black pall over city and field.

in language, and of his thought in numbers—came in two great subjects, which were destined to change the whole face of knowledge and political life; the study of Medicine and the study of Law. Medicine led on to experimental philosophy; and Law settled the bases of society and marked the relations of man to man independently of feudal customs. The influences of Medicine do not so much concern us here: those of Law are all-important.

The story runs that the Pandects of Justinian were rediscovered at Amalfi in 1135; they formed the base of the great law school of Italy, Bologna. Thence they passed to the French seat of southern learning, Montpellier; thence to the heart of the new-born kingdom, Paris. There they were welcomed eagerly: the Roman law, with its exactitude and logical coherence, was what society wanted in its attempt to establish itself on more secure foundations. Especially was it clear that the royal power must gain by the spread of the rigid conceptions of order and subordination contained in the Pandects. And Philip Augustus was endowed with a cold clear mind and a keen sense of his royal dignity, which easily discerned the great value of the law to him as an instrument for advancing his high pretensions. If it is true that the greatest men have a passion for justice, it is equally true that great Kings are irresistibly attracted towards the law; and Philip with his delight in the newly revived Roman Law may be well compared to Edward I, 'the Justinian of England.' In the Roman Law the royal claims found a sanction before which all society was willing to bow. Law and the lawyers became the strongest supporters of the monarchy, and stood it in good stead when it resisted the claims of Papal power; for the law was a double-edged sword, with which the King could smite both Pope and Feudalism. By the side of this great engine of government, the Civil Law, grew up an analogous ecclesiastical code, the Canon Law, which regulated the relations of churchmen among themselves, and in their dealings with the laity. As the Civil Law strengthened the claims of Kings, so did the Canon Law

those of Popes. The struggle between them was sharp and lasted long.

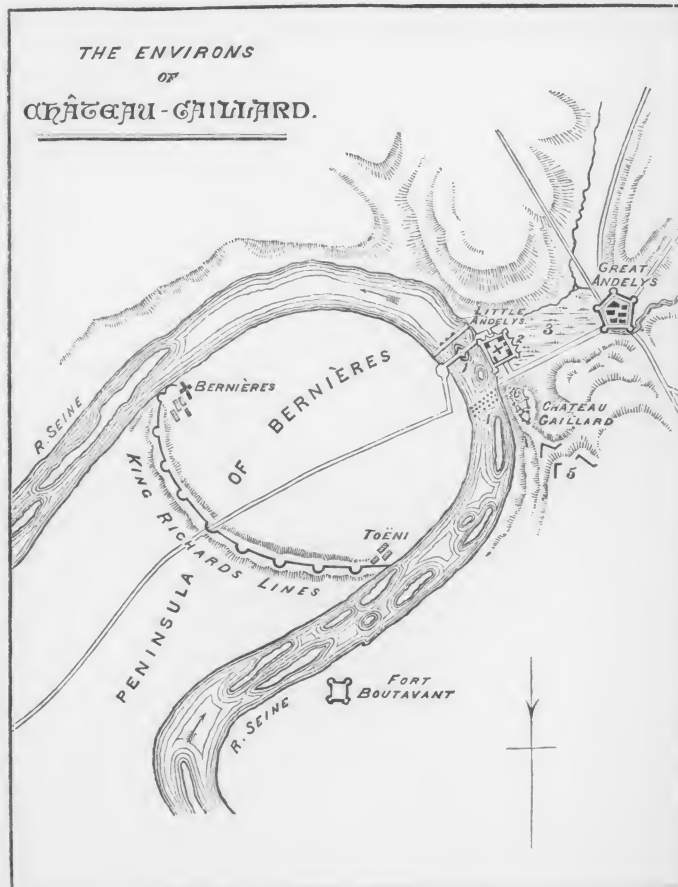
At this same time Northern and Southern France alike, as well as Germany, teemed with noble growths of poetry. On the Frankish hills grew the epic: on the sunny slopes of the south sprang up the lyrical poems of the troubadours. The Northern poets told of Arthur and Charlemagne: the old half-mythical tales grew into chivalric epics; and men, consciously or not, took them as motives and guides. It was not difficult in that young age of chivalry and of crusading adventure for men to feel that life was an acted epic. Philip Augustus himself yearned to raise his kingly state to the level of the Empire of Charles the Great.

And indeed we are coming to the epical period of his reign, when the Norman campaigns brought out all the King's higher qualities, and gave him a great place in history.

In 1202 the luckless Arthur, who had placed his hands between those of Philip, swearing fealty for all his lands, and all his claims, fell after a disastrous battle into the hands of his uncle, King John, and was carried captive to Rouen tower.

And there he disappeared. How, no man knows to this day: but all men at that time agreed in suspecting that John, who was fully capable of such things, took the boy in a boat, stabbed him and threw his dead body into the Seine. Murderer or not, John, like his father Henry in the case of Becket, had a far worse foe in the dead than he had had in the living. All Europe was aroused. The Bretons rose at once; the boy was their Arthur, faint shadow of their ancient hero, and they had hoped to become a great people under him. Philip arose as the avenger, with justice and interest alike calling him on, and helping his steps. Anjou and Brittany attacked the Norman frontier from the south: Philip entered Poitou, where all men rallied to his banner. John lay still at Rouen, and made no sign, spending his days either in bed or at table.

Philip soon saw that he could do better farther north, and made ready to reach the heart of John's power in Normandy.



From Viollet le Duc.

1. A small island, on which King Richard placed an octagonal work, with a bridge.
2. Tête-du-Pont, soon filled with houses, and called Petit Andelys.
3. Marsh or lake, formed by obstruction at 2.
4. A triple stockade.
5. The plateau on which Philip Augustus entrenched himself.

The great fortress of Château Gaillard lay across his path: it must first fall before Rouen could be reached.

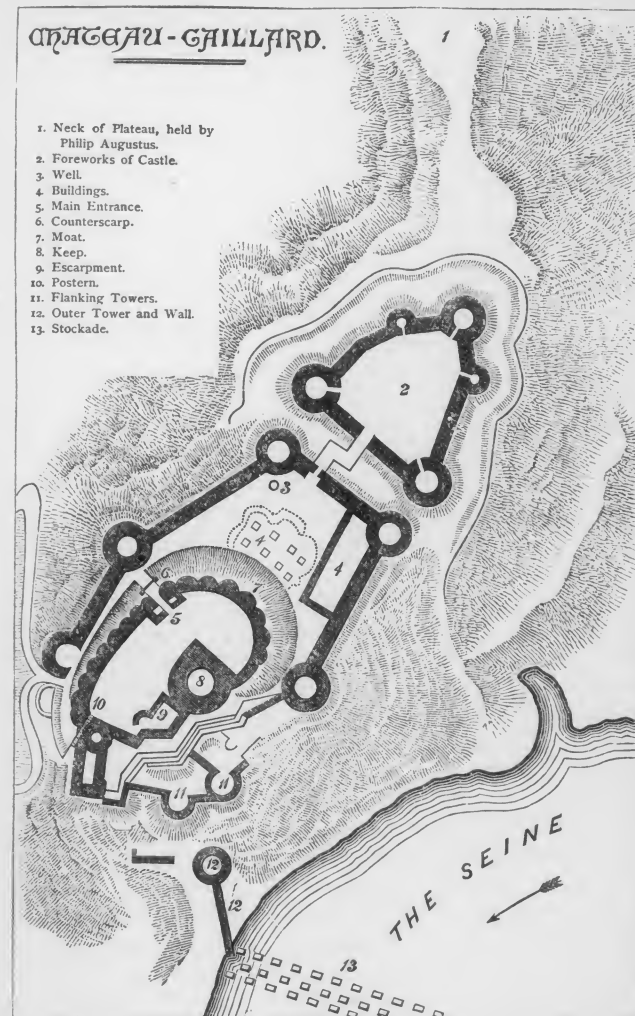
The Normans were ever great castle builders, whether in England or in Normandy. At first they were content with a great donjon or hall, in and about which they lived when at home, and which they fortified as strongly as they might. Gradually, as their needs grew and skill increased, they added outworks, took advantage of strong positions, and developed complete fortifications. Of these the Château Gaillard is a splendid specimen: the greatest monument—greater even than his eastern exploits—of the genius of Richard. He intended it to be the defence of Normandy, and a standing menace to France. From it Normans should ever go forth; past it no Frenchman might dare to push: and had not John been a shiftless coward, no Frenchman could then have entered into it. About eight leagues above Rouen, as the crow flies, the Seine makes a great sweep to the north like a horseshoe, enclosing the peninsula of Bernières. At the head of the curve, on the right bank, the river has washed the chalk hills into cliffs of a good height, broken by a level valley about a mile across, through which a little river, after losing its way in a long swamp, at last falls into the Seine. Here on the right bank a spur of chalk runs down from the high downs, scarped on one side by the Seine, and very steep and rough on the other side, where it descends towards the swamp: steep also and difficult is its lower end or point. Beneath it, between the marsh and the Seine, lies the village of Little Andelys: some two miles up the valley stands the small town of Great Andelys. Through this town the road from France into Normandy dropped down upon the Seine. From the hill-side the eye wanders over the broad flat peninsula of Bernières on the left bank of the river: at your foot lies a little island, very handy for a bridge. On the chalk spur, overhanging the Seine, where there is scarcely room for a road to pass between cliff and river, stands the famous fortress, the 'gay castle.' At the very point of the tongue of land rises

the donjon¹, built with marvellous art: it is defended impreg-
nably on three sides by natural rock, while a narrow footway
from Little Andelys winds up to a postern in the donjon's
walls. The spur broadens as it passes towards the main high
land; broadens and rises gradually, so that half a mile back
from the point one quite looks down on the fortress. This,
then, was clearly the dangerous side; and here defences were
multiplied—too much so, as the event proved. For from the
nature of the ground, each outer work when taken commanded
the next, which lay somewhat lower. The whole fortress may
be described as something like a ship in form, as it lies on
the spur: the lowest and narrowest end was nearly filled by
the donjon, while at the upper end, where it looked towards the
higher level land, was built a triangular fort. Down on the
river level, Little Andelys was built and slightly fortified: so
also was the island on the Seine; so also the roadway under
the castle. The Seine was blocked by a stockade, intended to
keep French boats from dropping down on Andelys.

This was the elaborate system of defences which protected
the heart of King Richard's possession, the city of Rouen, from
all attack by way of the river.

When Philip Augustus, in the autumn of 1203, came down
on the Norman frontier, having full command of the Upper
Seine, he had no difficulty in crossing over to the peninsula of
Bernières. This he found entirely undefended:—King John's
first great blunder. Here, unmolested, he drew his lines across
from river to river, thus beginning the investment of the place.
In the castle lay Roger de Lacy, Constable of Chester, with the
flower of King John's troops: not many, but right gallant men.
Next, the river stockade was broken through; and the King's
ships came down, and were formed into a bridge just below
the island: a bridge with towers high enough to command the
châtelet or fortress on the island. John sent a force to relieve

¹ See the article *Château*, in M. Viollet le Duc's splendid *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture* (Paris, Bance), to which I am much indebted. I take this opportunity of thanking him warmly for his kindness in allowing me to reproduce his two admirable plans of Château Gaillard.



From Viollet le Duc.

the place; but he did not venture out in person, and the attempt failed. After this single effort he left Philip to take the castle at his leisure. The palisade of the châtelet was burnt, and Philip occupied the island. Now came the horrid spectacle of twelve hundred poor creatures, non-combatants, men, women, children, thrust out from Little Andelys and the island, and left to perish of hunger between the chalk rocks and the river. If they turned towards Andelys, the English refused them entrance; if towards the river, the French forbade them to pass. When half had perished, Philip Augustus riding by, cast an eye of pity on the remnant; he bade his men give them bread, and let them pass through his lines in peace. Soon after the fall of the châtelet Little Andelys was forced to yield; for the English were too few to defend the town. And now Philip had firm hold of everything below the castle. But he saw clearly that, to succeed, he must also attack from the castle above; he therefore moved the bulk of his force to the neck of the slope just over Château Gaillard, where the spur of land joins on to the mainland. Here he drew two lines, one on either side of his camp, across the shoulder of the hill; and built a wooden tower, and other needful buildings. He also set a force to guard the entry to the castle from the side of Little Andelys; and the blockade was complete. But now came against him a new and dangerous foe. Two churchmen rode into his camp, with a summons from the Pope. The Kings were ordered to suspend their struggle, and submit the points at issue to the judgment of the Church, under pain of Interdict. But Philip was already¹ prepared for this papal assumption. Eleven great nobles, under their seals, had given him written promise to defend him against Pope or Cardinal; and these documents were shown to Innocent. The Pope saw he had gone too far; and his second letter is in humorous contrast with his first: the first so haughty, the second so affectionate, almost cringing—in the holy interests of peace.

This storm outridden, the siege went on as before. About

¹ The engagement made by Eudes of Burgundy is dated July 1203.

this time, Philip's skirmishers and foraging parties prowling about knocked at the gates of Rouen; the wretched King within woke from his slumbers and luxury—but not to fight. He fled into England, leaving Normandy to its fate. As he passed out of Rouen gates, that city ceased to be the centre of the Anglo-Norman power. John's follies and reverses and the loss of Normandy at last restored to England her proper national position.

In February, 1204, the triangular fortress at the eastern end of the castle was assaulted and taken; next the outworks of the castle itself fell; each point yielding good shelter as the French pushed on; until at last, on March 6, 1204, after a five months' siege, the great tower, the last defence, was given up into Philip's hands. It is said, and it illustrates the characters of feudal warfare, that before the actual assault of the place only four English knights had been slain. There were but one hundred and eighty fighting men left in Château Gaillard when Philip entered in.

This one success decided all. The Norman towns knew that there was no help from John; and that if Château Gaillard could not withstand him, no other stronghold could do so. The rest of Philip's march was a continual triumph. Falaise resisted, strong as it was, only seven days. Caen, Bayeux, Lisieux, threw open their gates. Guy de Thouars, Governor of Brittany, took Mont St. Michel and Avranches, and then joined Philip at Caen. Thence the French King moved on to Rouen. Even there, with a braver prince, resistance had been possible; for Rouen was strong, and hated the French. But what could be done for such a creature as King John? The city capitulated on honourable terms; and Normandy at last became a part of the kingdom of France. Brittany had already given herself up to the avenger of Arthur. For a while the Normans were restless under the stranger, as they deemed the French King. As however Philip was as wise in peace as he was skilful in war, Normandy before long became thoroughly reconciled to her new lord.

Poitou, Touraine, and Anjou fell at the conqueror's feet. Thouars and Niort held out for John; Rochelle on the coast alone gave him entry into France.

The campaign of 1203, 1204, was of vast use to the royal power. The King with one hand strangled the Normans, while with the other he pushed back the haughty and menacing Pope. All the country folk, wherever he passed, declared for him; he rose far above all rivalry, and made the kingdom of France real in the eyes of men. Not content with these material gains, he summoned King John to undergo the judgment of his peers in the matter of Prince Arthur. But the 'King of England' could not permit the 'Duke of Normandy' to appear: John was willing to retain his substantial advantages where he was King, and to let judgment go by default where he was vassal. So he was declared guilty of murder and treason with great solemnity, deposed from all his fiefs, and condemned to death. Thus King Philip gave his conquests the appearance of legal right, and retained a plea for pushing his advantages still further, if occasion served. Though it is not known what peers met to give this judgment, from this time the 'twelve Peers of France' seem to emerge more clearly out of the mist of time. Probably those sturdy chieftains, who, like Eudes of Burgundy, promised under their hand and seal to stand by the King against the terrors of a Papal war, formed the Court of Peers. They were certain, when they had given such a proof of confidence and devotion, to take care that Philip's interests suffered no harm. Faithful to the strong feeling, which has been already noticed, that the French Court was the rightful successor of that of Charles the Great, the number twelve had been chosen; six laymen, six ecclesiastics: the great vassals of the realm were thus grouped round the royal power, and lent it fresh dignity, while it also gave a sanction of right and justice to its acts.

III. THE PROVENÇAL CRUSADE.

We must now turn aside, and trace the course of events in Provence, where a horrible war, waged under pretext of religion, prepared the way for the union of the hitherto independent Southerners to the kingdom of France. Philip Augustus stood aloof from this struggle; yet he and his reaped the fruits of it, although the end did not come in his day.

As far back as the year 1181, Henry of Clairvaux, a cardinal and bishop of Albano, had been sent by Pope Alexander III into Languedoc to convert the Albigensians, and entered the territories of the Viscount of Beziers at the head of a body of fanatics. The Church was on the dark path along which the Crusades had begun to force her: she called for the strong arm of violence and oppression, with which to crush the errors which had taken hold on the Southern mind. In that warm land, where poetry and love, art and architecture, had their home, freedom of opinion and speculation were natural. Above all, the movement of the century was hostile to the claims of the priesthood. All the heretics of Provence, whatever their views, agreed in this: and this, above all, alarmed Rome.

It is unfortunate that our knowledge of the religious and intellectual movement of Provence is derived entirely from the writings of their bitterest enemies, the monks. Their prejudices on the one hand, and the equal prejudices of writers eager to do honour to the forerunners of Protestantism on the other, have made it hard to get at the truth. Still, in the account of Peter, the Monk of Vaux Cernay, a bitter foe to the sectaries, we may discern some of the lines of truth. It appears that we must draw a clear distinction between the Albigenses and the Waldenses. The former, whose headquarters were at Toulouse, were rather a philosophical than a religious sect. In the year 1167 they had held a sort of council at Toulouse, to which deputies came even from Asia, indicating even then a formid-

able organisation. They had their own bishops. They were in fact the descendants of the Manicheans¹, some of whom had been burnt nearly a century back at Orleans. Their opinions are to us exceedingly dim and uncertain; but sure it is that they rejected Rome, her sacraments, images, purgatory, priests. They divided their followers into the 'perfect' and the 'believers': the 'perfect man' had passed through a spiritual baptism, and was then devoted to a life of the utmost severity. This world to him was the work of an evil spirit, was hell itself; and he would do nothing which might enlarge hell's borders: therefore death was his greatest blessing, and marriage a cursed indulgence absolutely forbidden him. The old doctrine of a dualism, a good and a bad magical power, took practical form in the lives of these stoical philosophers. The 'believers' were not tied to so ascetic a life: they might live in the world, yet doing so as those who hoped some day to be permitted to enter into the ranks of the 'perfect.' Their life is said to have been purer than that of either the clergy and laity of the Church.

The Waldenses, on the other hand, had their headquarters at Lyons, and belonged to the mountains, not to the warm plains. Theirs was essentially a religious not a philosophical movement; though the political consequences of their belief, if carried out, would have been serious enough.

These 'poor men of Lyons' were of an apostolical spirit. They even thought that they were bound to wear wooden shoes, sabots, 'after the manner of the Apostles?.' They forbade all swearing, all slaying of man; and they held that any 'insabbattatus' might break the bread of Communion, thereby denying the whole priestly power. They were eager to teach and to spread the Bible; while the Albigenses were rather desirous of lessening the influence of the Scriptures, they translated it into the vulgar tongue, and preached from it, and read it zealously. Their fundamental doctrine was that of the

¹ For the Manichean tenets, see Mosheim, Eccles. Hist. Cent. III, part 2, ch. 5.

² Hence their name of *Insabbattati*.

immediate influence of the Holy Spirit. Whoso had that was favoured of God; no other orders or divisions of society were of any importance. And thus their tenets led directly to socialism, and struck hard at the position of priest and baron. Their life was one of the utmost purity and simplicity; even their opponents allow so much.

The Crusade, which smote them in passing, was really directed against the greater and Manichean movement of Toulouse and Beziers.

The South of France stood absolutely apart, not only from the North, but also from the tendencies of medieval Christendom. It was remarked with horror that the Albigensians did not persecute; and that even the Jews in Southern Gaul had every civil right; could hold lands; could take office; had their synagogues and their schools; took the lead in the study of medicine; were bold and bright guides on the difficult paths of philosophy. To the South also Western Europe owed both Medicine and Aristotle—two powers often opposed to Rome. Moreover, the South had never really accepted feudalism; and now it seemed not impossible that she would begin a municipal and democratic movement, which might altogether imperil the dominion of the Church. Was it not time to move? Was not a Crusade needed? Was it not well that the Church, hand in hand with feudal France, should pour down on and crush a land so full of strange opinions? Once more Rome allied herself with barbarism against civilisation; and the mailed form of the northern knight, side by side with the pitiless priest, entered in to destroy in the name of Christ.

Innocent III at last was roused to action. He sent into Languedoc his legates, two Cistercian monks; and over them he placed Arnold of Amaury, abbot of Citeaux, the most capable instrument in the world for his purposes. He was ambitious, sincere, fanatical; he had the virtues of a monk, and more than his vices. The zeal of Jehu filled his heart; and took, like Jehu's, the form of pitiless bloodshed. Yet at the outset his mission failed. The lay-powers of the South offered no help:

the monks preached, and men laughed. The Bishop of Toulouse was lukewarm: he was deposed, and Fulk or Folquet, once a brilliant troubadour and gallant, now a fanatical and false monk, was established in his room. His part in the coming struggle is a well-marked and a shameful one.

The legates, disgusted with their work, were sadly returning towards Italy, when, by chance, near Montpellier they fell in with the Bishop of Osma and one of his Canons, who were making their way home to Spain from Rome. These succoured the fainting Cistercians, turning aside from their journey to help them. The mission began anew, with fresh vigour and more success. That Canon of Osma was Domenico: the world-famous founder of the order which bears his name; the true parent of the Inquisition¹.

Things went on swiftly towards bloodshed. In 1207 Raymond of Toulouse was excommunicated by the Pope: though he professed submission, he showed no energy in persecution; there arose a quarrel between him and the legate; and in the course of it one of the count's retainers stabbed the churchman, and fled. The murder of the legate, known in Roman hagiology as St. Peter Martyr, became one of the favourite subjects for the skill of the painter. It does not seem that Raymond was personally in the least to blame for this murder. None the less did vengeance fall on him. Innocent, who had before appealed to the sword, now redoubled his efforts; Raymond, already excommunicated, was cursed anew; pardons and indulgences, and all the apparatus of an Eastern Crusade, were brought out; the dangerous and disastrous journey to Palestine, of which men were now weary, gave place to an attack on the pleasant fields and cities of the South:—no sea to cross, no deserts or treacherous Greeks to face, no myriads of Saracens; but a land to be conquered, far richer in spoil than the Holy Land, with spiritual advantages just as great, and opportunities for

¹ 'Un immense anathème pèse sur la tête de ce moine, qui passe pour le génie de l'Inquisition incarné. Doménique pourtant était né avec une âme tendre, avec l'amour de Dieu et des hommes.'—Martin, *Hist. des Français*, tom. 4, p. 25.

prowess, rapine, cruelty, bloodshed, enough to please the most exacting.

Raymond was completely cowed. He made submission; refused to listen to the voice of his gallant nephew Roger Viscount of Beziers, and went home. Weak and undecided, he tried to ward off destruction by half-measures and by missions of prelates to Rome, while he allowed the outpost of his situation, Beziers, to perish unsuccoured.

Frenchmen, Normans, Burgundians, and others, men of Poitou and Auvergne, Aquitanians and Gascons, were gathered together to destroy the South. Raymond himself was constrained to join the invading army, and to act as its leader. Beziers was taken by assault; every soul in it was murdered; the city burnt. There it was that the Abbot of Citeaux is said by one of his brethren, a contemporary, to have made that monstrous answer to one who asked him how to distinguish heretic from orthodox, 'Kill them all; God will know His own.' And they did so.

After giving this example of the work before them, they passed on to Carcassonne, where Roger the viscount lay. Peter of Aragon, the viscount's feudal superior, came and tried to make terms for his vassal: but in vain. The stern implacable churchmen offered such terms as Roger could not accept; and the siege went on. With incredible falseness—'no faith with heretics'—the besiegers swore that if he would enter the camp to treat for a capitulation he should be let go safe and sound. He went, was seized and made prisoner, and died soon after; men said of poison. So ended the first period of the war, and with it the noblest character it produced. The territory and title were given to Simon of Montfort, who became thenceforth the secular arm of the Crusade. The great lords of the South all gave in; the forty days' service of the barons was over: and the crusading army melted away.

It is said that Innocent III was touched by the horrors of the sack of Beziers, and was not desirous of pushing Raymond of Toulouse too far. But matters had passed

out of his hands: the legate Theodicus (who had succeeded Milo), the abbot of Citeaux, Arnold of Amaury, and Simon of Montfort, were all eager to push on their advantages: Bishop Folquet, with the zeal of an evil spirit, ever stirred them up to act: and Raymond did but humiliate himself in vain. The terms offered him by the Church were so monstrous, that they roused even him to vigour. The Count of Foix, and the chief lords of the northern slopes of the Pyrenees rose in arms; and the war began again. But the gallant young Viscount of Beziers was dead; and the chivalric Peter of Aragon, who would gladly have defended the independence of his vassals, was called away to resist a grand invasion of African Moors, who threatened to avenge on Christian Spain the attacks that Christendom had long ago made on Palestine.

Early in 1211 Simon was ready to attack the princes of the South. In 1210 he had reduced sundry outlying castles in the Beziers district: he now moved onwards towards Toulouse. In that city Folquet raised a Catholic party, and the nobles enrolled themselves in a league against him. Like the towns of Italy, the city was torn between a 'white' and a 'black' faction. At last the bishop's followers were driven out of the city, and joined the invaders. These were not only Frenchmen, but Germans and Belgians, under the Duke of Austria, and the Counts of Mons and Juliers. But the brave Count of Foix routed them, and the peasantry destroyed their scattered fragments. Still the main body advanced, and appeared before Toulouse. Then the brethren of the white faction awoke to the thought that their city was dearer to them than the dominations of strangers could be; and they broke away from Bishop Folquet and made peace with their fellow-citizens. For that year the invaders did nothing. Their forty days' service elapsed, the place showed no signs of feebleness, and in the autumn all was once more quiet.

In 1212 Montfort defeated his foes, and busied himself in reducing all the outlying territories which might possibly bring help to Toulouse; even the Agenois, a district not troubled with Albigenses, was ravaged and its fortresses rased. Raymond

saw that nothing remained but Montauban and Toulouse, and fled for safety to Peter of Aragon.

Then the invaders fell on the spoil. To every man a portion:—the Southern sees were filled by shameless Northern bishops; the furious Arnold made himself Archbishop of Narbonne; the Abbot of Vaux Cernay became Bishop of Carcassonne; and so forth: the fiefs of the South were distributed among the barons and knights of the North. The South received now what it had never before had—a completely feudal form: the whole of its special characteristics were trampled down; its influence on the growth of the human mind and of social life was extinguished. But now the great invasion of the Moors was crushed (A.D. 1212) in a tremendous battle; and Peter of Aragon was free to undertake the affairs of his ruined vassals. He sent to Rome a full account of the doings of the Crusaders: Innocent III was startled, and expressed regret for the evils he had caused. None the less did the persecutors push on their advantages: they succeeded in representing their case to the Pope in such a light that he changed his tone, and bade them finish as they had begun. Then Peter crossed the Pyrenees with a large army; and all the oppressed South rose with joy. They attacked Muret, the garrison of which place threatened Toulouse. Hither Montfort hastened; and France measured strength with Spain. The Spaniards, the more numerous but the less disciplined, were defeated, and Peter perished with the flower of his troops. Thus ended in failure the attempt to drive the strong man out. Montfort pushed the advantage he had thus gained, till nearly all the South was under his feet. The cities that still stood submitted humbly to the Legate, promising to abide by the decision of Rome. Raymond took up his abode in a private house till the coming Council of Lateran should decide his fate. By 1215 Simon held almost all the South as 'prince and monarch of the land.' And thus ended the second period of the war.

In November 1215 met the great Lateran Council, at which both Domenic and Francis of Assisi appeared—a fact which

by itself marks it as an epoch in the history of the Christian religion. To us its interest centres in the cry of the oppressed South. There was no reticence; one plain-spoken knight of Beziers challenged the Pope to meet him at God's judgment seat, unless he gave back to the son of Raymond of Toulouse his father's lands. Nevertheless the voice of the oppressed and the soft cry of human feeling could not prevail. Though the Pope, it is said, was touched by the appeal of the younger Raymond, the Crusaders still held their own. Simon won for himself all the heritage of the house of Toulouse.

Next spring Simon made splendid progress through admiring France, where he was regarded as God's hero, the new David, the Judas Maccabaeus of the Church; at Paris he did homage to wary Philip for his conquests. Then he returned, acknowledged lord of all the South, to the desolated land whose beauty he had destroyed, whose cities were in ruins, whose chivalry was scattered, whose arts and wealth had been pillaged; the miserable wreck of a noble land.

Meanwhile the two Raymonds, father and son, trusting to the encouragement given them by the Pope, made ready to recover their inheritance. The tide turned. Discord had arisen between Simon and Amaury. The younger count attacked Beaucaire: the older entered Aragon, and thence returned with an army. Simon hastened to relieve Beaucaire; but the younger Raymond, who held the town and was attacking the castle, defended himself with success, and De Montfort for the first time saw his fortunes ebb. The place fell; and Simon hastened back to Toulouse, where matters were already critical. The citizens, learning that in his great anger he was determined to destroy them, barricaded their streets, and stood on the defensive. As, however, many of their citizens were in his hands, and he threatened to kill them all, the city yielded. He destroyed the better houses, the towers, the gates; then, having as he thought made the place harmless, set out to attack the Count of Foix. But, directly he was gone, the heroic city rose from the dust, and called back her old prince: in 1217 he forced

his way into the place. The towers and walls rose speedily, all the South hastening to help; nothing could exceed the joy of the people, unless it was their hatred of the French oppressor. In vain did De Montfort attack the city with all his skill and force: after a siege of nine months he was killed by a stone from a machine on the walls; that lucky blow restored the South to liberty. In vain did Philip of France throw his weight into the Northern scale, by sending his son Louis with the Duke of Brittany and a strong army to reinforce Amaury, Simon's son. The oppressors were everywhere foiled; in vain did the new Pope Honorius III hound men on to another Crusade: in vain did Amaury offer his estates to King Philip.

The Northern invasion failed: the South however was weakened, the house of Toulouse much reduced; things grew ready for that absorption into France which would one day take place. For the time the hand of the persecutor was stayed; not till twelve years later was the quarrel finally fought out (A.D. 1229); then the house of Toulouse fell for ever.

IV. THE DAY OF BOUVINES. (Aug. 29, 1214.)

Philip Augustus, meanwhile, looked on in quiet, well pleased at the troubles of the South, which weakened those great and independent houses which stood between him and the advancement of his kingdom beyond the Loire. But now fresh risks began. The feudal lords grew uneasy at the steady growth of royal power; the Count of Flanders, the Count of Boulogne, and others, felt themselves in danger. King John, though the barons hated him heartily, was also Philip's foe; and when Otho King of Germany, in the low ebb of his fortunes, crossed over to England and joined his uncle the King, the hopes of the feudal party began to rise. Still more did they rise when Philip of Swabia, Otho's rival, was killed, and Otho came to be recognised on all hands as Emperor. Now, however, the dark shadow of a Papal intervention came on. In 1208 England was put under Interdict, and in the next year John was excom-

municated. Otho also, by the very fact of being Emperor, after having been the Pope's protégé became his bitter foe, and was in his turn excommunicated in 1210, while Frederick II was set up against him.

Philip, wary and clear-sighted, now came forward as the Pope's champion; hoping thereby to crush King John, and perhaps to possess himself of England. He took the trouble once more to bring forward poor Ingeborg, his Danish wife, and to display her with all outward honour as his wife; thus hoping to shew the Church how ready he was to do her bidding. In 1213, he called an assembly of his barons at Soissons, to which Ferrand of Flanders refused to come; a defiance which the King for the moment overlooked. For he was eager to attack England: he gathered an army near Boulogne; and all was ready, when he learnt with amazement and anger that Pandulf the Legate had induced King John to submit to the Roman See, to make ample reparation to the bishops of his realm, to place his kingdom in the Pope's hands, and to receive it back from him as a fief of the Papal Empire, with the guarantee of that security which such vassaldom was supposed to give. After this great success, Pandulf returned to Boulogne, and set himself to appease and amuse the French King. It was clear he could not allow him now to cross into England; he therefore pointed out to him the advantages of an attack on Flanders, in order to avenge the slight which Ferrand had put on him. His barons, remembering what riches lay stored in Flemish cities, were content to change their course. The fleet, which had been intended to carry them over to the English coast, was sent round to the Scheldt; and Philip entered Flanders. The fleet took first Gravelines, then Damme, at that time the port of Bruges.

While this rich city was occupying their attention, the ships were attacked by the Earl of Salisbury and Renaud of Boulogne: half were taken or destroyed, the remainder blockaded in port. In vain did Philip hasten up; he could do no more than burn the blockaded vessels to save them from the hands of his

enemies. He consoled himself by pillaging and burning the rich Flemish towns, and towards winter he retired to Paris.

Next spring (A.D. 1214) the war took larger form. Throughout the winter Ferrand of Flanders and Renaud of Boulogne had busied themselves in Lorraine, and stirred up war. Otho and John were names which gave a national appearance to the coalition; but it was really the war of the aristocracy against the royal power: and Philip was justly uneasy as to the fidelity even of the barons round his person; though in proof they shewed themselves trusty and true. Though the underlying contest was between feudalism and royalty, on the surface the combinations wear a curious resemblance to those of later times and of very different real conditions: we have the Kings of England and France and the Emperor of Germany contending in Flanders: the externals of the struggle might have suited a much later age. Philip Augustus had to defend himself on two sides. He had to resist King John, who threatened Poitou, and Otho, who was preparing to enter Flanders. To watch the former he sent his son Louis; to face the latter he marched in person with all the strength he could muster. King John, who landed at La Rochelle and took Angers, retreated before the French, and left no mark on the campaign. But affairs in the North were very different. Otho, with such Saxons and Brunswickers as would follow him—for he had but a poor following of Germans—entered Flanders, and encamped at Valenciennes. There rallied to him the barons of Flanders, and the communes of the cities, the warlike nobles of Holland, the gallant Lorrainers, and a good show of mercenaries under Hugh of Boves; and lastly, a body of English knights and bowmen under the Earl of Salisbury. On the other hand, King Philip had with him the Duke of Burgundy, the Count of Saint Pol, and the Viscount of Melun, with their men; representatives of high feudalism. Then there was the most notable knight of the time, William des Barres; and great store of other good knights round the King. Then we must count up the churchmen, who mustered in some force; two of whom, Guerin, Bishop of

Senlis, and the Bishop of Beauvais with his mace¹, did doughty deeds of war; and lastly came the Communes of many northern towns and abbeys, which sent their militia, and contributed not a little to support the fortunes of the King.

Philip did not await them within his borders, but pressed forwards, 'ravaging royally' as he went, attended by the prayers and blessings of the Church. His chaplain, William the Breton, has left us a full account of the campaign, in which he was present throughout. When the two armies drew near to one another, not far from Tournay, the French barons would not let Philip advance farther, and the King, against his will, began to retire. The same day Otho moved forward, the French not knowing it; and, before the day was far spent, there was but a hill between the two armies. The King's men, in the heat of the day, came down to Bouvines on the river Marque, not far south of Tournay; and, while his forces slowly defiled across the bridge, Philip lay down to rest awhile under an ash-tree, beside a little chapel. Here tidings came that his rear was hard pressed by Otho, who thought to fall on the French army while cut in two by the river, and to crush the rear before the van could come back to help. Philip at once sent men to hasten back the foremost in the retreat, and with them the sacred Oriflamme, which had early crossed the bridge. He himself entered the chapel and uttered a brief prayer; then spoke cheerily to his knights, as a King who had faith in God and in himself; lastly, with a glad countenance, 'as one who went to wedding or to feast,' rode forward to meet his foe. The English held the right wing of the allied army; the Emperor the centre, having with him a kind of Italian car², on which was raised his standard of war, a golden eagle on a dragon's back; the Count of Flanders the left; while the brave Bishop of Senlis acted as marshal to the French host, and spread their scanty line out thinly, so as to make fair front to

¹ With his mace, because he held that a churchman should never shed blood. So he killed his antagonist, if he could, by breaking his head.

² Like the Carroccio of the Italian armies.

their enemy, till those who had crossed the bridge could return. Over against the Flemings were the Duke of Burgundy, the Count of Saint Pol, the militia of St. Medard's Abbey in Soissons. The King held the middle battle, as was fitting; on his left were the Counts of Dreux and Ponthieu; behind the King himself stood his good chaplain, William the Breton, with another clerk, chanting psalms the battle through.

The vassals of St. Medard of Soissons opened fight, charging down on the Flemish chivalry gallantly, but in vain. What could these ill-armed citizens do? The knights, however, deigned to support them, and the battle soon became general. Then the battle of the chivalry on either side raged greatly, though without decisive results. The young knights, as at a tourney, cried to each other to 'remember their ladies.' The Count of Saint Pol did wonders: he had sworn that he would shew the King whether he were a traitor or no. After three hours of confusion, Ferrand, Count of Flanders, was beaten down and taken prisoner, and the left wing of the confederates was crushed. Meanwhile the communal militia came hastily back over the bridge, in good spirits—their will was hearty, though their strength was small; and every hour the French battle gained in weight. The German knights pierced through to the French King; unhorsed him, and went nigh to kill him. Then arose a cry of need; and William des Barres, hearing it afar, left hold of Otho—for he had in his turn penetrated to the heart of the German army, and had seized the Emperor—and returned to rescue the King. Up came the communal troops at the same time, and Philip was saved. From this moment the battle went for the French. Otho's horse, wounded, and mad with pain, galloped with his rider off the field; nor did Otho care to return. Philip pressed on, shewing himself a good knight and noble king, and the resistance began to melt away. Before long the Dukes of Brabant and Limburg, and all the centre, took to flight. There remained only the right wing, where were Renaud of Boulogne and the English. These finally gave way. The English were routed chiefly by

the fierce Bishop of Beauvais, who laid about him mightily with his mace, and felled the Earl of Salisbury like an ox. Renaud, who had been the first to stir up strife the winter before, was the last to lay down arms: the field was won ere night. In the hands of the victors were Ferrand, Renaud, the Earl of Salisbury, and many other men of name. The King distributed these among his chief supporters, that they might enrich themselves with good ransom; some he handed over to the cities; Ferrand, who had defied and insulted him, he took with him as a prisoner to Paris.

So ended the battle of Bouvines, the first real French victory. It roused the national spirit as nothing else could have roused it; it was the nation's first taste of glory, dear above all things to the French heart. The clergy and common folk welcomed the King with transports of joy; the march back to Paris was a triumph; the citizens poured out, the University came forth to do him honour. The Communes had right good reason to be proud of their share of the war. They had only broken themselves against the iron-mailed chivalry of Flanders and Germany, yet they had done it gallantly; had helped to rescue their King; had fought side by side with knights; above all, had been permitted to measure arms on equal terms with feudal lords: and now the King had thanked them, and given them presents of noble prisoners, that they might have feudalism in their hands, and bring it down, and win good ransom from it. The battle somewhat broke the high spirit of the barons: the lesser barons and churches grouped themselves round the King; the greater lords came to feel their weakness in the presence of royalty. Among the incidental consequences of the day of Bouvines was the ruin of Otho's ambition. He fled from the field into utter obscurity. He retired to the Hartz mountains, and there spent the remaining years of his life in private. King John, too, was utterly discredited by his share in the year's campaign. To it may partly be traced his humiliation before his barons, and the signing of the Great Charter in the following year at Runnymede.

Thus one great siege and one great battle, Château Gaillard in 1204, and Bouvines in 1214, raised the French monarchy far above its former self. The siege gave it a great preponderance in territorial weight, by securing Normandy and the west of France; while Bouvines crushed the coalition of the barons and princes against Philip, and left him far the most renowned and powerful prince of Christendom. He had now little to do except to consolidate and hand down his high authority. The fortunes of royalty in France were made.

V. TO THE DEATH OF KING PHILIP. A.D. 1214-1223.

For a brief time King Philip's mind was turned towards England. Soon after John's return from his disgraceful campaign in France, the barons compelled him to sign the Great Charter of English liberties (A.D. 1215). But John was not the man to stand loyally by any act: he signed and broke faith. Innocent III, to whom he appealed, identified himself with the evildoer. He declared the Charter unlawful and evil, and as supreme lord of England annulled it. The sympathies of the Church had passed from the oppressed to the oppressor—the Papacy was become a political rather than a religious institution. In this act Innocent may be said to have begun that great struggle between Rome and the proud Island, which has had so great an influence on the healthy growth of the political liberties of England.

The English barons would not yield to the Pope's dictation; and, finding themselves hard pressed, offered the crown of England to Louis of France, Philip's eldest son, whose wife, Blanche of Castile, was grand-daughter to Henry II, and gave to Louis a kind of excuse for claiming the English throne. Under her ambitious influence, the prince accepted the tempting offer, and betook himself to England in 1216. The Legate brought to Philip letters from the Pope begging the King to forbid his son to invade England and vex his vassal John.

But Philip replied that the English kingdom was not, nor ever would be, vassal to St. Peter; for that no King can give his kingdom to another without consent of his barons¹. A notable declaration of Philip's high views as to the royal power, and also as to the importance of the independence of the barons. He delighted to call his own lords round him for counsel, and to listen to their advice, as he did before Bouvines, even when it differed from his own opinion. Still, though he protested against the Papal assumption, he did not care to make trouble with the Church; and he therefore acted prudently in the matter, interfering as little as possible, and that only under pressure from his vigorous daughter-in-law, Blanche of Castile.

When Louis reached England he was joined by nearly all the barons, and, for a little while, seemed to have good hopes of becoming King of England. But John died, and then the barons, having got rid of the tyrant they hated, deserted the banner of Louis, and rallied round King John's young son, Henry; for they naturally hoped that his minority would give them time and opportunity to strengthen themselves. Then they defeated the army of Louis at Lincoln, and shut him up in London, where the citizens had not abandoned his cause. The French relieving fleet, under Eustace the Monk, was met in the Channel by the hardy sailors of the Cinque Port towns, and utterly defeated: Eustace was taken and beheaded. Then Louis made the best terms he could, and returned to France: and Henry III reigned undisputed King.

This episode did not at all shake King Philip's ascendancy in France. He ruled peaceably and sagaciously over his people, avoiding all risks and quarrels now that he had all to lose, and cared not to win more. He lived much with the clergy, returning to the pious tendencies of his early life, and showing himself ready to support them in their attempts against heresy.

Even in persecution he was reluctant to take part, when it meant active warfare. The Roman Court tried hard and long

¹ Matthew Paris.

to engage him in the new Albigensian crusade; he held aloof, and sent his son, and did but little in it. At last (in A.D. 1222) his health began to give way, just as he seemed likely to yield to the Pope's wishes. Fever set in, against which his vigorous constitution struggled for ten months. In 1223 he could battle with it no longer, and died. The will he left shews us how huge a fortune he had gathered, and how determined he was to buy for himself the goodwill of the Church and the blessings supposed to follow with it. He left large sums for religious purposes, specially with a view to the better furtherance of persecution; thereby shewing himself in full harmony with his spiritual friends. The bulk of his wealth he left to his son, Louis; and took care not to weaken the royal power by any dismemberment of the domains or any great apanages¹.

So passed away this great King, who did more than any one had yet done for royalty in France. A great King, but not at all a great man. Had he shewn more generous breadth of spirit, he might have taken rank among the greatest.

As we have drawn out the story of his reign we have noted the chief characteristics of his mind: his coolness and patience; no eager ambition or restlessness, but an aim taken with a steady hand and a farseeing eye. His ruling quality was pride, a noble pride in being King; and a firmness and dignity in asserting and fulfilling his ideal of the kingly place. But with him coolness was also coldness; he was at no time a genial or friendly man. And with coldness went not unnaturally a want of generosity of character, which sometimes descended into trickiness, cunning, or deceit, as when he tried to get Pope Celestin to release him from his promise to King Richard, or when he tempted away from the old King Henry II his undutiful sons. Such a man could well conceal his feelings, nurture secret anger, wait, dissembling fairly, for occasions of

¹ *Apanage* is the Low Lat. *apanagium* (ad panem), a provision for sustenance given to younger sons and charged on the estate. Cp. the German word '*Panisbrief*'.

requital, if not of revenge. He was a great captain rather than a gallant soldier. His nature was far from being cowardly, and he knew that a King's armour was good and sound; but he had none of that heat of courage which in those days made heroes, and which burnt so high in King Richard. He was eminent as an engineer in war: his skill conduced greatly to the capture of Château Gaillard; he laboured strenuously to strengthen the fortifications of his chief cities. In general he was fair-minded, and kinglike in his respect for justice. It was noticed of him that he gave full compensation to those whose houses he destroyed when he fortified Paris; a stretch of just dealing hardly credible in those days. His political sagacity was perhaps the most remarkable quality in his character. He succeeded, even in very critical times, in keeping the greater lords faithful to his crown: he took pleasure in and presided over their assemblies; he began the shadowy greatness of the Court of Peers; he passed successfully through the great peril of several trials of strength with the Pope, yielding where no political question was involved, as in the case of Ingeborg, but standing firm, defiantly firm, when the royal prerogative was attacked. The greatest Pope of the century gave way before him. He checked the pretensions of the spiritual tribunals, marking out clearly the relations of the barons and the Church; and he braved the threat of an interdict firmly and successfully, when he felt it his duty to coerce the Bishops of Orleans and Auxerre, who were minded to be contumacious before the royal power; he succeeded in making feudal privilege and power spring largely from himself. He saw the importance of his cities, and encouraged their growth and independence, as we have seen at the battle of Bouvines. Paris, his capital, he especially cherished; paved her chief streets, which up to that time had been common sewers, muddy, ill-smelling, and pestilential; he new-walled the town, giving it more room to grow, had good houses built, and set up excellent markets.

Whether himself learned or not, he was fully aware of the uses of learning; he encouraged and expanded the University

of Paris; he loved the literature of his day; its romances of Alexander, and Arthur, and 'Kallemain.'

Religion of a kind was an element in his character: a religion that had no weakness in it. His cold nature allowed him to favour persecutions: they were not distasteful to him, and they kept Rome in good humour. Innocent was not likely to push a strong man hard, when that strong man was also vigorous in repressing Jew and heretic. On the other hand, Philip's religion, mixed up throughout with his own interests, never overbore his cool judgment, or led him to pay deference to the Church, if she encroached on his prerogative.

In sum, the King's character, though it falls far short of greatness, and though very deficient in those qualities which ensure our goodwill and affection, was in a remarkable degree fitted for the work he set before him,—the work of building up, stone by stone, the great edifice of Monarchy.

VI. LOUIS VIII. A.D. 1223-1226.

Louis the Eighth, Philip's son and successor, was the husband of Blanche of Castile. What little vigour he displayed arose chiefly from her prompting and pushing, as in the case of his brief kingship in England.

At his accession there was much joy; and his barons signified the same by voting that they would prefer not to pay the interest of their debts, which were heavy, and due to Jews; and, that, as to the capital, they would defer its repayment to a distant date. There came, however, a grave constitutional change, which much affected the nobles: for the high officers of the King now began to sit with them in their court, counting as their equals in rank.

Louis VIII had two wars in his short reign: one in the south-west, the other in the south-east. The former was small and successful: he conquered Lower Poitou, and even reduced Rochelle, the English King's doorway into France¹. In 1226

¹ In the Huguenots' time we find this important town again made the point at which the English entered into France. It was destined to be the last stronghold of French aristocracy and of the Huguenots.

Louis undertook the second of his wars, the Crusade, to which the Church incited him. With a great and well-appointed army he swept all before him down the Rhone till he reached Avignon. Here, as the proud city refused to let him pass through it in pomp of arms, he sat down for a long siege; although the city held not of him but of the Empire. The brave men of Avignon, ever turbulent and hot, made vigorous resistance; and fever spread through the King's camp. Still he went on; till at last the place treated for capitulation, and got terms which were not very severe. The campaign however was over; the forty days of feudal service were long gone by; and the King broke up in the autumn, and marched northwards, intending after winter to return and to crush the heretics by the capture of Toulouse. But the camp-fever was upon him: and he sickened and died at Montpensier in Auvergne, leaving behind him a boy, Louis, aged only twelve years, and his noble widow, Blanche.

His will proved his feebleness, and how unlike he was to his father and his son; for he divided the domain, reconstructing great principedoms for his children, whose interests must infallibly before long be hostile to those of the crown. Thus he played into the hands of the barons, who were alarmed at the royal power, and eagerly looking for an opportunity to reduce it to its older form.

CHAPTER VIII.

Louis IX, called Saint Louis. A.D. 1226-1270.

I. THE KING'S YOUTH. A.D. 1226-1244.

THE accession of Louis IX to the throne in 1226 was a critical moment for the French monarchy. Feudalism was thoroughly alarmed, and on the watch for an occasion to recover lost ground; a child on the throne, ruled by a foreign mother, seemed to be their opportunity. The year before Count Peter of Dreux, the vigorous regent of Brittany, had made a treaty with England against the King; and, among other great barons on the move, those of Aquitaine joined the Regent, taking as their head Richard of Cornwall, the younger brother of Henry III of England. The young King and his mother had to struggle with one or another confederation of barons for sixteen years, from his accession down to the year 1242, when the feudal party finally gave up the contest, and recognised the complete superiority of the royal power.

The Queen made all haste to have her son crowned at Rheims. The summons to attend the coronation, issued by the barons who had surrounded the death-bed of Louis VIII, was disregarded by almost all the great lords of France. Philip 'Hurepel,' the rough uncle of the boy, was there; some churchmen also; Enguerrand, lord of Coucy, and the young Duke of Burgundy; John of Brienne, the soldier of fortune, the titular King of Jerusalem, who would one day become Emperor of Constantinople, was present:—he was usually to be found at great ceremonies, wherever in fact he was likely to be treated

with respect and kept at the cost of others; no one else of name appeared. Theobald of Champagne made as though he would have come; but Philip declared that he would openly charge him with being the poisoner of the late King;—and the Count of Champagne stood aloof. All the great barons of the West and South were absent: Henry III of England, the chief of them, hoped to wrest away all that Philip Augustus had conquered; the feudal barons thought to recover their independence. Blanche had nothing with which to oppose these formidable foes, save the innocence of her boy, the half-hearted support of a few barons, the good-will of the Papal Legate, and her own genius and gifts. With these she broke asunder every combination, secured Louis on the throne, imprinted on his mind that sense of religion and delicacy of conscience, that honesty of purpose and self-denial, that consciousness of what was due from him and to him, which made St. Louis first among Kings. He alone combines the virtues of a churchman with those of a layman; in him alone the qualities which are usually fatal to kings turned to advantage. Royalty, which under the cold shrewd sway of Philip Augustus had made such great strides towards power, was warmed into higher life by the nobleness of St. Louis. It captivated the heart and imagination of men, and grew strong by the display of softer qualities. The French nation, full of feeling at all times, was at this time deeply penetrated with religious sentiment. St. Louis, like other great men in other times, was the living expression of the aims of his age: in him chivalry received its crown; in him the fresh humanity of the time found its expression, and religion was illustrated and ennobled.

No sooner was he crowned than the barons, who had demanded the release of all noble prisoners as the price of their attendance at the coronation, and who, on being refused, had absented themselves, drew together, and made league against the queen-mother. Theobald of Champagne, Peter Mauclerc¹,

¹ So called from the ill he wrought to clerks. He was noted for his hatred of ecclesiastics.

the regent of Brittany, Hugh of Lusignan, Count of La Marche, Richard of Cornwall, and, in a secret manner, Raymond VII of Toulouse, took Enguerrand, lord of Coucy, a baron of high nobility and small lands, to be their head. They reckoned on being supported, if not led, by Henry III of England; but then, as after, that feeble prince failed them utterly. He had no force of character; he was governed by favourites; he was engaged in a constant and unsuccessful struggle against his own barons and people; so that he must have felt that in joining the French barons he was fighting against his own side. Queen Blanche found means (it is said by plentiful gifts of money) to interest in her behalf Henry's earliest minister, Hubert de Burgh. The true head of the league was Theobald of Champagne; but the Queen, by her powers of fascination, succeeded in detaching him from the baron's party; and both then and later he gave up his own interests for her sake. Although he had deserted them, the barons met in force at Corbeil; Queen Blanche, who was at Orleans with her son, hastened towards Paris. When they reached Montleheri with a very scanty escort, they learnt that the barons were at Corbeil in great force, threatening the road to the capital. Thence the Queen sent messengers to Paris, begging help. The citizens with great willingness came forth in arms to bring them on their way. From Montleheri to Paris the road was filled with folk, armed or unarmed, who cried to our Lord to give the King long life, and to defend him from his foes: and so did He¹. And thus the King came safely to Paris, none daring to withstand him, and was welcomed heartily by his devoted burghers, who, from the time of their great benefactor Philip Augustus, had been warmly attached to the King's party. In this same year, 1228, the magistrates of all communes took oath to defend the King and his friends against all comers.

A languid war went on till 1231, when the treaty of St. Aubin du Cormier gave the victory to Blanche. In that treaty we find the famous Hugh of Lusignan, Count of La Marche, reckoned

¹ Joinville, Vie de S. Louis, chap. 2.

among the King's men; and, consequently, Anjou and Saintonge regarded as his fiefs. The island of Oleron, on that coast, was ceded to him by Henry III. This treaty may be said to close the worst troubles of the King's minority. In 1234 Peter Mauclerc became his vassal, and was ever afterwards one of his most devoted followers. The war with the barons was now over, the young King having held his own with them: but there followed immediately (from 1231 to 1236) a similar struggle with some of the great feudal bishops, in which the firmness, skill, and prudence of Queen Blanche triumphed again, and the King learnt the more difficult lesson of standing up boldly against spiritual opposition, and of discerning between right and wrong, even when priestly vestments cloaked the evildoer. Even the Popes had, to a certain extent, interfered in favour of the feudal party. Honorius III had not been friendly to Blanche, nor was Gregory IX, who, in 1234, actually threatened the King with excommunication if he did not desist from his attempt to restrict clerical jurisdiction. But the Queen through her influence over the Legate disarmed the papal illwill, and pursued her course unimpeded: another lesson, doubtless, for the young Prince. During this period Theobald of Champagne became King of Navarre; he had sold to the crown Chartres, Blois, Sancerre, and Châteaudun: Philip Hurepel died: Peter Mauclerc ceased to be regent of Brittany. Time, the friend of the young, had worked silently in the King's favour.

Meanwhile, the course of affairs in the South was equally fortunate. In 1229 the treaty of Meaux, ratified at Paris, brought to an end the long quarrel between France and Toulouse. Raymond VII, worn out with war, agreed to terms, which meant the gradual absorption of the South, and the King's rule over states, which then and for long after were regarded as completely foreign. The name of France was not applied to the South for three centuries to come. In this treaty Raymond bound himself to search out and punish heretics with fresh vigour; to take the cross in person, and to go over sea to

fight the Saracen for four years. The King left him Toulouse, which, it was agreed, was to fall after his death to the King's brother, Alphonse, who should marry the count's daughter; if they died childless, then it should lapse to the King himself. He also ceded to the King all other his lands and domains on the French side of the Rhone (the right bank), while the possessions he held across the Rhone, 'in the Empire,' were destined to pass, in 1274, into the hands of the Church; by which means the Papacy obtained the Venaissin; a possession which it held till the French Revolution. In addition to these hard terms, the poor count had to fill the ditches and throw down the walls of thirty of his strong places, and of Toulouse herself; to give up sundry towns as hostages, and to pay a heavy fine, half to the King, half to the Church. For all that remained to him he did homage to the crown. Thus the whole Duchy of Narbonne came at once into the King's hands; the house of Beziers was disinherited; the county of Toulouse was secured to the royal house, with a prospect also of the eastern part of Guienne. Then at last the luckless duke was reconciled to the Church; and France entered into possession of a land ruined and in tears; a land conquered, if not convinced. The South of France long suffered from these terrible wars; long it deemed itself a captive, and struggled at times for freedom; for centuries it retained its old nomenclature; not till the fourteenth century did the name of Languedoc appear, nor was it spoken of as a part of France till near the period of the Reformation. It was, and is, a land apart; its customs, dialect, the figures and faces of its inhabitants, all still shew signs of the old independence; though of its wealth, luxury, and learning, little trace now remains.

The Inquisition, under the direction of the Dominican Friars, was established over the prostrate body of the exhausted South in the year 1233, in the joint interests of the French King and the Pope. The great monarchies, even in their rise, began to lapse into tyranny. We find even Frederick II, the head of the Holy Roman Empire, making this horrible engine of in-

tolerance useful to hunt down and destroy his enemies; which was perhaps scarcely the end for which the Pope had intended the institution.

During these years Blanche ruled wisely, and watched over the growth of her affectionate and sickly son. He proved to be an apt scholar; the agitated politics of the time taught him whom to trust, whom to fear and shun; he learnt, with singular clearness and straightness of mind, to distinguish the limits of spiritual and temporal powers; to feel the value of right; to recognise his own duty as the supreme administrator of justice; while at the same time his tender conscience and delicate frame made him the most pious and devout man of his age. With the narrowness which in those days inevitably accompanied a strong faith, he persecuted without remorse; with a devotion closely akin to superstition, he accepted all the wonders which then formed a large part of religion: his true nobility of soul brought him into communion with all that was noblest in Christianity, while still he did not fear to withstand bishop and Pope, when he felt that they were not walking right with God. These qualities were quite compatible with a gentle submission to his mother's will, long after the days of his boyhood; and until the time of his first Crusade, men had but little notion what strength there was under that modest and kindly exterior. Blanche in 1234 had found him a little wife, Margaret, daughter of Raymond Berenger, Count of Provence, a child of twelve years, a maiden sweet and gentle, pure-minded and devoted, brave and loving, whose character answered closely to that of the King. Even when they were married, the mother's imperious disposition could not bear a rival in her son's affections; she watched over the young pair with a care which was grievous to them both, keeping them much apart; so that they were obliged to meet by stealth, and to have signals to guard against her coming. Much did the young Queen suffer from her jealous watchfulness; 'she was,' says Joinville, 'the woman she hated above all others,' so harshly had she treated the little lady, even after she was grown up.

These years passed in tolerable quietude, the King being busy regulating affairs, and keeping in order the churchmen of his realm. In 1238 he was appealed to for help by Baldwin II of Constantinople, and gave him much gold; in return for which he received the Crown of Thorns (there was one already at St. Denis), which he accepted with marvellous devotion, and placed with great honour in his new Chapel¹ at Paris, a building which seems to express in its beauty of proportion, construction, and ornament, something of the exquisite harmony of the King's character.

While peace reigned in his land, terrible war was raging abroad. The great struggle between Gregory IX, the aged Pontiff, and Frederick II of Germany, the most brilliant of Emperors, splendid in his very vices, was at its height. Though the Tartars or Turks, a hideous race, who struck terror into every heart, were knocking at the Eastern gates of Europe, the Pope would not relax his efforts to destroy the man who ought to be the bulwark of Christendom. Even the Moslem, who, much divided among themselves, had suffered greatly from hordes of Mongols, sent ambassadors crying for help to France and England. But St. Louis did not stir; 'either we will send these Tartars to Tartarus,' said he to his weeping mother, 'or they shall send us to heaven;' with which pleasant dilemma he turned aside to other business. In England the Bishop of Winchester said in council: 'Let them and the Saracens fight it out, till both are destroyed; then will the Church fill all the earth;' and so England let them be: the Pope smiled at the danger—'at any rate they will first destroy Frederick.' The Emperor himself lingered in Italy, while the Germans, under orders sent by him, met and repulsed the Tartars on the Danube; and this great peril was averted.

The head of Christendom gave no credit to Frederick for this great service done by his Germans: his energies, marvellous in an old man now drawing near to his hundredth year, were strained to the utmost to destroy his foe. The Emperor

¹ This is the Sainte Chapelle, built to receive this dubious relic.

was excommunicated, and therefore, according to Papal theory, deposed. The Pope cast about for a successor, and offered the imperial crown to Louis for his brother Robert of Artois. But the wise King was steadily neutral in this unholy strife, and at once refused the tempting bribe in terms which, if Matthew Paris¹ may be trusted, must have sounded strange and bitter to the Pontiff. He denied the Pope's right to depose a sovereign prince, who had no peer in Christendom, without proof of the accusations brought against him; if Frederick was to be judged and deposed, it must be by a General Council; he had ever regarded Frederick as innocent, and as his very good neighbour. Not content with this, the French King and his barons sent a friendly embassy to the Emperor, and continued to be on good terms with him. When Frederick in 1241 captured a ship-load of French prelates and others, on their way to Rome to a General Council, which had been convened for the purpose of sanctioning his deposition, Louis wrote the Emperor a firm letter threatening to declare war against him; and Frederick at once gave them their liberty. At a later period we find the King respecting Frederick's rights in the East, although by that time he had been excommunicated again after the Council of Lyons. So raged the war between the two heads of Christendom, to the detriment of all that was good. Gregory died in 1241. After nearly two years² Innocent IV succeeded him, and followed in his footsteps. The Papacy gave the house of Hohenstaufen neither peace nor respite, till it had soiled its hands in the blood of the last of the race (A.D. 1268).

In that same year of Gregory's death, 1241, Louis tried to make his brother Alphonse Lord of Poitou and Auvergne; the barons resisted, called in Henry III from England, and so roused the embers of old discontents. Hugh of Lusignan,

¹ Matthew Paris, the chief historian of this period, wrote with a very strong bias against the Papacy, and in favour of the Kings of Europe. His speeches are therefore not to be trusted; although his narratives are worthy of credit.

² This interregnum alarmed the King; Matthew Paris tells us he threatened the Cardinals that he would establish a French Pope, according to the powers granted by St. Clement to St. Denis.—Matthew Paris, p. 532.

Count of La Marche, defied Alphonse at Poitiers, renounced his homage, and rode off on his war-horse after setting fire to the house in which he had lodged. Henry III came, not indeed with a great army, for the English barons refused to go, but with three hundred knights and thirty barrels of money, to pay for troops. But Louis shewed unexpected vigour. He gathered all the force he could and entered Poitou, occupying the strong places one after another. He was before Fontenay, when Henry sent knights to defy him: he took the place, and then, having reduced everything north of the Charente, he came down to Taillebourg on that deep river, purposing to cross by a narrow stone bridge there. He found the English King and the Count of La Marche on the other bank: they had not secured the bridge or the castle which commanded it; and the French began at once to cross with all haste and to fall on the English. At first, however, they were like to have been driven back; then the King himself, seeing their need, passed over and came to the forefront of the battle: and when the English saw that, they gave ground and retreated to Saintes, closely followed by the King's men. A second battle was hotly fought in the neighbourhood of that town; the English were overborne, and King Henry fled into Gascony. Then the Count of La Marche yielded himself to the King, and was pardoned, with the loss of all the lands that King Louis had conquered. Henry III fell back on Bordeaux and spent in idleness the remainder of the money he had brought with him, and in 1243 made peace with Louis, who did not care to press the English King hard; for he was his brother-in-law¹; and Louis himself, like a multitude of his fighting men, was suffering grievously from camp-fever. Then Henry went back to England and landed at Portsmouth, 'with as much bravery as if he had conquered France:' Louis returned sick to Paris.

At the same time Raymond VII made a last attempt to reassert the independence of the South. It was all in vain.

¹ Henry III had married in 1235 Eleanor the second daughter of Raymond Berenger, and younger sister of Margaret, Queen of France.

Though the country rose willingly, no help from Spain or the Pyrenean barons came to him; Henry III was unfit and unable to help him. He saw his error, and hastened to make submission to the King; who, ever prudent and moderate, consented to receive him on the old terms of the treaty of Paris. Thus ended the last coalition of the barons against the King. And at the same time (A.D. 1244) the long and mournful persecution of the Albigenses closed with their final extinction. In the high gorges of the Pyrenees, on an almost impregnable rock, stood the Castle of Mont Segur (Mons Securus), last refuge of the persecuted. There a few proscribed nobles and knights, with about two hundred Albigenses and their Bishop, kept up a petty warfare with the plains below. They were attacked by the Bishop of Albi, and the French Seneschal of Carcassonne; and after a long and heroic resistance, were surprised by a body of mountaineers, who succeeded in climbing the rock by night. They then surrendered, on condition that any who retracted their opinions should be spared. But not one man or woman among them cared so to save his life; they were all shut up in a building made of palings and stakes, and burnt to death. Thus perished the last of the Albigenses, after thirty-five years of unpitying warfare, of nameless horrors. Manichean opinions thenceforth faded away, though they might still be traced in some parts of the South; and, later, in North Italy and on the Danube. Their day was past; and in the fifteenth century the last sparks of this fire, which once had threatened to kindle half Europe, were stamped out by the heel of the Ottoman invader.

Louis now proclaimed that as 'no man can serve two masters,' all barons holding fiefs under him and also under Henry of England, must choose one lord or other; and almost all chose to abandon their holdings under the King of England. Hereby the separation between France and England was made far more marked; and the wars that from this time raged between them became thoroughly national, although ancient claims and names were still used. Finally, in 1246, Charles of Anjou, the King's

brother, rode with five hundred knights into Provence and claimed his bride, the Countess Beatrix. Raymond Berenger, who would fain have married her to Raymond VII, was lately dead, and the moment seemed fortunate to the harsh and cruel Frenchman, whose character formed so strange a contrast to his brother's. He carried off the heiress unopposed: this was the true end of the separate political existence of Provence.

II. THE KING'S FIRST CRUSADE, A.D. 1245-1254.

Meanwhile, the King had been slowly preparing for the great act of his life, the Crusade. In 1244, not long after his return from the south-west, he was taken with so sharp an illness, that he was brought to utter weakness, and his attendants disputed whether he were dead or no: but he rallied, and called for the cross; 'and when the queen his mother heard that he had recovered speech, she showed as much joy as could be; but when he told her he had taken the cross, she lamented as much as if she had seen him dead¹.' After him, his three brothers, Robert of Artois, Alphonse of Poitiers, Charles of Anjou, who was afterwards King of Sicily, also took the cross, together with a goodly company of barons and knights. Not content with these volunteers, the King by a pious fraud caught many more. For it was the custom to give each courtier a new robe at Christmas-tide²; and on Christmas-eve 1245 the King bade all his court be present at early morning mass. At the chapel door each man received his new cloak, put it on, and went in. At first all was dark; but when day broke, each man saw on his neighbour's shoulder the cross which betokened the Crusading vow. Then they jested and laughed, 'seeing that their lord King had taken them piously, preaching by deeds not by words.' Afterwards, as they reflected that they could not decently throw down the sacred sign, their laughter became mixed with tears³; for men were not then very eager to undertake the holy war.

¹ Joinville, chap. 3.

² Whence Christmas Day came to be called 'the day of new clothes.'

³ Matthew Paris, p. 604.

In the year before, about the time of the King's illness, the Pope, escaping like a fugitive from the risks around him, took ship for Genoa, whence he proposed to go on to Cîteaux in Burgundy. He knew that the King had agreed to visit the great abbey at the time of their chapter in 1244, and hoped, by his own influence and that of his faithful allies the monks, to entrap him into an unwary promise of support against the Emperor. So when King Louis came in state to the abbey gates he saw a long line of monks, some five hundred of them, filing forth from the porch of the abbey church; these all knelt before the King, beseeching him with pious tears and sobs to help the 'father of the faithful persecuted by a son of Satan' (so they described the Pope's attack on Frederick), and to receive him into his kingdom. The holy King, greatly affected, also knelt before the monks: yet, for all that, his prudence overcame his feelings, and he answered cautiously that he would defend the Church, as far as was just and proper, against any ill-doing of the Emperor; and would receive the Pope, if his nobles assented thereto. The barons however did not assent; and the Pope had to abandon his intention of holding a Council at Rheims, and to fix on Lyons as the most convenient spot, it being on the edge of the French kingdom. Lyons, which in Roman times had been, as we have seen, the heart and centre of the imperial system in Gaul, now lay on the border-line of two states; part in France, part in the Empire, divided by the Saone. The city was governed partly by the archbishop and canons, who warmly supported the Papal cause; and partly by a civic government, which, sympathising with and following the Lombard cities, also sided with the Church against the Empire. Thus the place was well suited for a council: and here the Pope condemned and, with the sanction of the assembled prelates, again excommunicated the Emperor: the strife between them grew darker and more unyielding. Years before, Pope Gregory IX had preached a crusade against Frederick, bidding those who undertook it wear the cross-keys on their shoulder instead of the simple red cross: gladly would Innocent IV

now have turned aside the single-minded King from his Crusade in the East to one nearer home. But Louis was firm: he was clear as to his duty in the East; he was by no means clear as to the justice or wisdom of crushing the Emperor: and so, after warmly but vainly essaying to make peace between the combatants, he left them to fight out their differences, and went on quietly making ready for his departure.

One of his last acts, before going, was to approve and give powers to a remarkable league of his barons. The lay aristocracy was jealous of the encroachments of the clergy; they bound themselves to resist them in matters of jurisdiction, and to oppose the consequent levying by them of large sums of money from the people. They agreed that if any noble were unjustly excommunicated, they would all in common neutralise the curse, so far as in them lay. The Pope answered the barons' manifesto by a vigorous letter; and there the matter stood. He was not strong enough to push matters to extremes while he had other and heavier work on hand. It was a remarkable quarrel, shewing how thoroughly the King and his barons had come to see that their interests were the same; and how clearly the King was determined not to let fall from his hands into those of the clergy the administration of justice in his realm.

By the late acquisitions of the crown in Provence, France had become at last possessed of a seaboard on the Mediterranean, and the King had dug at Aigues Mortes¹ a canal and a harbour, to serve him as a southern port. Hither he came in the summer of 1248, and hence he set sail, with much religious solemnity, for Cyprus, the rendezvous of the expedition.

It was agreed that the Crusade should not be directed to the Holy Land in the first instance, but to Egypt. Partly, it would seem, because the King was unwilling to interfere in the struggles of Pope and Emperor, in which he must have been involved had he gone to Jerusalem. For Frederick was King of Sicily and Jerusalem, and the Pope had already declared that he had

¹ Aquae Mortuae, 'the stagnant waters.'

forfeited his crown, and had named Henry of Lusignan as his successor. Frederick's officers and the Knights of the Temple were at open feud; and Louis would surely have been mixed up in their quarrels. And besides, Jerusalem was a heap of ruins, an open defenceless town, almost without an inhabitant, and the Christian cities on the coast seemed for the moment safe. For the Tartars had destroyed the power of the Sultan of Iconium, and Palestine lay untouched. Egypt, on the other hand, was the very heart of the Moslem power. The Sultan of Cairo was nominal lord of Palestine, and the road to Jerusalem certainly lay through 'Babylon,' as Cairo was then called. Therefore the King did wisely to strike at Egypt first: only that a blow struck at the heart of a great power should be struck promptly and hard.

After eight months at Cyprus, the good King set sail for the Egyptian coast. A storm dispersed the fleet, and delayed it a few days: at last, in June 1249, the King's ship sighted the low line of the coast and the town of Damietta, and saw the Sultan's cavalry, the Mamelukes, drawn up along the beach. With a vigour which brought its reward, the King, with all his army at his back, dashed ashore, drove back the enemy, and won firm footing on the land. The Egyptian Sultan was sick to death; discord reigned and distrust; it was a fortunate moment for the attack. The unbelievers were seized with panic, and abandoned Damietta without an effort—a city which was very strong and well-provisioned, and which had already shewn what it could do when besieged, having once stood out for fifteen months. Thus far all was well: the Crusaders had landed well, and had taken a most important city, which gave them harbourage and a starting-point. But now mistakes began, and the weak side of the King's character showed itself. He was no general; and underrated the value of time in war. Napoleon, criticising his action on a scene he knew well, said of him that if on the 8th of June 1249 Louis had pushed on, as the French did in the Revolution days, he would have been at Mansourah by the 12th: the Aschmun Channel would then

have been dry, the waters being at their lowest; he might have crossed at once, and so have reached Cairo before the end of June. In less than a month he could have conquered Egypt. But the King feared the rise of the Nile, and determined to remain till the river abated before crossing. Thus he wasted the first-fruits of his campaign. Idleness, debauch, disease, the fiends which overtake those who delay in war, revelled in his camp; and, at the end of five months and a half, when the King set forth, the traditions of success were broken, what little discipline there had been was gone, the actual force was weakened. The army took a month to advance sixty miles, and then sat down to build a causeway over the Aschmun branch, which runs out of the Damietta arm of the Nile¹. Here they wasted men, patience, and time in a mad attempt; and, at last, after suffering from the Greek fire which the enemy discharged at their works, and from disease and want, they discovered a ford, by which they crossed over near the town of Mansourah. The Count of Artois, the King's brother, the Templars, and the Earl of Salisbury, were over first, and refusing to wait for orders, with true feudal contempt for any combined plan of action, pushed on, driving back the Saracens through Mansourah. Beyond that town the Paynim rallied, thanks to the bravery of the Baharites or Mamelukes, who that day saved the Egyptians from complete defeat. They shut up the Christians in the town, and there the King's brother, with a multitude of knights, was slain. The battle was a confused struggle, with no man as chief or head. The King behaved like a gallant knight, not as a commander. He exposed himself to the thick of the fight, and had near been taken by the Turks. 'Never,' says Joinville of him that day, 'have I seen a knight of so great worth; he towered above all his battle by the head and shoulders².' All that hot day the struggle went on; but,

¹ Joinville, ch. 5. gives an unintelligible account of the Nile Delta and the arms of the river. He places the French army in an impossible situation, between the Damietta and the 'Rexi' (or Rosetta) branches.

² Joinville, ch. 5.

towards evening, the crossbowmen came up, and, when the Saracens saw that, they took to flight, and left the King in possession of the field and of their camp. Nothing followed: the French began to retreat. The King was slowly retiring from the field, when a Templar, who had been in Mansourah with the vanguard, came up. The King asked him if he had tidings of his brother, the Count of Artois; and he replied, 'he had right good tidings of him, for that he was surely in Paradise: but, Sire, be of good cheer, for such great honour came never to King of France as has come to you, who have crossed a river swimming, and have discomfited the foe and driven them from the field, and have taken their engines and tents.' To which the King replied, that God should be adored for whatever gifts He gave; and thereon began great tears to roll from his eyes¹. And so in sorrow, not exultation, closed this hard-contested day². Three days later, the Egyptians in turn became the assailants, and attacked the King's camp. They were repulsed after a hard fight, with terrible loss to the Christians;—scarcely a knight was left unhurt. This second battle settled the question as to the farther advance of the army. Even then the same fatal delays took place. For eight days the army was busy burying their dead: it seemed sacrilege to let these martyr-bones bleach in the sun. The stench and the bad food—it was Lent, and rigorously kept by the King—soon bred the army-fever. Six weeks they wasted thus: the enemy's fleet above and below blockaded the river, so that they were almost without food. At length it was decided that they must retire to Damietta. The King, always absolutely unselfish, though attacked by the fever, refused to go on shipboard with the wounded, the sick, and the priests, and placed himself with the rearguard, saying 'he would rather die than leave his people.' They set out. After many deeds of heroism, the King's illness overpowered him; he halted, rested, was taken prisoner. The whole army was either butchered or captive.

¹ Joinville, ch. 5.

² The Arab historians claim the victory; and in truth they may be right.

The Saracens spent several days massacring in cold blood the common soldiers. The barons and all who could pay ransom were retained. They were carried to Mansourah, and there, after much negotiation, the King agreed to purchase his freedom and that of his barons, by the cession of Damietta, the payment of a million bezants¹, and a truce for ten years. Damietta had been held bravely by the Queen, whose firmness together with the pity caused by her helplessness, had hindered the garrison from taking flight when they heard of the King's captivity: in the midst of her anxiety and trouble, she had given birth to a son, whom she named John Tristan, in remembrance of her sorrows.

At the same time the Mamelukes, long restive under the Sultan, revolted and slew the last of the Ayoubites, the family of Saladin (A.D. 1250). Thus, with the defeat of the French, began the long dominion of the Mamelukes, who formed the military strength of Egypt for centuries, till another army of Frenchmen led by Napoleon landed in Egypt, and broke their power. These troubles among the Moslem nearly brought the prisoners to their deaths—nothing but the prospect of the ransom saved them. Throughout all, the wonder and veneration of all men was fixed on the King, whose simplicity, firmness, piety, and gentleness, extorted the high praises even of his enemies. At last they were allowed to go on board some Genoese ships. Damietta was given up; the ransom paid; and some set sail for home, while the King steered for the shores of Palestine. Twelve thousand Christians were left behind as prisoners.

Of two thousand eight hundred knights, who were in the King's battle at first, scarcely a hundred followed him to the Holy Land²; and these were but the wreck of themselves. The fever clung about them; the King was very ill. Still he refused to abandon his task so long as he had life; and with

¹ This bezant (so named from Byzantium), was a gold coin, worth a little less than ten shillings.

² So says Joinville. 'De tous voz chevaliers,' says Guion Malvoisin, 'que amenastes en Chippre, de deux mil huit cens, il ne vous en est pas demouré ung cent.'

tottering steps landed at Ptolemais, which was the only Christian city, excepting Tyre, that had not fallen into Saracen hands. Here they again suffered much from sickness; and the barons round the King pressed him to return home. But he still refused, though he allowed his two brothers to go. They had grieved him sorely by wasting their time at the dice.

The King's brothers returned safely to France, where Alphonse, Count of Poitiers, took possession of the states of the South, which had fallen to him through the death, in 1249, of his father-in-law, Raymond VII; and Charles, Count of Anjou, the other brother, found that the great cities of Provence had recovered their independence, and were modelling themselves on the plan of the Lombard Republics. He attacked Arles and Avignon, and destroyed their new-formed governments. Marseilles held out for six years; she too at last had to succumb, and with her perished the civic independence of the South.

When Europe learnt the perils of Louis, all men groaned and accused heaven. 'How could the holiest of kings have been so treated?' asked Pope Innocent, who nevertheless took no steps to succour him;—he could not turn aside from his great work of crushing the Hohenstaufen. Frederick II had been poisoned just as he was preparing to bring help to Louis; but Conrad still remained, and the efforts of the Papacy were redoubled. France was filled with indignation when she heard the Papal emissaries preaching a crusade, not to deliver their King and hero, but to destroy the unfortunate sons of Frederick II; and the barons refused the Pope all help. Blanche, now in full accord with them, took strong measures, and declared that she would confiscate the goods of any who took that cross, and stopped the mouths of the Papal militia, the Dominican preachers. A great popular agitation began, a Crusade of the poor, the serfs, the shepherds¹. The Queen at first favoured them, as their professed object was to succour

¹ Hence called the Crusade of the Pastoureaux.

the King. But when from invective they passed to action, and killed twenty priests at Orleans, she was obliged to repress them with the strong hand.

Four years the King spent in Palestine. The Saracens had no strength there, or they could easily have crushed him. He negotiated and fought for the release of captives, and, in fact, freed all prisoners in Egypt, a matter which he had very much at heart; he strengthened such places as remained to the Christians, Caesarea, Sidon, Jaffa, Ptolemais; he did all that was possible to hold together and secure the slight footing the West still had in the East. His army however dropped gradually away from him: one baron after another had pressing private business at home, and sailed off. At last, in the end of 1252 or in 1253¹, the noble Queen Blanche died, and the King, feeling that he had done well nigh all he could in the East, and that France without Blanche was in peril, with such a Pope as Innocent on one hand, and such a neighbour as Henry III on the other, determined to return home; at this all were glad, save the Legate, who begged Joinville to go home to his lodgings, and, when he was shut in, he took his hands, and began to weep and to say, 'Seneschal, I am right joyous, and thank God that you have escaped from so great perils wherein you have been in this land; but, on the other hand, I am very sad and dolorous of heart, since I must leave your very good and holy company, to return to Rome among the disloyal folk there².' Strange confession for a Papal legate to make; but a proof, if it were needed, that Louis was already regarded as the most saintly man on earth.

The King reached Hyères in safety, and in September, 1254, was once more in Paris, shewing, as he entered the city, the marks of profound sorrow in his countenance; for he thought that Christendom had been covered with confusion through his own shortcomings.

¹ All the chroniclers, who give the date, make it Dec. 1252, except William of Nangis, who says 1253. The later date seems to fit best with Joinville's narrative.

² Joinville, ch. 14.

III. THE KING'S LATER LIFE. A.D. 1254-1270.

Now begins the best part of the holy King's reign. He never wearied at his task of making peace in all his borders. Such was his reputation for firmness, justice, and sanctity, that he was able to exert a wonderful influence for good. He made a treaty with King James of Aragon in 1258, by which the Spaniard gave up his fiefs in the South of France (some ran even into Auvergne), while Louis gave him secure ownership of Montpellier, and abandoned his old claims on the Spanish March and on Roussillon. In the next year, in his love of peace he handed over to Henry of England Périgord, the Limousin, the south part of Saintonge, and his suzerainty over some smaller districts, while Henry in return gave up all his claims on Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Poitou, and Northern Saintonge. The inhabitants of the ceded districts were little pleased; and, in after days, refused to celebrate the saint's-day of the King who had thus handed them over against their will to the English. His Council also remonstrated with him for it; saying that if his conscience bade him give up these districts, still more ought it to lead him to give up the rest of King Philip's conquests. But the King held that he did it, not as matter of conscience or justice, but solely 'to create love between his children and mine, who are cousins-germain¹.' And many times he acted as peacemaker between quarrelling barons: avoiding strife, doing justice, and setting to all the realm the noblest example of the life of a Christian prince. He taught and watched over his children; he gave plentiful alms; built lazaret-houses, hospitals, houses for the blind, penitentiaries: many times did he with his own hand cut bread and pour out drink for the poor. He built churches,

¹ Louis and Henry had married two sisters. The cession of these provinces may have been connected with a promise said to have been made respecting them by Louis VIII, at the end of his feeble kingship in England. And, besides, we learn from Matthew Paris (p. 642), that, in 1247, the Bishops of Normandy had pronounced the King's claims to that duchy to be valid and just.

nunneries, abbeys without stint: 'even as a scribe illuminates the book he has writ, that it may be fairer and held in more honour, so did the holy King illustrate and beautify his kingdom with monasteries and churches, which he built and endowed during his lifetime'.¹ He dispensed his large patronage with great conscientiousness; corrected and regulated the doings of his bailiffs, judges, and other officers; forbade private war and judgment by duel; was ever ready to hear the appeals of his people; oftentimes did justice, after mass, seated under an oak at Vincennes; kept open court, and gathered his barons round him by his cheerfulness and generous ways: in a word, he ruled the land as it had never before been ruled, until security brought plenty, the returns of the royal domains were doubled, arts flourished, learning was held in honour, and men enjoyed, throughout the length and breadth of France, a nobler and better life.

But, throughout all these years of well-doing, one master-passion still held the King's mind; a passion which, when he was on Crusade before, had made so good a husband and father forget the noble wife who was so worthy of him²; which made him think nothing of the solid good he was doing at home, and of the grievous misfortunes he had before brought on his followers. For thirteen years he cherished this desire; and at last, in 1267, at Lent, he summoned all his barons to Paris, and again took the Cross, together with his three sons, to the consternation of all prudent people. He was so weak that Joinville had to carry him in his arms from house to house; he was not fit to sit a horse, or even to be carried in a litter.

¹ Joinville, chap. 15.

² As we may learn from Joinville's account of her arrival at Sayette (Sidon), after she had given birth to a daughter. 'When I heard tell that she was come, I rose up from before the King, and went to meet her. And when I next saw the King, who was in his chapel, he asked me if the Queen and the children were well; and I said, yes. Then he said, I knew when you rose that you were going to meet the Queen, and therefore I sat still for the sermon. These things I have related, because I had been five years about him, and never before had I heard him mention the Queen or the children; and it is not a good way, methinks, to be a stranger to one's wife and little ones.'—Joinville, chap. 13.

The stout old seneschal, who had stood by his King in Egypt and the Holy Land, and had ever told him the blunt truth without fear, refused to take the Cross again, and told the King why. 'While I was serving God and the King over sea, the men and officers of the King had greatly oppressed and trodden down my subjects, so that they were thereby so impoverished that never will they and I recover from it. And I see clearly that, were I to betake myself again to the pilgrimage of the Cross, it would be the utter ruin of these my poor subjects.' And he goes on to say, that 'those who counselled the King in this enterprise did great evil, and sinned mortally. For, while he was in France, all his realm was in peace, and justice reigned. But the moment he was out of it, everything began to grow worse.' And so the greyhaired seneschal stayed at home, and tended his own people in peace and justice. Louis, after three years' preparation, set forth in 1270. This time he steered wide of Palestine, and made for Tunis, for what reason we know not. Some say he had heard that the prince of that place was minded to become a Christian; others, that his ambitious brother, Charles of Anjou, who had so lately subdued the two Sicilies, urged the King to break the power which lay over against him, and made the high sea dangerous for his fleets; others, that the King believed that the Mussulmans of Tunis were the chief supports of those of Cairo, and that he must begin with them. Sure it is that the aim which so often guided a Crusader's movements, the desire to win merit in God's sight by slaying Paynim, could be as easily attained by a battle at Tunis as at Ptolemais or Cairo; and the barons were naturally reluctant to take the long voyage to a shore on which the memories of past failures sat awaiting them like ghosts foreboding doom. However it was, the fleet sailed for Tunis. They landed without difficulty; and, while they waited for Charles of Anjou on the burning shore of Africa, pestilence at once smote down the host. The King's utter weakness laid him open to an attack. He was seized with dysentery, and soon felt that his end was at hand. He called to his bedside his son Philip, and

gave into his hands a written paper of advice, which he charged him to heed as though it were his will; soon after he yielded up his soul to God. He passed away on the day after St. Bartholomew's Day, 1270; and with him died out the last spark of the crusading spirit. He had reigned for forty-four years, and was fifty-six years of age.

When, after his canonisation, the friar who preached the sermon at the translation of his body from St. Denis to the Sainte Chapelle called him 'the most loyal man of his age,' he summed up in these words his whole character. There have been men of wiser judgment and of warmer affection, but a more loyal spirit never breathed. Truthfulness and honour were natural to him; loyalty to his Master in heaven, to his servants on earth, shine in his every act. No more unselfish man lives in the pages of history. His sensitive and pure conscience sometimes led him into excess of zeal or of self-negation; his devotion and depth of religious feeling made him a persecutor on one side and a dupe to superstition on the other;—still, no one can feel that his character suffers deeply from these blots. He was genial, fond of society and good talk; he said that 'there is no book so pleasant as quolibets, that is, as that every one should talk at will';—if great folk dined with him, he was right good company to them, and amiable¹. In his habits no man could be more temperate or pure; in person delicate and fine, having a grave sweet face, almost womanly in expression, with great noble eyes, which looked straight forward, hiding nothing, permitting no concealment. Even the Arabian historians felt the fascination of his tall and handsome presence and elevated character: 'This prince was of a fine countenance; he had intelligence, firmness, piety; his noble qualities won him the veneration of the Christians, who trusted him implicitly².' He was wise and honest, doing justice and honouring the truth; he could even bear to have the

¹ Joinville, chap. 15.

² Aboul Mouassen, quoted in the *Collection Universelle des Mémoires*, &c., tom. 3, p. 59.

truth told him. He was firm, perhaps obstinate, where he felt sure of his ground. Not a good general; he loved peace more than war. He was careless of his own life; nor was it ever in his thoughts: otherwise he was not given to feats of prowess, or what men called heroism; his delicate frame and temperament were not suited to that. Still, he would face death rather than desert his people;—his life for theirs at any time. He was fond of learned men, though perhaps his own learning was scanty; he was sufficiently noble not to chafe at their superiority. Under him the Sorbonne, the theological faculty at Paris, was created; under his patronage the University drew to itself all the learned of Europe: the German Albertus Magnus, the Italian St. Thomas Aquinas, the English Roger Bacon, studied there. The French language sprang into a new and brilliant life. Poetry and history, with wonderful freshness and truth, gave grace and power to the tongue. Joinville, whose *Chronicle* we have followed, wrote a little later with a simplicity and vividness which render his book one of the noblest monuments of French literature. To read him is like studying one of the fine manuscripts of the same age; each page is adorned with paintings which, in their quaintness and purity of feeling, their clearness of conception and happy grouping, and brilliant freshness of colour, display before our eyes the real life of the times.

Saint Louis did most for France, strange as it may seem, as a lawyer. It was by the law that he met the chief difficulties of his government: thus he attacked the feudal jurisdictions in many ways. (1) He absolutely forbade judicial combats and private warfare; and compelled the mail-clad baron to stand on equal terms before the judgment-seat, no longer allowing the brute privilege of the strong man armed. The working of this may be seen in the tale of Enguerrand, lord of Coucy, proudest among the feudal landowners, though no more than a baron¹. This man caught three Flemish students rabbiting in his warren,

¹ 'Je ne suis Roi ne duc: Prince ne comte aussy: je suis le sire de Coucy.'

and hung them up at once; that seeming to him the simplest way of enforcing his game-law. But the lads had friends, who brought the matter before the King. Saint Louis summoned Enguerrand, who refused to come: on which the King shut him up in prison, and compelled him to appear before the royal court. There the angry knight refused to submit to judgment and offered wager of battle. But the king replied, 'that in the case of the poor, the Church, and the weak, no man shall proceed by way of battle: battle is not the path of justice.' And he compelled the judges, though they were all Enguerrand's friends, and sympathised with him, to condemn him to death. This sentence was afterwards commuted to a heavy fine, with loss of his private court of justice and his rights of warren: and thus the King showed that he was too firm and too strong for any one safely to indulge in the waywardness of feudal injustice. (2) He limited the feudal jurisdictions, taking many classes of cases out of the feudal courts, and transferring them to his own hearing. Lastly (3), he weakened their independence by instituting a right of appeal in all cases to the King; so that he, not the barons, became the last court to which the wronged might have recourse. He re-established the 'Missi Dominici' of Charles the Great; those royal commissioners, who went through the realm and were the King's eyes, spying out what was amiss, and bringing swift redress. To him is due the direction given to the Parliament of Paris; under his hand it became a pure magistrature, the centre-point of the justice of the whole land.

The King also greatly enlarged the extent of the royal domain, not only by conquest, but by purchase. He bought the lands of ruined vassals, which lay dotted about within other great lordships. Here he always introduced the royal 'Establishments'¹,

¹ The *Établissements* of St. Louis are a confused body of laws, thrown together without order, dealing with all questions civil or criminal, according to Custom-law, compiled by the great lawyers of the reign. Pierre de la Fontaine, Geoffroy de Villette, Philip de Beaumanoir. Beaumanoir's '*Coutumes de Beauvoisis*' were a remarkable attempt to codify and establish existing Custom-law, without direct reference to either Roman or Canon law.

or codes of law; bringing them more or less under Roman law, and seeing to its fair administration by the hands of bailiffs and provosts. The provosts received the taxes; the bailiffs did justice in the King's name, and were called to the Parliament as referees in cases of appeal. The lawyers only could administer the written law; for they alone had learning enough for that. It was very different from the thumb-rule Custom of the Castle Court. The barons cared little to sit by these shrewd learned folk, who knew so much more than they did, and had such different sympathies: this cause contributed largely to that change in the character of the Parliament to which we have alluded.

With the Church also the same centralisation of the powers of government went on. The King appointed his own bishops; he did not recognise their excommunications, unless they had been judged lawful and just in his own courts; he held that even the Pope himself must keep to his own sphere as lord over consciences, and as ultimate ruler in matters of ecclesiastical discipline. There must ever be a doubt as to the genuineness of the famous 'Pragmatic Sanction'¹ of St. Louis. This document, as we have it, contains six articles levelled against the assumptions of Papal power. It forbade simony, restored free election to the chapters of cathedrals, regulated matters connected with the rights of prelates, benefices, and the like; and above all forbade all exactions or levies of money imposed by the Court of Rome, unless the grounds for such were recognised as 'reasonable, pious, very urgent, and indispensable, by the King and Church of France.' There can be no doubt that the King and his lawyers (whatever we may think of this document²) were quite prepared to show that they would not let the spiritual power encroach on the lay-government of the kingdom.

¹ This technical name is Byzantine in origin. The edicts of the Eastern Emperors were called *Pragmatics*. The term was used by Charles the Great.

² The chief arguments against the genuineness of the Pragmatic Sanction are, (1) that it is not alluded to by any historian or mentioned in any document till the reign of Louis XI, more than two centuries later; and (2) that it is most improbable that St. Louis, regard being had to his character and his age, would ever have promulgated such an attack on the Papacy.

St. Louis reformed, among many other things, the coin of the realm. There was so much corruption and irregularity, through the barons' private mints, that the King's money soon came to pass current everywhere, to the direct advantage of the royal authority, to which the 'image and superscription' on his coins bore perpetual though silent witness. And lastly, by help of Stephen Boileau, Provost of Paris, he compiled a book of trades, which formed for centuries the code of industrial laws and customs, and fostered the growth of civic liberties and corporations.

The crafty skill of Philip Augustus had made all ready for the growth of a great monarchy; but it needed the genial rays of an heroic character to warm the soil and quicken the seed to life. St. Louis roused his nation to enthusiasm; reverence was paid him while he yet lived: his very errors and misfortunes strengthened him in popular esteem, and made his task the easier. In addition to his great work of quieting feudal hostility, while he destroyed the strongholds of feudal independence, he added largely to the actual domain of the crown.

In 1229 that part of the territories of the Count of Toulouse which lies between the right bank of the Rhone, the sea, and the Pyrenees, was made over to the crown by Raymond VII, at the close of his disastrous struggle against the royal power.

In 1234, Chartres, Blois, and Sancerre were given up to him by Theobald of Champagne and Navarre.

In 1239 he purchased Macon; in 1257 Perche was joined to the realm; in 1262, he obtained Arles, Forcalquier, Foix, and Cahors. The rest of the South, west of the Rhone, was certain to fall to the crown in time; Normandy was definitely ceded by the English King.

In many ways he must be regarded as the true founder of French absolute monarchy; and so far, the parent of many woes to his country. Still, this was the only way in which France could emerge from chaos, and become a nation. French ideas as to authority, as to law, as to the relations of the Church to the State, are found in germ in this great patriarchal

monarch. It is largely due to him that popular liberties found no place in the growth of the French constitution.

St. Louis was regarded in his own day as the greatest King in Christendom. The Hohenstaufen had fallen: the English King was a feeble creature, effectually checked by his barons; there was no prince to compare with the French monarch. Matthew Paris, regarding him from afar with friendly eyes, as the bulwark against Papal ambition, says he is 'the most illustrious and wealthy of the kings of the earth,' and styles him 'King of Kings.'

In later times, just as the English nation looked back to the days and laws of King Edward the Confessor, so did the French Kings look back to the justice and character of St. Louis: we find a letter by Charles VIII (A.D. 1497), who was desirous of reforming his kingdom, in which he seeks to know the ancient form in which his predecessors, and specially Monseigneur St. Louis, were wont to proceed in hearing and giving audience to the poor folk¹. For long ages he was the patron saint of the French people; and his day, the anniversary of his death, was kept with great solemnity.

These things did the King who could arouse the enthusiasm of Gibbon; whose virtues won a hearty word of goodwill even from Voltaire.

¹ Quoted in Ducange's Second Dissertation on Joinville, at the end.

CHAPTER IX.

Philip III. A.D. 1270—1285.

WAR went on before Tunis for two months after the death of St. Louis; then, after two battles, the Crusaders made terms, very favourable for Charles of Anjou, and at once set sail for Europe. The ships were to meet at Trapani, where there should be a consultation about the future: for Charles had his own designs, not on the Holy Land, but on Constantinople. But a great storm destroyed most of the ships; the remainder made their way home.

Philip III, le Hardi, 'the Rash,' who was eldest son of St. Louis, and succeeded him on the throne, made a melancholy journey back to France, bearing with him the bones of five of his kinsfolk—his saintly father; his wife, who had died of an accident on horseback; her babe, still-born; his uncle, Alphonse of Toulouse, and his uncle's wife, the last of the great house of St. Gilles: these five victims of the Crusade formed a gloomy procession before the new King as he returned to take possession of his kingdom. He was but a poor successor to his father. He was unlearned, and could not read; he was unwise and weak: a devout man, guided by the advice of his counsellors; one who led the life of a monk rather than of a prince. Under such a man the monarchy might well have lost ground: except that the throne was now surrounded by lawyers, who had their own theory, bound up with their own interests, and did not allow the King's weakness to weaken royalty. On the

deaths of his uncle Alphonse of Toulouse and his wife, the whole of their domains fell in to the crown, and were secured by Philip, with the exception of the Agenois, claimed by Henry III of England under the treaty of 1259. The diocese of Toulouse, Querci, Rouergue, Poitou, Auvergne, and parts of Anjou and Saintonge, as well as the marquisate of Provence, came thus into the King's hands. This last-mentioned territory was in 'Imperial France'; that is, on that border of ancient Gaul which held under the Empire: thus begins the absorption of that district into France. This was, too, the last interference of Henry of England; for he died in 1272, and left his crown to Edward I, then gone on Crusade. As Edward returned he did homage to Philip 'for the lands which he was bound to hold of him,' reserving his own opinion as to debated points. As however he was much occupied with his wars in Wales and Scotland, he never took great part in continental questions.

We have reached the end of the Crusades. When the Christians dispersed, on their way home from Tunis, they agreed that they would meet again at the end of three years, to ease their consciences, burdened with the thought that they had ill fulfilled their crusading vow by deeds of war at Tunis instead of Jerusalem. That promise was not kept. Never again did Europe go forth in arms to wrest the holy places from the unbeliever. The federation of barons, who went together from every part of Europe, had given place to distinct and separate nations, whose clashing interests forbade them to join in any such common enterprise.

Instead of another Crusade, the chivalry of France rallied round Charles of Anjou, who threw his quiet nephew the King entirely into the shade. Charles, restless and ambitious, aimed at a kind of universal sovereignty. With one hand he would rule the Papacy, with the other would seize the diadem of Constantinople. Brave and treacherous, cold, cruel, blood-thirsty, he was well fitted to be a scourge of men, and inspired all around him with terror. Gregory X resisted him as anxiously as his forerunners had resisted the Hohenstaufen.

The Popes were always engaged in a struggle with one or other of the lay powers which overshadowed them. Sometimes it was Germany, then France, then Spain: theirs was no solid elevation, no enthronement over the heads and in the hearts of mankind; but a position of unstable balance, bending now this way, now that, and sometimes falling, as we shall see, with a tremendous crash. But in order to resist Charles of Anjou the Pope must have a lay champion: and the Empire being vacant, he cast about for an Emperor. He found one in a simple Helvetian baron, a lord of small lands and little influence, but of tried courage, warlike skill, probity and sagacity,—Rudolf of Habsburg. Him the electors choose as Emperor in 1273. With him the new order of the Empire begins. With the last race it had been the 'Holy Roman Empire'; henceforth it becomes rather the 'German Empire': tending after a time largely to increase the influence of Austria; until at last it crumbles away, under Napoleon's touch. At the very time when the Electors were offering the crown to Rudolf, the Pope was on his way to Lyons to hold another Council in that frontier city. Thither came the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the Greek Bishop of Nicaea, as well as representatives of all the great powers of Europe. The Greek churchmen chanted the Nicene Creed without omitting the Western interpolation¹; and unity seemed to be restored to Christendom amidst the enthusiastic plaudits of the assembled prelates (A.D. 1274). They did not see that Michael Palaeologus the Emperor had stooped so low, not because he was convinced, but because he trembled for a throne now visibly threatened by Charles. The union of Christendom lasted but a brief space, and was both interested and hollow.

There were also present Turkish envoys, asking for an alliance against the Mamelukes, who were growing formidable to all the East. The Princes of Europe took the cross, but never

¹ That is, the word 'Filioque' in the clause 'proceeding from the Father [and the Son]'; the point on which the East and West finally broke asunder.

went. Gregory died, and his great schemes perished with him.

That same year Henry of Navarre, Count of Champagne and Brie, died, leaving one daughter three years old. Her mother, a French princess, carried the child to Philip's Court, where she was brought up till of age to marry one of the King's sons. The Pope, who was applied to for a dispensation for this union, being unwilling to see France and Navarre in the same hands, yet fearing to refuse the King, granted the boon, naming in it not the King's eldest son Louis, but his second, Philip, who afterwards, by what is called the irony of history, was Philip IV, the tyrant over the Papal see. Meanwhile, as guardian of the mother and child, Philip III took possession of the domains of the little heiress. Navarre resisted, supported by the King of Castille; and Philip marched with such blind haste across the frontier that he acquired for himself the name of 'the Rash,' which otherwise scarcely suits his quiet character. He was saved from ruin by the previous successes of his lieutenant, Robert of Artois, which enabled him to make a truce with the Castilian King. The end of it was that Navarre was added to the French kingdom for a time.

France herself was tranquil during this reign, which offers little of interest. The influence of the lawyers did not decrease; and in some smaller matters the crown encroached on the barons. Thus a patent of nobility was made out (a thing hitherto unheard-of) for the King's goldsmith, Raoul; in 1275 the restriction was taken off, which forbade those who were not noble to acquire fiefs; the bourgeoisie of Paris was ennobled, which is as though the whole city were made a baron; and, lastly, all lawyers were created 'Chevaliers ès lois,' 'Knights of the Law,' and thus were placed on the ladder of nobility.

The history of the King's favourite, Peter de la Brosse, gives us an insight into the jealousy which had sprung up between the barons and the Court. Peter was a man of gentle birth, son of a small gentleman of Touraine, had filled some offices at Court under St. Louis, and had at last been made

his chamberlain. Under Philip he became omnipotent as a favourite, and all men hated and courted him. He was present at all the King's councils; and whatever the barons might determine, if their advice did not commend itself to Peter, it was flung to the winds. Naturally, he had enemies enough; but they could make no head against him till he had made a foe of the Queen. The details of their struggle are dim and probably false: what could the upstart expect at the hands of the chroniclers of the time? It is enough that the Queen and the barons together were too strong for him: though the conflict lasted more than two years, at last the favourite fell. His enemies became his judges, and made short work. He was tried, no one knows how or on what charges, condemned, and the next day hung, 'whereat the barons of France were greatly pleased.' With him fell all his friends and kin. The King himself seems to have yielded with regret; but kings can sacrifice their favourites to their fears: the common people murmured at the judicial murder of the King's friend: and Philip le Bel afterwards restored to his heirs part of their forfeited goods.

Yet one more trait, and we have done with the internal affairs of this reign. When Robert, Count of Clermont, the King's youngest brother, was knighted, Philip held a great tournament to celebrate the day. It was a direct violation of the usual rule of kingly conduct: for hitherto the kings had looked coldly on tournaments as fuel for feudal turbulence and pride. In the *mêlée*, the poor young prince in whose honour it was held was so stifled by his hot and heavy armour and the clouds of dust, and so shaken by the knocks he got, that 'his brain was muddled and he fell into idiocy for the rest of his days.' Nevertheless he married the heiress of the Bourbon barony: and from one of his sons sprang the royal house of Bourbon. We may notice in passing that hereafter, in war or mimicry of war, the Kings become so strong that they are not afraid to call together the chivalry of their day. Their objection to tournaments passes away, because they no longer represent feudal

independence; the kings are henceforward glad to give splendour to their courts by these brilliant displays.

Philip was little but the lieutenant of his uncle, Charles of Anjou; and to this he owes the chief mishaps of his reign. For the Pope and the Eastern Emperor, Peter King of Aragon, and the Sicilian subjects of Charles, formed a secret league to destroy that hated prince. The league was kept together by John of Procida, a Calabrian refugee, an old friend of Frederick II, and Manfred, an ingenious physician and able politician, who passed through Europe in disguise, and brought the French prince's foes together. But Nicolas III, the centre of this great conspiracy, died (A.D. 1279); and Charles compelled the cardinals to elect as his successor Simon de Brie, a Frenchman, his creature, who took the name of Martin IV¹. Relying on his help, and on that of Venice, Charles now thought the time come for his attack on Constantinople. His grand schemes embraced also the recovery of the Holy Land—he would be the one successful Crusader—and perhaps the subjugation of Egypt. But on the 30th of March, 1282, just as in the stillness of evening the vesper bells were calling men to prayer and rest, an accident, a French soldier's insolence, lit the train, and the whole discontent of Sicily exploded with terrific force. In these 'Sicilian Vespers' every Frenchman, man, woman or child, was massacred; not one escaped. The crime of oppression bore its natural fruit in a terrible reaction of crime. Charles, arrested in his progress towards the East, turned his arms against his Sicilian subjects: a crowd of French chivalry, burning to avenge their kinsfolk, joined him, and laid siege to Messina. But John of Procida, ever prompt and ready in war as in intrigue, entered the city; and Charles withdrew across the Strait to Calabria. Roger of Loria, another Ghibeline refugee from Italy, who commanded the Spanish fleet, destroyed a large part of the French ships, under the very eyes of Charles himself. And thus the French lost Sicily. In vain did Martin IV excommunicate Michael Palaeologus, and

¹ He had been a canon of St. Martin of Tours.

preach a crusade against Sicily and the King of Aragon. In vain did he offer the crown of Aragon to Philip of France. Roger de Loria swept from the sea the Provençal and Neapolitan fleet; on board the latter he captured the son of Charles, who was in command, and had rashly made trial of strength with the Calabrian veteran. When Charles, next day, one day too late, sailing into the Bay of Naples with five-and-fifty galleys, learnt the folly and fate of his son, he fell into a fury, hung a hundred and fifty citizens of Naples, and was scarcely dissuaded from burning the city and ravaging the kingdom: then through fatigue, disappointment, despair, his constitution gave way, and early in 1285 he died at Foggia: a bad but a notable man; of monstrous and cruel vices; of an ambition almost heroic in its grasp.

His weaker kinsman, King Philip, burnt to take his revenge on Peter of Aragon; he took the Oriflamme from St. Denis, and marched southward with a mighty host. He deemed that he was on Crusade; and therefore when he had taken the town of Elna (or Helena), which barred the entry into the Pyrenees, he massacred all the inhabitants, hundreds of them even in the great church of the city. Then he crossed the mountains into Spain, and sat down before Gerona. The brave Aragonese rose against him; their fleet destroyed his ships; Gerona defended itself, as Spanish cities can do; and it was not till autumn that the King took the place. By that time he was in fact defeated. His fleet was half ruined; his army worn out; he could only turn his face homewards again. With difficulty he extricated himself from the Pyrenean defiles; the remnant of his fleet was destroyed as it set sail out of the port of Rosas. In great sorrow did the King return. From sorrow he fell into fever, was carried in a litter as far as Perpignan, and there died, being the third King of France to whom a siege had proved fatal. Eight days later, the city of Gerona, the one fruit of such sacrifices and losses, was recovered by Peter King of Aragon: who also fell ill from exposure and died about a month after his antagonist.

Three sons survived King Philip. Of these the younger had scanty apanages; for France could no longer be broken up into portions for younger sons: the eldest became King, and is well-known to history as Philip le Bel, or the Fair, as he is commonly called, the conqueror in a field on which so many had failed, the tamer of the Papacy.

CHAPTER X.

Philip IV, le Bel. A.D. 1285.

PHILIP IV was seventeen years old when he came to the throne. It is not easy to draw the likeness of the youthful King; for there was then no man who had the heart to write the history of his times; and the records are singularly dim and dull. We know from his name that he was handsome; and it is unfortunate that his French title of 'le Bel' was not rendered into English by 'the Handsome'; for 'the Fair' does not fully represent the sense. It seems likely that he was tall, though this is uncertain¹; the regularity of his features somehow gives us a sense of coldness: his enemy, Bishop Saisset, said that he was 'no true King, but a handsome image': alluding probably to his cold looks. He is figured full-face on one of his coins, but so rudely that scarcely anything can be gathered from it, except that his face was regular, his nose long and straight, his mouth smiling. From his seal², which was probably engraven soon after his accession, we can also gather that his features were good, his face oval, expression mild, his hair long and waving; his attitude is easy and dignified. The pleasant mouth is not against his character; when it suited him he could be fascinating and bright, as we read in the account of his dealings with the people of Aquitaine, whom he wished to win from their English sympathies³. One thing seems clear; he was taciturn, and wore a look of pride, which made men

¹ In the *Supplication du peuple de France au Roy*, Dupuy, *Preuves des Libertez de l'Eglise Gallicane* (vol. 2. of Pithou's *Libertez de l'Eglise Gallicane*), pp. 133, 134, Philip seems to be alluded to under the name of Saul—'head and shoulders taller than the rest of the people.'

² As figured in the *Trésor de Numismatique*. Delaroche, Paris, 1835.
³ Chron. de S. Denis (A.D. 1303), Dom Bouquet *Recueil*, tom. 20. p. 675.

shrink before him. 'This King was simple and sage, and spake but little: proud was he as a lion when he looked on men¹;' and again, his enemies said 'he was the fairest man in the world, and knows not how to do anything else but look at men².' In all this we get but little hold of him; he is a kind of abstraction, cold and impersonal; a hard expression of the new forces which are beginning to bear sway in the world. For Philip IV is the Prince of the Roman Law, the head of that cold system of which the letter crushes out the spirit. Lawyers surround his throne; many of them from the South, and therefore bred up in reverence for the Roman, as distinct from either Customary or Canon Law³. These cold and rigid men, who wielded this new force in Europe have been called, not amiss, 'the destroyers of the Middle Ages.' At least, their spirit, and the King whom they served and defended, were destructive of the older order of things. Before them the towers of feudalism went crumbling down; the proud Church bowed her head; for the Law was a two-edged sword, which smote down baron and Pope. Aristotle in the schools, and the Digest at court;—these were the newly-aroused spirits of Greece and Rome which began to awaken the sleepers of Christendom.

From his lawyers Philip learnt, a willing pupil, lessons of absolution and statecraft; they drew for him a clear line between things temporal and things spiritual. As the Pope tried to bring all under him by his authority over the sins of men; so did the King determine to draw the clergy under his power by their temporal character. It is round this point, the relations between the temporal and the spiritual, that the great struggle of this reign really turns.

This we see in Peter du Bois, a great royalist pamphleteer and lawyer. In 1308 he actually proposed to Philip that he

¹ 'Icest roy fu simple e sage e pou parlour, fier estoit, comme i lyon en regardeure.—Chron. abrégée de Guil. de Nangis.

² 'Rex Franciæ, quod erat pulchrior homo mundi, et nihil aliud scit facere quam respicere homines.'—*Histoire du Différend d'entre le Pape Boniface VIII et Philippes le Bel* (Paris, 1655), p. 644.

³ Thus the King's great lawyers, Nogaret and Plaisian, were both Albigenses.

should get himself elected Emperor as successor to Albert of Austria. He uses language respecting his King which bears a singular likeness to that used in the days of Henry VIII of England, so strongly is he in favour of the independence of the civil power. He appears to have much assisted the King in framing his curious appeals to public opinion.

This is the fitting moment also for the appearance of satire, that special gift of the Gallic nature. At the King's court is seen Jean de Meung, 'the poet of scepticism',¹ who had been taught at Rome by Giles Colonna, and who was therefore a natural foe to the Guelfic Papacy. Satire is the usual comrade of despotism. The phrase 'a despotism tempered by epigrams' is true of other times as well as of monarchical France in the eighteenth century. The age which welcomed Jean de Meung at court, saw also the vigorous satire of Jacopone da Todi; these too were the days of Dante.

The history of this reign may be loosely divided into three periods:—

- I. The unimportant and feeble time between the King's accession in 1285 and the year 1296.
- II. The quarrel with Pope Boniface VIII, and the war with Flanders, A.D. 1296–1304.
- III. The epoch of the Templars, A.D. 1304–1314.

I. FROM A.D. 1285–1296.

At the outset we find King Philip bargaining with his neighbour of Guienne and England, Edward I. He granted him the privilege of never being liable to forfeit the fiefs he held under the French crown; and paid him ten thousand livres for his old claim on Normandy, which Edward henceforth renounced.

War was kept up, in a languid way, in Aragon and Sicily; it gives us little or no insight into Philip's character or capacity, except that we may perhaps discern some tenacity and stubbornness in him. The operations of the wars were

¹ Martin, *Histoire des Français*, 4. 369.

insignificant, and the King preferred his lawyers at Paris to the field. Philip never shone in war: there was no heat and enthusiasm in him for such sport.

Still these years doubtless prepared him for his work; and we see almost from the beginning signs that he and his advisers had taken a cool and clear view of their task. As early as 1287 the clergy were removed from the Parliament; and the law stood clear of the Church. The clergy were forbidden to administer justice in temporal matters; they could no longer fill the posts of mayors, sheriffs, or baillies.

These offices, and all the administration of the kingdom, fell into the hands of the lawyers; the Parliament, now exclusively composed of laymen, and guided by legal minds, became the central machine of government. It was fixed at Paris (A.D. 1302), it protected Jews and heretics against the Inquisition, it forbade private war, it hindered the territorial growth of both clergy and noblesse. Thus the Law became the spring of action of the body politic; the Courts were all centralised in the Parliament (which, it must be remembered, was a legal, not a legislative body, registering and administering rather than passing laws): and although the Exchequer Court, a remnant of the old Norman liberties, remained at Rouen, and the 'Great Days' were still held at Troyes, and the liberties of Champagne were respected, yet in all these cases the special courts were presided over by members of the central body, the Parliament of Paris.

And while these things were passing in France, tidings came from Palestine that the last stronghold of the Christians had fallen. 'Acre, the asylum of Christianity in those parts, by reason of her sins was destroyed by the foes of the faith, nor was there one among all the Christian powers that would help her in her distress'.¹ This, which not long before would have roused Europe to a paroxysm of sorrow and zeal, now fell on careless ears. The age of the Crusades was over. The Pope was no longer the grand central figure of a combined and warlike Christendom; the nations were fast growing into well-

¹ Chron. of William of Nangis, sub ann. 1290.

knit and independent societies; as they grew, the influence of the Papacy must decline. The days of unreasoning piety and reckless waste were slowly passing away.

This national growth engendered, as it went on, a new want—the want of money. Kings, while they were little more than great feudal lords, depended for sustenance on their domains, for armies on their vassals. But as the machinery of a less simple form of civil life was created, the older sources dried up. The produce of the royal domain became utterly unequal to the calls on it: the service of the feudal lords and their retainers grew continually less satisfactory. We approach the days of a great civil service, and a standing army. The King's ordinances now passing current throughout the land, there go with them a host of officials to execute them, and these men must be paid. Farmers of taxes also appear, Italians, who have the Lombard readiness with money. The evil of this method of levying taxation clings to France throughout her history, and is hardly eradicated by the Revolution.

Philip was overwhelmed with this want of money, and became a monster of rapacity. He levied a tax, so odious in its incidence that it won the old name of 'maltote,' the 'ill-levied'.¹ He defended the Jews and the Italians, using them as sponges to suck the wealth from the people, and squeezing them, when full, into his treasure-house. The Jews were banished (not carrying away their wealth), then allowed to purchase permission to return, then banished again. The thirteenth century had wrested away the power of arbitrary taxation from the barons; the fourteenth century concentrated that power, with grinding severity, in the hands of an absolute King. The King seized all he could; Jews or Templars, Guienne or Flanders; whatever could be turned into money was good alike: serfs were allowed to buy their freedom; privileges of towns were given for cash; the current coin was debased, then restored to its old value; then again debased, and again raised. The King's

¹ This Maltote, 'exactio quam nominant malam toltam' (William of Nangis), was levied in 1296. (Toltus is a Low Latin participle of tollō.)

sumptuary laws, by which he early showed the tendency of government in France to administer men paternally, were not merely a vexation; they tended, in some of their provisions, to bring grist to the royal mill. The King had strength enough even to plunder the noblesse itself under these hateful laws. In a word, it was a government without mercy, inhuman in its cold cruelty and rapacity.

This need and greed of money brought about that struggle between the King of France and the Pope, which forms the central and most important portion of this reign. Philip, looking everywhere for supplies, at last laid his hand on the property of the clergy, and included it in his scheme of taxation. Hence began a great struggle with the Papacy, which proved in the end a scandal to Christendom, and brought the supreme Pontiff down to the feet of the despotic King, living as his servant, no longer at Rome but in Avignon, where it seemed as though the proudest institution upon earth had become the humble minister to the monarch's pride.

II. THE QUARREL WITH POPE BONIFACE VIII.

A.D. 1296–1304.

The Papacy had fallen much in men's regard, both positively and relatively. Positively, through a succession of weak pontiffs, and through the interested squabbles of the Conclave: men had seen the Papal Chair vacant for years at a time, because the cardinals could not agree as to their choice; and their minds were no longer awe-stricken at the name and voice of the Pope, as of old, when he roused all Europe to a Crusade. And relatively also it had fallen; for while the Pope in the midst of all the jarring elements of Italian life was only one weak force among many, the neighbouring temporal powers had been gradually and steadily growing solid and strong; and there was no longer any question of such a contest as that between the Papacy and the Hohenstaufen.

This weakness was much increased by the elevation of the

simple hermit Peter Morrone to the papal throne. There had been a vacancy for more than two years; suddenly the cardinals, moved by one of those impulses which, through very weariness, sometimes affected them, cut the knot of their intrigues, and hailed the saintly hermit as their head. Unwillingly he left his retreat, and took the name of Celestin V. He soon proved himself incapable of dealing with his new duties; and after a few months, chiefly influenced (it is said) by the counsels and the pious frauds of Benedetto Gaetani, the ablest of the cardinals, he took Christendom by surprise, and abdicated in Advent 1294, resuming his plain hermit's dress, in hopes of being able to retire again to his mountain solitude. It was a new and strange thing; nor did it appear clear how a Pope could cease to be Pope. The opponents of his successor ever found this doubt a convenient weapon in the strife. The cardinals, anxious not again to commit such a mistake, before the year was out elected Benedetto Gaetani, who ascended the pontifical throne with a firm and resolute step, and took the name of Boniface VIII (16 Jan. 1295). His unlucky predecessor was kept in honourable though galling confinement, whence death released him, to the great relief of Boniface, in 1296.

Benedetto Gaetani was by interest, by party, and by bringing up, inclined towards the French alliance: and, in some sense, was influenced by the lawyer-spirit of the age. It is his misfortune that he both failed in all his aims, and was at the same time the object of malignant and unscrupulous attack. We know little of his character but from his enemies. That he was ambitious seems clear enough: he was not scrupulous in the means or the language he employed¹: he was incapable of generosity towards a foe; he hated well, and was well hated in return. That his energy and ability extorted the admiration of his foes is also plain; and he was clear from all low vices. He had no lack of grand conceptions of his high position and duties as head of Christendom: on the other hand he was

¹ As when he alluded to the bodily infirmities of Peter Flotte, as 'Belial semividens corpore, menteque totaliter excaecatus.' See below, p. 369.

altogether a priest in the narrowness with which he regarded the world around him. Although before his elevation he had been in kings' courts, and had mixed in the political movements of the time, he could not discern the tendencies of society, or make any allowance for the forces by which he was surrounded. He fought new foes with the old weapons, blunted by use and rusted by lapse of years. There was as great a difference herein, as there soon would be in the struggle of the old feudal world against the new engines of war, gunpowder and cannon, the voice of which was so soon to be heard on the battlefield.

Boniface was unfortunate in his character, his surroundings, and his times. He could not bend and yield, and spring up again; but stood, like some great oak of a past age, rigid and venerable, till the storm uprooted him. From the moment of his accession the clouds began to gather. The popular feeling throughout Italy was against him; the preaching orders, who swayed the opinion of the crowd, regarded him as their foe, and as the supplanter of their favourite saint, Pope Celestin. The nobles of Rome knew that he was their enemy; the great Colonna faction at the head of the anti-papal party was committed to a deadly struggle with him. He had the misfortune to be regarded as the friend of Charles of Valois, that hated usurper, whose vices were to a certain extent reflected on him, and in whose unpopularity he shared. And lastly, it was his doom to be pitted against his natural friend, the French King; and that King the tenacious, unscrupulous, proud Philip the Fair. He secured the hearty hatred of the rising and ambitious order of lawyers; in defeating him the Civil Law triumphed over the champion of the Canon Law; while some of his bitterest foes have seemed to after times to be the avenging spirits of the independence of thought that perished in those baleful fires which the Papal Inquisition, earlier in the century, had kindled in Southern France¹.

The King and the Pope thus being fundamentally at variance,

¹ The grandfather of Nogaret is said to have perished in the Albigensian persecutions.

little was needed to begin the quarrel between them. And yet, on the surface, their interests were at one. The Pope was Guelfic in bringing-up and sympathies, and by the traditions of the Holy See. He had persuaded King James of Aragon to give up Sicily to Charles the Lame; he held before the half-dazzled eyes of Charles of Valois the splendid prize of which the Latin princes often dreamed, the imperial crown of Constantinople; he forwarded in every way the interests of France and Italy.

Yet from the moment that he interfered with the King things began to go wrong. He tried in 1295 to mediate between Philip and Edward I of England; they were both however very unwilling to receive him as arbitrator, and guarded themselves by declaring that they were in no way subject to the Papal see as to their temporal affairs. Still more was Philip offended when the Pope ordered him to do justice to Guy of Flanders, and to release his daughter, whom he held in prison as a hostage. In the beginning of the year 1296 Boniface had issued a Bull¹, entitled 'Clericis laicos,' in which ecclesiastics were forbidden to pay taxes of any kind to the civil power, except by permission of the apostolical see; and all princes and potentates were warned that if they exacted such contributions from the clergy they became liable to excommunication. Though Philip was not named, it was partly, if not chiefly, directed against him: and he did not hesitate to reply. In August of the same year appeared a royal Ordinance², forbidding all persons of whatever condition or nation to export from the kingdom anything of value, gold and silver, coined or not, jewels and precious stones, armour, horses, and munitions of war, except with the royal permission in writing. This document in its turn made no mention of the Pope, or of any difference of opinion; none the less, all men knew to whom it referred. The Pope quickly rejoined; in the very next month he issued a Bull³, entitled 'Ineffabilis amoris,' in which he declares that the prohibition of exports cannot possibly

¹ Preuves de l'Histoire du Différend, etc., p. 14. (Dated omæ ap. S. Petrum Pontif. nostri anno 2.)

² Ibid. p. 13. (Dated August 17, 1296.)

³ Ibid. p. 15. (Dated September 21, 1296.)

refer to clerical persons, and that it would be madness to lay hands on them. He warned the King to put away his counsellors: for he had become aware of the forces, hostile to himself, which were impelling Philip: he displays emphatically his own kindness and good offices towards the King, and the dangers to France from the hostility of his neighbours the 'Kings of Rome, Spain, and England.' He then goes on to enforce the 'Clericis laicos' Bull with fresh threats of penalties, while he also opens the door to a compromise; he does not object to the taxation of clergy for the defence and support of the realm, provided the Pope's consent be first had; and also explains that he does not forbid the King to exercise his rights over ecclesiastics in regard of the fiefs held by them under the crown; also he claims to judge between Kings 'in matter of sin.' And he closes with a vague threat, that if the King will not amend these matters of his own good will, he must put out his hand 'to other and less usual remedies, however unwilling he may be to do so.' Intentionally or not, the Pope sent this document to Philip by one who did nothing to soften the bad effect it produced. Its haughtiness, its appeals to the King's fears, even the friendly but patronising tone which runs through most of it, were bitterness to the proud prince. His advisers at once drew up a reply, a bold and vigorous assertion of the royal supremacy in things temporal. It opens with a phrase which would scarcely have been capable of proof: 'Ere ever ecclesiastics existed, the King of France had the custody of his realm, and could make laws for its defence¹.' After this bold beginning, he sets forth the importance of the laity as well as of the clergy, the duty of the latter to contribute to the defence of the realm, the treasonable conduct of such as forbade them to do so; he then touches on his disagreement with his liegeman the King of England, and his neighbour the 'King of Germany'; and ends by declaring that as an 'immense benefactor' to the Church he has a right to claim the Church's help against these his enemies.

¹ Preuves de l'Histoire du Diff. p. 21. (No date.)

As a next step the Pope sent his Nuncios, the Bishops of Albano and Palestrina, into France; they were instructed to inform the King that the Pope had made and prolonged a truce between the conflicting princes, and had pronounced an excommunication against anyone who broke it. Before the King read this letter, he solemnly protested as follows: 'That the temporal government of his kingdom depended on himself alone, nor had he any superior therein, and that he would not submit himself therein to any living person; that he was determined to defend his rights and his realm with help of his friends; that this truce should be no hindrance thereto; while, at the same time, in things spiritual he was ready to obey the orders of the Holy See, as a devout son of the Church.' The legates were then permitted to read the Papal brief¹, and to withdraw. Two months before this, the Pope had bidden his Nuncios excommunicate anyone who might stop them from exporting the money they had raised in France².

The struggle of the Pope with the Colonna cardinals was at this time waxing hot; and he found that even the Gallican clergy³ were inclined to side with their King: consequently, feeling that he was not strong enough, for the moment, to persevere in his high tone to the end, he now issued a fresh Bull⁴, in which he declared,—and it is an amazing statement—that the Bull 'Clericis laicos' was not meant to affect the kingdom of France. The King in his turn hastened to assure the Pontiff that he had never meant absolutely to forbid the export of the precious metals from the realm, and that he had made his proclamation only in the public interest. This seeming reconciliation was followed by an act which flattered the public feeling and pride of France. On the anniversary of his death Louis IX was solemnly canonised, and his remains were removed from St. Denis to the new church of Poissy, built in his honour, and dedicated to him as a new-made Saint. More-

¹ Preuves de l'Histoire du Diff. p. 27. (Dated April 20, 1297.)

² Ibid. p. 25. (Dated February 7, 1297.)

³ Ibid. p. 26; the Letter of the Archbishop of Rheims and his Suffragans.

⁴ Ibid. p. 39, 'Noveritis nos.' (Dated July 31, 1297.)

over, the French and English King being yet at variance, Boniface obtained their consent to his arbitration, on the understanding that he was to act as Benedetto Gaetani, that is, as a private person, not as Pope. And thus the Kings sought to save their rights, and the Pope trusted that it would in reality be impossible to separate the man from the Pontiff, and also that he might win the gratitude and goodwill of Philip. Through his arbitration, clearly favouring the French King, two-thirds of Aquitaine passed from Edward to France; and the sovereigns concluded a marriage-treaty: Edward promising to espouse Margaret, the King's sister; and his son Edward, afterwards Edward II of England, being betrothed in 1303 to Isabelle, Philip daughter; whereby the seeds of the hundred years' war were sown.

But the friendship between Boniface and Philip was hollow. They occupied themselves in gathering strength for the coming struggle, in which each vowed to himself that he would crush the other or perish. A little before this time Philip had detached the Duke of Brittany from the English side, and had created him, as well as his cousin Robert of Artois, and Charles of Valois his brother, Peers of France. Thus he violated the old feudal principles, and showed himself no longer the 'first among his equals,' but a monarch bestowing on his subjects the high honour of being grouped in dignity around the throne. On the conclusion of the peace arranged by the Pope in his private character, the two Kings abandoned their allies each to the other. Edward wreaked his will on Wallace; Philip occupied Flanders. Guy of Dampierre was not strong enough to resist when his powerful supporters had left him; and, for a time, the kingdom of France touched the line of the Rhine¹. And in 1299 Guy threw himself on Philip's mercy (as if there had ever been such a thing!), and was imprisoned in the Louvre, while the King caused the Parliament to declare that Flanders was formally joined to the crown, and rejoiced

¹ William of Nangis, in Dom Bouquet, tom. 20. p. 581, says, 'concessum fuisse dicitur quod regnum Francie . . . usque ad Rhenum potestatis suae terminos dilataret.'

exceedingly at the thought that he had found a mine of wealth, from which he might draw inexhaustible supplies for his empty treasury. Around the throne were grouped the great lawyers, whose chief representatives were Peter Flotte and William of Nogaret, men who were now called 'Knights of the Laws,' a grotesque but significant title¹: the Colonnas were exiles in France, longing for the moment when the word should be given which would launch them against their mortal foe. All things were prepared for the strife; and thus the King stood firmly when the year 1300 came, and all seemed well with him. Treachery and rapacity had done their work, and he was now ready for the task he had set himself.

And how fared it with Boniface? He, too, seemed to have gathered strength. He had crushed the Colonnas; they had perished, or had fled to foreign lands; he had interfered with authority in the affairs of Scotland and Hungary; he had put Albert of Austria, King of the Romans, under ban². And, lastly, the year 1300 seemed to open with a revival of faith in Christendom, of faith centred on Rome and his own person. Never had crowds so devout flocked to the Eternal City; men ceased to count them; but for a very abundant harvest that year there would have been a famine. Never were such countless gifts laid on the altars; never were the blessings of the Church received in return with such devout joy, as in this year of Jubilee. It is said,—but one knows not with what truth, so false are all the writers who deal with his memory,—that when messengers from Albert of Austria came to the Pope, Boniface met them with the crown on his head and a bare sword in his right hand, and saluted them with the words, 'I, I am Caesar, I am the true Emperor³'; and therefore supreme over all princes of the earth.' Certain it is that from this time his claims grew more extreme, his language more violent; he seems to have

¹ See above, p. 349.

² The position of Boniface is well summed up in Milman's *Latin Christianity*, bk. 11. chap. 9.

³ He is even said to have used the words, 'all power is given unto me in heaven and in earth.'

been dazzled by the scene, and to have thought that what he saw proved that the Papacy still had its roots deep in the heart of the people.

Soon after the close of the year of Jubilee the Pope named Bernard Saisset, Bishop of Pamiers, a city which he had but lately erected into an episcopal see, as his legate to the King's Court. It was an unlucky choice. Saisset was a rash and violent man, instinct with the hereditary hatred of Languedoc for the French masters of the South. He did not hide his mind, and at the same time tried to rouse the Count of Foix and other Southerners to revolt against the King. Wherefore the King set his lawyers on him, and had him arrested at Pamiers. The King must have felt very sure of his ground; for he employed an ecclesiastic to take him prisoner. His trial was pressed on, under the guidance of Peter Flotte¹. In January 1301 came out a Bull in which the Pope spared no hard words towards the King; and endeavoured to stir up the slumbering enmity which existed between the North and South of France, by affirming 'that the Gallic people had ever been hostile to the Tolosan language, nor had done good to the men of Toulouse, but ever evil, and had bereft them of their property, and that the King himself did so.' And this was presently followed by three several documents², all of one date (December 5, 1301), the first of which summoned all ecclesiastics to Rome, and used unmeasured language as to the King's conduct; the second also summoned all Doctors of Theology and Masters of Canon Law to Rome, as though he would marshal the Church lawyers against those of the State; and the third was the famous Bull, entitled '*Ausculat fili*.' This Bull, which censured the King in no measured terms, and took up the position that the Pope was far above all

¹ *Preuves de l'Histoire du Diff.* pp. 621-662. It is said that Flotte was sent to Rome to insist on Saisset's condemnation, and had a stormy interview with the Pope. The Pope is reported to have said, 'My power, the spiritual power, embraces and limits the temporal.' To which Flotte made reply—'It may be so; but your power is *verbal*, while that of my King is *real*.' The whole is probably a fiction.

² *Preuves de l'Histoire du Diff.* pp. 48-54.

kings, was read in all its harshness to Philip; the King, filled with scorn and anger at its audacity, had it solemnly burnt: he banished from the kingdom the Nuncio who had brought it as well as the Bishop of Pamiers; thus putting an end to the lesser quarrel which had small importance by the side of the greater struggle now coming to its crisis.

It was probably at this moment (though the date is uncertain), that those two extraordinary documents, the Little Bull and its Answer, were drawn up at Paris and circulated through France. No one will now defend the genuineness of the Little Bull; though there seems to be no doubt that it appeared about this time. The sharp brevity of the document is itself strong presumption against its genuineness; as is also the fact that it is not among those Bulls which were afterwards annulled by Clement V. The two documents, each a few lines long, were simply an appeal to public opinion in France—a strange appeal, indicating, whatever their influence might be, that all the old reverence for the Papal name was dying out. The Little Bull itself bears the same date as the great 'Ausculta, fili' Bull; and may have been intended as a résumé of the claims set forth in it; it certainly gave emphatic expression to the Papal doctrine that the King was subject to the Pope in temporals as much as in spirituals. The mock reply was so coarse and brutal, that, had the tone of feeling not changed immensely in France, it would have been regarded as a blasphemy:—as it was, it passed without a protest. It opens thus: 'Philip . . . to Boniface, who makes himself out to be Sovereign Pontiff, little or no greeting. Be it known to thy supreme idiocy that we are subject to no man in things temporal:' and then echoing the close of the Little Bull, it ends with the words, 'Such as think otherwise we count to be fools and madmen.'

Men's minds being thus prepared, the King took the bold step of throwing himself on the patriotism of the country, and, in the April of 1302 called together the Estates of France, that they might take cognisance of the quarrel. On the day for

which they were summoned, 'the birthday of the nation,' as it has been pretentiously called, the Three Estates of France, the nobility, the clergy, and the burghers, met at Paris, and, sitting separately, considered the King's griefs. Thither came 'prelates, barons, chapters, conventual bodies, colleges, communities, and universities' of the cities of the realm, with masters in theology, and professors of either law, and other learned and grave persons of divers parts and realms². Each body drew up an address to be forwarded to Rome. That of the towns was sure to be favourable enough to the royal side; the actual document is lost. The letters of the nobles and clergy are extant. That of the barons is addressed to the cardinals, and is couched in sharp rough terms, hinting that Boniface is an usurper seated on the Papal throne, and declaring that they do not seek redress of their griefs from the Pope but from their Lord the King. Very different in style and terms was the letter of the clergy, though in the main it was of like significance. Ecclesiastics were naturally much embarrassed by their position between the spiritual and the temporal powers. They applied for permission to obey the Papal summons to a council at Rome. The King and the barons refused their request; and they were made to know that if they went their goods would be liable to seizure—and seizure in Philip's time meant irreparable loss.

The Pope's reply, which was sent without delay (June 28, 1302), was gentle in tone, and again drew the old distinction, as to the subjection of the King to the Church, 'in matters of sin.' In a consistory held a little later he broke forth into violent language against Peter Flotte—'a man of Belial, a man half blind in body, and quite blind in soul;' and ended by a threat that he would, unless the King repented of his ways, 'chastise him like a child³.' The Pope knew not at that moment that he was

¹ These 'Universities' are the Communes of Southern cities, not the learned bodies.

² The Continuator of William of Nangis, sub. ann. 1302.

³ Or, depose him like a *groom*, 'deponeremus Regem sicut unum garcionem.' Regnaldus, sub ann. 1302.

already partly avenged of his enemies. The French had made themselves as hateful in Flanders as they had been in Sicily: and a new 'Sicilian Vespers' had befallen them at Bruges¹. Then Flanders burst into open revolt. The news of this mishap must have reached Paris a few days before the meeting of the States General: and directly their work was done, the barons set forth, eager to punish the Flemish, and to sack their brimming cities. Peter Flotte went with them. Near Courtrai they came up with the Flemish footmen, a force of about twenty thousand, led by William of Juliers. This army of burghers and artisans knew that retreat was impossible; the French cavalry would have instantly cut them in pieces. So they boldly determined to face their oppressors, and took up a position behind a narrow canal, deep, with level banks, not seen at a little distance. Guy of Namur² and his nephew William of Juliers, while they waited, conferred knighthood on Peter Koning and forty leading citizens; and then with their Belgian and German followers the two leaders sent their horses to the rear, and made ready to fight afoot, on equal terms with the Flemish. Meanwhile the French knights, full of their accustomed vanity, recklessness, and insubordination, put spurs to horse, making much dust, and coming on apace to crush the burgher-folk they so despised. For haste and dust they saw nothing of the canal till it was too late to pull up, and in they went; then those behind pushed those before, and followed them, till the flower of French chivalry lay a helpless heap, crushed and drowning in the mud. The Flemish men-at-arms crossed the water on either flank, and fell on the disordered army. The rear fled in uttermost panic. Robert of Artois with his men alone tried to stay the fortunes of the day; but in vain. He fell, pierced with many wounds.

The citizens, who, for lack of arms and horses, could scarcely have stood against the barded chivalry, were brave enough

¹ March 24, 1302.

² Guy of Namur was nephew of the imprisoned Count, Guy of Dampierre, and was fighting on his behalf.

on an equal field, and merciless. They spared no man, and knocked the barons and knights of France on the head like bullocks: the carnage was terrible; four thousand gilt spurs—some say even seven thousand—were hung up in Courtrai Cathedral¹. Thus perished the foremost men of France in a ditch. Terrible as this mishap seemed at the moment, it was not the King of France who was the loser. On the contrary, the death of so many lords of fiefs left him at leisure to pursue his plans for lifting the kingly power far above feudalism. The turbulent noblesse, which had thus ruined itself by careless insubordination², was now no match for the cold King with his men of law. Boniface, however, hearing this, rejoiced. He did not discern the ultimate meaning of it, and thought that he might now take his enemy in his weakness. The bishops thought the same. Forty-five of them, on the news of the disaster, set forth for Rome. The King, who marched into Flanders with a strong army, found himself unable to make head against the insurgents, and 'returned to France without any glory³.' From the other end of the realm came tidings of the revolt of Bordeaux, and the English King seemed likely to interfere.

And now at Rome the famous decretal, 'Unam Sanctam', was proclaimed before the assembled bishops (18th Nov. 1302); in it the claims of the Papacy were asserted in unmeasured terms. It forms the high-water mark of Papal pretensions; declares that the spiritual power ought to judge the temporal, while God alone can judge the spiritual. It was followed by a general excommunication of all who should lay hands on or despoil those who might go to Rome; a threat evidently intended for the protection of the forty-five French bishops. For a moment Philip seemed to lose confidence: his reply

¹ Eighty years later Charles VI saw these trophies, and massacred the grandchildren of the victors of the Day of the Spurs.

² We have seen before, at the battle of Mansourah, how undisciplined were these gallant lords of France.

³ Continuator of William of Nangis, sub ann. 1302.

⁴ Preuves du Diff. p. 54.

was timid, apologetic, weak. The Pope saw it, and hastened to strike his last blow. He summoned the King to speak out more clearly and amend the past; he threatened him with excommunication and the deposition that was understood to follow in its train (13th April, 1303). But, before this terrible Bull had left Rome, the King had recovered heart. He had (12th March, 1303) again called together his Parliament, from which a great ordinance was issued, 'for the reformation of the realm.' The proclamation was well received everywhere; liberty was sold to serfs, nobility to citizens: Nogaret also appeared with a series of charges against the Pope, in which he lays down four great points: (1) that Boniface was no Pope, but one who 'came in by another way' (alluding to the abdication of Pope Celestin); (2) that he was a heretic; (3) a simoniacal person; (4) a man of horrible crimes and vices. These are the usual charges, the commonplaces of a faithless and unscrupulous age; and they seem to have rested on no foundation. Yet they doubtless had some weight.

When the Bull of Excommunication reached France it was seized, its bearer imprisoned, the goods of the forty-five prelates confiscated, themselves cited to appear for judgment; the Inquisition was attacked and forbidden to act. The neutrality of Edward I was bought by the cession of Guienne. The Parliament was again called on in June to hear an entirely new and still more violent series of charges, drawn up by Plaisian, knight and lord of Vezénoble, who was backed by all the power of the nobles. And next, the King declared that he appealed from all the bulls of Boniface to a General Council, and to the Pope who should be elected in his stead: even the high clergy of France supported this appeal. Nogaret was at this time in Italy: he was instructed to lodge the appeal with Boniface, and to make it public in Rome. The Pope, who was at Anagni, his native place, for the summer heats, rejoined by fixing the 8th of September as the day on which France would be laid under Interdict and her King declared to be excommunicated.

Nogaret now laid his plans with Sciarra Colonna, the most turbulent of Italians, the family foe of Boniface, who burnt to avenge his fathers on the aged Pontiff. Several hundred soldiers were hired, led by Rinaldi da Supino, the captain of Ferentino, the neighbour-town and, after Italian fashion, the rival to Anagni. On the morning of the 7th of September the conspirators entered Anagni; its captain, Arnulfi, had been bought by French gold. Instead of resisting, Arnulfi allowed the people to sack the cardinals' houses and the Papal treasure. Boniface, undefended, fell into the hands of his foes. He showed a firmness and dignity worthy of his position and character. Colonna would fain have slain him at once, had not Nogaret interposed: he is said to have struck the old man in the face with his mailed hand till the blood came¹. Nogaret also heaped abuse on him. They allowed none of his attendants to be with him. He was set on a horse, with his face to the tail, and so carried to prison. For two days he neither ate nor drank, for fear of poison. Then the people of Anagni could bear it no longer: they rose and drove out the soldiers, and delivered the aged Pontiff. The Romans too had tidings of the outrage, and sent out their militia to bring him safely back. His return was a triumphal march. Even then he found the French party in the ascendant in Rome, and was again almost a prisoner. This was more than he could bear. Worn out with weight of years, with the terrible trials of the last few days, and the privations he had suffered, on this last mortification he gave way, and died². Strange and malignant tales were told of his last moments: the horrors which were thought to people monkish brains alone, seemed now to have found place in the minds of hard cold lawyers. They grouped portents round his deathbed; they declared that he died furious, without the last consolations of the faith. Nor did the hatred of his foes leave him even there; for years his memory was pursued with bitter zeal by the King and his lawyers—it was part of their ghastly triumph that they should also seek to destroy the character of the dead.

¹ Chron. de S. Denis.

² At the age of eighty-six.

Ambitious, unforgiving, untrue, the great Pope had been withal a noble figure; he was the last champion of the ages of chivalry, fighting to the death against the new life of a new age. And from his fall dates the true beginning of the medieval monarchy, that absolute Kingship of which France has given to Europe the first and the grandest specimen, and from which France has also freed herself, with the convulsions of a revolution, and the risks of an imperial despotism. The Papal dream of universal monarchy crumbled to the ground, and left the nations to work out their destinies after their kind.

The cardinals elected an able and good man, Benedict XI, as Pope. He began his reign prudently and firmly; and it seemed as if he might be destined to repair the breaches made by the terrible contest we have just depicted. But, even as he was preparing his measures to defend the memory of Boniface, when he had reigned but nine months, he suddenly sickened and died. All men deemed that he had perished by poison.

Meanwhile King Philip had won in Flanders the sterile victory of Mons-en-Puelle (A.D. 1304): finding then that the Flemings were raising another army with all the obstinacy of the race, he gave up the struggle and made peace, recognising the independence of Flanders, and retaining only his feudal lordship. The eldest son of Count Guy did him homage; and Flanders, with the exception of two or three frontier towns, passed away from France.

In truth, the interests of the King lay in another direction. He had discovered that he must keep a steady hand on the Papacy, or it might yet work him woe; and he laid his plans to that end. The unexpected death of Benedict XI now gave him his opportunity. The Conclave was evenly balanced, and nine months slipped by without an election. The Guelfic Gaetani, the friends and relations of Boniface, neutralised the Ghibeline Colonnas, who were the friends of France. At last the Colonnas proposed that the Gaetani party should nominate three, not of their own number, as candidates, one of whom they promised to elect within forty days. They

consented, and picked out three prelates, known friends of their party and foes to Philip. The Colonnas then sent the three names to the King, advising him to make terms with Bertrand de Goth, Archbishop of Bordeaux, a subject of the English King and foe to the French, and to choose him as Pope. The King sought an interview with the Archbishop, and hung before the Gascon's dazzled eyes the grand prize, promising it to him on certain conditions. Let us name them as they are handed down to us, without saying whether they are matters of fact, or were invented after the career of the Pontiff had shown that he was somehow tied down to the King. They say he agreed (1) to reconcile the King with the Church; (2) to absolve the King's agents; (3) to grant him a tithe on the property of the clergy of France for five years; (4) to reinstate the Colonnas, and to make some French cardinals, to be named by the King; (5) to censure the conduct of Boniface: it is said that he also agreed to a sixth condition, the terms of which have never been revealed; some have thought it referred to his residence in Avignon, others to the destruction of the Templars, others to a promise of the imperial crown for Charles of Valois. To all these things is Bertram said to have bound himself by solemn oath and hostages given: and thereupon, within the forty days, he was duly elected Pope, and took the name of Clement V. The cardinals were summoned to Lyons for the consecration; they came unwillingly, knowing that the wily King had duped them. The new Pope was consecrated in the Church of St. Just, in the Castle at Lyons, which part of the city then belonged to France; and, after the ceremony, he mounted on horseback, with the King at his bridle. Outside the castle gate Philip gave up the rein to the Counts of Valois and Evreux, and to the Duke of Brittany—fortunately for him, for a high wall, brought down by the weight of the crowd that thronged it, fell on the procession. The new-made Pope was thrown from his horse, his tiara broken; the Duke of Brittany and one of the Pope's brothers were killed on the spot, the Count of Valois severely wounded; many others suffered. Thus gloomily opened the

new era of the Papacy, in which, as Walsingham says, the Church was judged by Pope and King, like the Lord between Herod and Pilate. The King held the Pontiff captive in France; the Pope revenged himself by passing from city to city with a following of courtiers, who ate up the land, and caused grievous scandal by their shameless lives, the Pope not less shameless than the rest. The Church was even more degraded and humiliated by this spectacle of luxury and sin, than by the manifest subjection of the Pontiff. Even Philip himself had to interfere; it seemed as though his prisoner was like to eat up all the wealth in the land.

And now Clement began to pay the price of his elevation. He cancelled the obnoxious Bulls; the King's instruments were pardoned; after a time, even Nogaret, though reluctantly. Nine French cardinals were made, so as to secure the King's influence in the Conclave; some of them men who had been professors of civil law, in order to make weight against the Canonists. In the spring-time of 1307 the King met the Pope at Poitiers, on pretence of arranging for a crusade to place Charles of Valois on the throne of Constantinople, and to recover the Holy City: the true object of the meeting was to press on the Pope the condemnation of the memory of Boniface, and the overthrow of the Templars. As to the former, Clement escaped by referring the matter to a council to be held at Vienne on the Rhone; as to the Templars, proof was demanded of their crimes; and thus the Pontiff hoped to win a little time. In the former case he escaped from being compelled to act. To have condemned Boniface as a false Pope would have been to render null all his acts, to make his cardinals no cardinals, their election of himself no election, himself no Pope. The whole fabric of the Church seemed to be shaken; and men remembered the broken wall of Lyons, and the Pontiff fallen in the dust.

III. THE EPOCH OF THE TEMPLARS, A.D. 1304-1314.

The Templars he could not save from the fearful doom which awaited the order.

In 1118 nine knights took possession of a house near the Temple at Jerusalem, and called themselves its Knights Defenders. They lived on alms, in simple poverty, following the usual vows of chastity, purity, humility. They wore a white cloak with a red cross on it: their dress and rules were fixed at the Synod of Troyes. Gifts soon rolled in upon them, land and goods. Ere long their numbers began to increase swiftly, their wealth more swiftly still, till their income rivalled that of kings. With wealth came luxury and pride. When the Holy Land fell completely into Mahomedan hands on the loss of Acre in 1291, they abandoned the hopeless task, and settled in Cyprus. By the end of the thirteenth century they had almost all returned to Europe. They were peculiarly strong and wealthy in France—the strength and wealth were alike dangerous to them. In Paris they built their fortress, the Temple, over against the King's palace of the Louvre; and in that stronghold the King himself had once to take refuge from the angry Parisian mob, exasperated by his heavy extortions. During the life and death struggle with the Papacy, the order had not taken the side of the Church against the sovereign; for their wealth had held them down. Philip, however, knew no gratitude, and they were doomed. A powerful and secret society endangered the safety of the state: their wealth was a sore temptation: there was no lack of rumours. Dark tales came out respecting the habits of the order; tales exaggerated and blackened by the diseased imagination of the age. Popular proverbs, those ominous straws of public opinion, were heard in different lands, hinting at dark vices and crimes. Doubtless the vows of the order, imposed on unruly natures, led to grievous sins against the first laws of moral life. And there was more than this: there were strange rumours of horrible

infidelity and blasphemy; and men were prepared to believe everything.

So no one seemed to be amazed when, in October, 1307, the King made a sudden *coup d'état*, arrested all the Templars in France on the same day, and seized their goods. The Temple at Paris with the Grand Master fell into his hands. Their property was presently placed in the custody of the Pope's nuncios in France; the knights were kept in dark and dismal prisons. Their trial was long and tedious. Two hundred and thirty-one knights were examined, with all the brutality that examination then meant; the Pope also took the depositions of more than seventy. From these examinations what can we learn?

All means were used: some were tortured, others threatened, others tempted with promises of immunity¹. They made confession accordingly; and the ghastly catalogue of their professed ill-doings may be read in the history of the trial. Who shall say what truth there was in it all? Probably little or none. Many confessed and then recanted their confession. The golden image with eyes of glowing carbuncle which they worshipped; the trampling and spitting on the crucifix; the names of Galla and Baphomet; the hideous practices of the initiation;—all these things pass before us, in the dim uncertainty, like some horrible procession of the vices in hell. What the truth was will never be known; the order may have contracted some eastern habits and introduced some eastern ceremonies; probably also the moral condition of the knights was low. At any rate, enough was said, true or false, for the King's purposes; and he urged the Pope definitely to condemn the order. Clement hesitated, temporised, even fled more than once disguised from Poitiers towards Bordeaux. But the wily King was prepared even for this; and he was discovered and brought back. He had weighted himself with several mule-loads of treasure, which he could not bring himself to leave in the King's clutches, and these impeded his flight; otherwise he

¹ See Dupuy, *Procès des Templiers*, p. 161.

might have escaped. In 1309 the King at last allowed him to leave Poitiers: he turned his face southwards, and travelled slowly as far as Avignon. There, in a city destined hereafter to belong to the Holy See the wretched Pope, to whom the King absolutely refused permission to return to Rome, deemed that he had won a little independence, and established his court. Here the Papacy abode, in the grasp of France, for seventy years. Who could resist the name, which seemed so well to suit it, 'the Babylonish Captivity'?

The trial of Boniface went on at Avignon, Nogaret and other lawyers insisting on his condemnation; they urged that his body should be exhumed and burnt as that of a heretic. This affair, however, was again suffered to stand over while the trial of the Templars was pressed on.

The knights made a dignified defence in these last moments of their history; they did not flinch either at the terrible prospect before them, or through memory of the tortures which they had undergone. Public opinion, in and out of France, began to stir against the barbarous treatment they had received; they were no longer proud and wealthy princes, but suffering martyrs, showing bravery and a firm front against the cruelties of the King and his lawyers. Marigni, Philip's minister and friend, and the King himself, were embarrassed by the number and firmness of their victims, by the sight of Europe looking on aghast, by the murmurs of the people. Marigni suggested that men who had confessed and recanted might be treated as relapsed heretics, such being the law of the Inquisition, (what irony was here!) and accordingly in 1310 an enclosure was made at Paris, within which fifty-nine Templars perished miserably by fire. Others were burnt later at Senlis.

The King, not being sure of the Council summoned to meet at Vienne, at last consented to abandon his vindictive attack on the memory of Boniface; and Clement, in return, declared that the King and his counsellors had been actuated by excellent motives in all their conduct towards the late Pope: finally he promised that the Order of the Templars should be

definitely dissolved. The King and Pope worked on the feeble Council, until in March 1312 the abolition of the order was formally decreed; and its chief property, its lands and buildings, were given over to the Knights of St. John, to be used for the recovery of the Holy Land; 'which thing,' says the Supplementor to William of Nangis, 'came not to pass, but rather the endowment did but make them worse than before.' The chief part of the spoil, as might be well believed, never left the King's hands. One more tragedy, and then all was over. The four heads of the order were still at Paris, prisoners—Jacques de Molai, Grand Master; Guy of Auvergne, the Master of Normandy, and two more. The Pope had reserved their fate in his own hands, and sent a commission to Paris, who were enjoined once more to hear the confession of these dignitaries, and then to condemn them to perpetual captivity. But at the last moment the Grand Master and Guy publicly retracted their forced confessions, and declared themselves and the order guiltless of all the abominable charges laid against them. Philip was filled with devouring rage. Without further trial or judgment he ordered them to be led that night to the island in the Seine¹; there they were fastened to the stake and burnt.

Philip's dark reign was now drawing to a close; and the last year was the darkest of all. The wives of his three sons were accused of loose lives. Jeanne of Burgundy, with whom Philip of Poitiers expected to receive the heritage of Franche-Comté, was spared; doubtless the prospect of losing this fair province weighed with the King: but the two others, Margaret, Queen of Navarre, and Blanche, wife of Charles, were condemned to languish out the miserable term of their lives in close prison. Their lovers were put to death, with every conceivable detail of cruelty.

The nation could abide it no longer. Nobles and burghers made league together; the King's oppressions touched them all,

¹ Where now the statue of Henri IV stands. Martin, *Histoire des Français*, 4. 505, note.

his cold cruelty was a disgrace to them all. We see in this last year of Philip's reign a first confederation in France against the crushing weight of royal tyranny, and at the head of the document drawn up by the two orders, we read the venerable name of the Seneschal of Champagne, the aged Sire of Joinville, now hard on a hundred years old. It was as if the shade of St. Louis came forth to rebuke his unworthy grandson.

Philip was amazed and overwhelmed; an accident out hunting shook his health; anxiety forbade his recovery, and in November 1314 he expired at Fontainebleau, at the early age of forty-six years. Yet he had seemed to have reigned an age. It was like the red setting of a hot and angry sun amidst banks of tempestuous cloud.

His reign saw some additions to the French territory. In 1286 Edward I of England ceded Le Quercy; in 1292 Bigorre fell in by a legal decision; in 1295 Valenciennes at one edge of the realm, and Montpellier at the other, were incorporated in France¹: the greatest accession of all was that of the 'second city of France,' Lyons, which was absorbed into the kingdom in 1312. That city had had many wooers: the Emperor, the Archbishop, the Chapter, and the King of France, (to say nothing of the Count of Forez and the civic authorities,) all had rights over her; and in the midst of their rival suzerainties she had maintained a kind of independence. But in this year (A.D. 1312) a quarrel broke out between the two banks of the Rhone; between the archbishop and the citizens; the French garrison of St. Just fomenting their quarrels. At last archbishop and burghers made peace, and together attacked the King's folk. Whereon Louis le Hutin, the King's eldest son, was sent against them with a strong army; and the place gave way. The archbishop was sent to Paris, and made submission: and thus Lyons once more became a Gallic city.

It is needless to draw the odious character of the King. It can be seen in his every act, in the whole chronicle of his reign.

¹ Some put these additions in the year 1349.

CHAPTER XI.

The Three Sons of Philip le Bel, A.D. 1314-1328.

I. LOUIS X, 'THE QUARRELSOME,' A.D. 1314-1316.

PHILIP died in the beginning of a strong reaction against absolutism; and his eldest son, Louis le Hutin, the Quarrelsome, the Wrangler, twenty-five years old, was a mere child in sense, unfit to cope with this new difficulty. A thriftless and frivolous person, he was little fit to rule over France, his father's kingdom, and Navarre, which he held by right of his mother; he thought only of amusement in tournament and court, and left the business of the realm to his uncle Charles of Valois.

Now Charles of Valois, ambitious, turbulent and empty, was only too ready to be the instrument of the reaction. Did this not mean vengeance on the man who had stood in his way? Enguerrand of Marigni, 'the other King,' only a poor Norman gentleman by birth, who had wielded the power of the realm while Charles was chasing bubbles over Europe, and on whom accordingly the ill-will of the past reign had fallen, was seized and tried at the Temple by the young King himself; Charles acting the part of accuser with urgent malignity¹. The fallen minister was not allowed to defend himself: even the wish of Louis that he should be banished was set aside; he

¹ Johannes de S. Victore, in Dom Bouquet, tom. 21, p. 660, where there is a hostile account of the last days of the minister. The anonymous continuator of this chronicle tells us that when Charles was on his death-bed 'he had great repentance for the death of Enguerrand de Marigni'; and at a dole given after his death this was said to the poor: 'Pray for Monseigneur Enguerrand and for M. Charles,' thus putting Marigni's name before that of the prince.—Continuation de la Chronique de Jean de S. Victoire, Dom Bouquet, tom. 21. 686.

A.D. 1314. THE FALL OF ENGUERRAND MARIGNI. 383

was hung, like a thief, with great indignity. His death was the signal that the feudal interests had recovered the ascendancy. The noblesse, following its fatal instincts, forthwith broke its ranks; each man seeking the old lawless independence, with no care of public liberties, nor of anything save its seignorial courts and private wars, and trial by battle. And thus the aristocracy of France missed its opportunity. It might have moved side by side with the nobles of England. The moment the pressure of Philip's strong hand was off them they abandoned their league with the burghers, and sought only to return to their congenial state of chaos. The appeal to the 'constitutions of St. Louis' were in many mouths: it was a good cry; though the meaning now attached to those words would never have been allowed by the good King; for those who used them wanted nothing but the dissolution of the kingdom. No wonder if even the folly of Louis X grew alarmed. Monarchy was reduced to great weakness, concession followed concession; the nobles seemed likely to leave him nothing but the shadow of power.

Then came out one of those documents which seem like lightning-flashes in the darkness. The King was forced to seek support; and the lawyer-spirit, though for the moment checked, was far from vanquished. The legists clearly modelled this ordinance on the Roman Law; and it is notable as containing a first distinct declaration of that principle which afterwards became the guiding line of the constitutional changes in France; the principle that 'every man according to the law of nature ought to be born free'. It was but a step to add the words 'and equal.' Still it would seem that the King's aim was little beyond the desire to open a new vein of contribution. For this act, after its grand opening, sinks down into a mere permission to serfs to purchase their freedom for good and solid considerations.

He wanted cash to fight the Flemings with; he did all in his

¹ Ord. des Rois, 1, p. 583, July 1315: 'Comme selon le droit de nature chacun doit naistre franc.'

power to destroy commerce, by those foolish regulations which we so often meet with; by taxing the merchants, forbidding all dealings with the Flemish, &c. He went on campaign as far as the Lys; there the heavy rains conquered him, and he withdrew again to France, 'not without much inconvenience and some disgrace'.¹ In this year, too, and the next (A.D. 1315, 1316), great distress and famine fell on France. And in the midst of all this weakness and misery, the King at Vincennes, 'as if he had been a boy, played at ball and got very hot, then indiscreetly went down into a cold cellar and drank wine without stint; whereof the coldness penetrated to his vitals, and he took to his bed and died in June 1316',² leaving one daughter, Jeanne, and his Queen with child.

And now arose a great question; who should succeed to the throne? If the Queen bore a son, the matter would settle itself; if a daughter, would Jeanne become Queen, or would the crown pass to Philip of Poitiers, the late King's brother. The barons of France at once seized on the reins of government, and the royal power seemed for the moment suspended. But Philip returned from Lyons, where he had been making a Pope, John XXII, a worldly, immoral creature of the French crown. The barons named him Regent of France and Navarre till the Queen should have a child; if that child was a boy, that then Philip should still be Regent for eighteen years; if the babe was a girl, then the two princesses should take Navarre, Champagne and Brie, abandoning all claim to France; and Philip should be proclaimed King. This was not to be carried out till they were of age to act; when, if they refused to give up their claim on the French throne, right should be done them therein; in that case, Navarre and Champagne would not longer be secured to them. Philip, in the interval, was to act as governor of all, France, Navarre, and Champagne.³

¹ E. Hor. *Chronicon Bernardi Guidonis*, Dom Bouquet, tom. 21, p. 725.

² *Johannes de S. Victore*, Dom Bouquet, tom. 21, p. 663.

³ Hallam, *Middle Ages*, chap. 1, p. 1 (vol. 1, pp. 41, 42; ed. 1846).

The question could not thus be settled without some debate. If women could everywhere succeed to fiefs, and if the crowns of Europe were, in theory, fiefs of the Empire, then surely a queen might sit on the French throne. On the other hand, it was felt that this powerful monarchy, the lord even of the Papacy, could not really be under feudal subjection to the Empire; and that the question must be settled by other considerations. One would have thought that the barons would take care that the regency should continue, and the power of the crown be weakened by being placed on a woman's brow.

II. PHILIP V, 'LE LONG,' OR 'THE TALL.' A.D. 1316-1322.

The Queen bore a son, who was named John; but in seven days he died. Then Philip, holding that this boy by being born freed him from the barons' engagement, and by dying had found him his opportunity, broke faith at once with his defenceless niece, hastened to Rheims, filled the Cathedral with his own followers, and compelled the archbishop to consecrate him King. Thence he returned to Paris, assembled the citizens, and, in the presence of a great concourse of barons and notables of the realm, declared that no female could succeed to the crown of France.¹

Thus began the so-called Salic Law of France, through the determined violence of an unscrupulous man. The lawyers round the throne, seeking to give to the act of might the sanction of right, bethought them of that passage in the law of the Salian Franks which declares 'That no part or heritage of Salic land can fall to a woman';² and it is from this that the law obtained the name of 'the Salic Law.'

Great and obvious as were the advantages of a male succession in earlier times, it may be a question whether France was

¹ The continuator to Nangis, p. 222. Hallam doubts this statement.

² The text of this law (tit. 42. 6) runs thus: 'De terra vero Salica nulla portio haereditatis mulieri veniat, sed ad virilem sexum tota terrae haereditas perveniat.' Or in the *Pactum Legis Salicae*, tit. 6. 2. § 6, 'De terra vero Salica in mulierem nulla portio haereditatis transit, sed hoc virilis sexus acquirit: h. e. filii in ipsa haereditate succedunt.'

the happier for the series of Queen-Regents which it entailed, or for the exclusion of that sex which in certain conditions of society seems to be especially fitted for the throne. England, at least, need not regret her freedom from this law. The Queens of England take rank among the noblest and wisest of her sovereigns: and in our days a Queen has reigned during the happiest period of our country's history.

Thus Philip V, surnamed 'le Long,' the Tall, seized the throne. His short reign was dark and evil. There is no lack of ordinances and activity: but society was plunged too deep in evils of old growth to be cured. The Franciscans, who had already shown signs of passing away from the orthodox creed, now attacked the flagrant vices of the Pope and his court, and preached 'a Gospel of the Holy Ghost,' and a return to the primitive simplicity of the early Church. Persecution at once set in; and though the people took their side, the order had at last to place itself under the shield of Louis of Bavaria, whom the Pope refused to recognise.

The angry and down-trodden people, excited by the friars, rose with great violence, demanding to be led to the Holy Land. They committed the usual excesses; pillaged churches and castles, and fell on the Jews; and were suppressed without difficulty. Horrid rumours of magic now filled the air; the lepers, a race by themselves, were accused of sorcery, and of poisoning wells in order that all men might become lepers like themselves. They were seized, and slain, or burnt, or shut up for life in lazaret-houses. Then came the Jews' turn: they were attacked by every one as confederates of the lepers; many of them too were burnt, and their wealth taken for a prey¹.

And then the King, having worked this woe, was smitten with death in the year 1322, at the early age of thirty.

¹ Johannes a S. Victore, Dom Bouquet, tom. 21, p. 673.

* III. CHARLES IV, 'THE FAIR.' A.D. 1322-1328.

Philip V had made a law against his brother's daughters; now his brothers used that law against his daughters; his four girls were set aside, and the Count of La Marche, the youngest of the three sons of Philip le Bel, was crowned as Charles IV, 'the Fair.'

His reign was brief and unimportant: the direct line of the Capetian Kings was dying out in obscurity. There were a few ordinances; one or two illustrate the still growing power of the lawyers; some slight hostilities take place in the South against the English in Guienne; there is an ambitious but unimportant demonstration against Louis of Bavaria, who despised the Papal excommunication, and set up as Antipope a Franciscan friar, who, following the tradition of his order, called himself the 'Pope of the Poor.' And now the strange feebleness which had brought the others to their graves, smote Charles the Fair in 1328. He called Philip of Valois to his bedside, appointed him guardian to his Queen, and, if she bore a son, then also of the boy: if it were a girl, then 'the twelve peers of France and the high barons should consult as to the succession, and give the crown to him who had the right thereto¹.' The child was a girl. 'And thus, in less than thirteen years, perished all the noble and fair lineage of the Fair King, whereat all marvelled much: but God knoweth the cause thereof, not we².'

So ended the last son of Philip the Fair: smitten, so public rumour held, even as his father and his brothers had been smitten, by the curse of the dying Templars.

Then the barons, joining with 'the notables of Paris and the good towns,' considered who should be made King. It lay between Philip, Count of Valois, first cousin of the three last

¹ Froissart, chap. 49 (ed. Lettenhove, I, c. 3, p. 10).

² 'Et ainssinc toute la noble lignie et belle du Biau roy trespasa en moins de xiii ans, dont tuit orent grant merveille; mès Diex scet la cause, laquelle nous ne savons.'—Continuation de la Chron. de Jean de S. Victoire, Dom Bouquet, tom. 21, p. 688.

Kings, son of Charles, younger brother of Philip le Bel, on one side, and on the other side, Edward III of England, who was the son of Isabelle of France, Philip le Bel's daughter¹.

They decided against Edward of England on these grounds; to which there seems no reply.

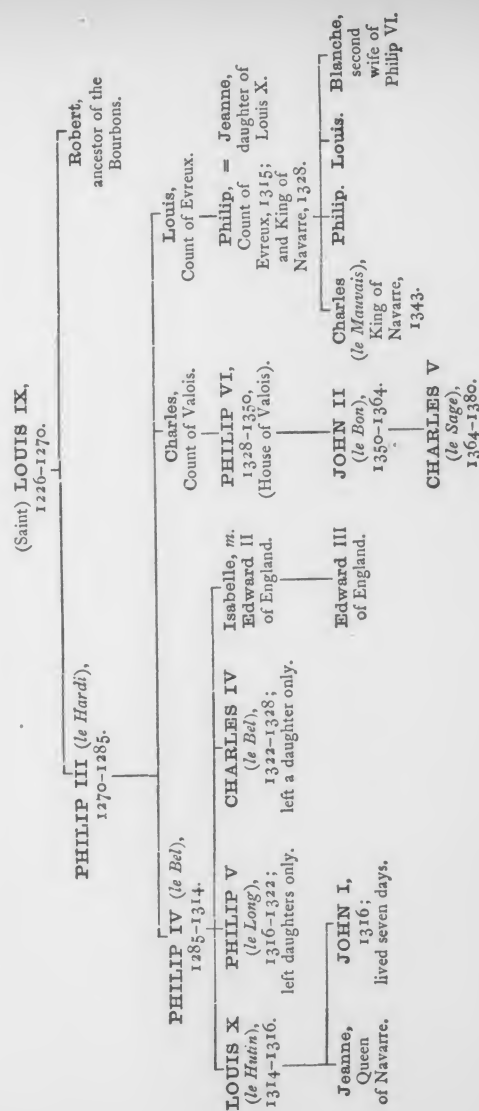
By the 'Salic Law' Isabelle and her heirs were excluded from the succession; and even supposing the Salic Law not to exist, then there stood before him Jeanne, Queen of Navarre, daughter of Louis X, three daughters of Philip IV, and one of Charles the Fair. If however he urged his distinction, that, 'though females could not succeed, their male issue could,' this would also be of no avail to him: for, in that case, Charles 'the Bad,' Count of Evreux, son of Jeanne, the daughter of Louis X, had a claim to the throne at least as good as that of Edward of England. Therefore they gave the crown to Philip of Valois: and a new line of sovereigns dates from this moment².

We bid farewell with regret to the direct line which produced princes so great as Hugh Capet, Louis VI, St. Louis, and Philip IV. They had reigned in and illustrated the ages of chivalry, now gone by. They had given form and consistency to the kingdom, and had laid the foundations of that great monarchy, of which France is justly proud; for the monarchy at last was identified with France herself, and, with France, did much to shape the destinies of modern Europe.

¹ It is not quite clear whether Edward made any formal claim to either the regency or the throne. Froissart (ed. Lettenhove I, c. 41, pp. 127, 128) says, 'Fu bien nouvelle de Édouwart le jone roi d'Engleterre, fil de sa serour, mais la querelle fut debatue et point longuement soutenue, car li douse per de France dissent et encore dient que la couronne de France est de si noble condition qu'elle ne puet venir par nulle succession à femelle, ne à fil de femelle.'

² See Genealogical Chart on next page.

TABLE XII.—THE SUCCESSION TO THE FRENCH THRONE.









For the Clarendon Press.

Blades, East & Blades, London.

BOOK IV.

MONARCHY AND FEUDALISM.

PERIOD OF THE 'HUNDRED YEARS WAR.'

A.D. 1328-1453.

CHAPTER I.

The Forebodings of the 'Hundred Years War.'

PHILIP OF VALOIS, newly chosen King of France, was at this time thirty-five years of age. He was a great feudal lord, and the barons doubtless deemed that they had raised one of their peers to the throne, and that he would not fail them. But they mistook their man: for Philip had neither generosity nor justice in him. Cruel and violent, he turned his hand against those who had supported him, as soon as he could stand alone. In his youth he had been rash and hot in tourney and adventure: when he came to man's estate he was still hasty and headstrong: and, worse still, he listened greedily to evil counsel, and preferred it to good¹. The three lords, the Counts of Hainault, Guy of Blois, and Robert of Artois, who had married Philip's three sisters, had taken great pains to win the consent of the barons;

¹ 'Chils rois Phelippes, en son jone temps, avoit esté uns rustes et pour-sievoit joustes et tournois, . . . mais il croit legièrement fol conseil, et, en son air, il fu crueuls et hausters, . . . Chil rois fist en son temps mainte hastieve justice.'—Froissart (Lettenhove) I, c. 43, p. 135.

and so he was chosen King, and crowned at Rheims with due solemnity. At the same time he promised his cousin, Louis of Flanders, that he would never enter Paris till he had beaten down the pride of the Flemings, who were now in full revolt against their senseless count. So he sent forth his summons at once, gathered a great host of feudal lords, who rejoiced in the thought of Flemish spoil, and marched to Arras, and thence onwards into Flanders. He pitched his tent under the hill of Cassel 'with the fairest and greatest host in the world' around him. The Flemish, under Claus Dennequin, lay on the hill-top: thence they came down all unawares in three columns on the French camp in the evening, and surprised the King at supper, and all but took him. The French soon recovered from the surprise; 'for God would not consent that lords should be discomfited by such ruffraff¹:' they slew the Flemish Captain Dennequin, and of the rest but few escaped²; 'for they deigned not to flee,' so stubborn were those despised weavers of Flanders. This little battle, with its great carnage of Flemish, sufficed to lay all Flanders at the feet of its count. They all swore homage anew to him: and the King, having fulfilled his promise, thanked and dismissed his host, and, accompanied by the King of Bohemia and the King of Navarre, entered Paris with great pomp, and there held high state and show with his Queen: who, it may be added, was a woman not likely to lead the King into good ways³.

Thus the opening of the reign was successful and splendid. The feudal lords were full of goodwill for one who had shown himself ready to wipe out the old stain of their disgrace at Courtrai, and in whom they innocently thought they saw the triumph of their interests: his cousins reigned in Naples and Hungary: a group of lesser kings, Bohemia, Navarre, Majorca, Scotland, gave lustre to his throne: even the youthful King of

¹ Froissart (Lettenhove), I, c. 42, p. 133.

² They went down 16,000 strong, and left 13,000 dead on the field.

³ 'Trop male et périlleuse fu celle roine de France, . . . et aussi elle morut de male mort.'—Froissart (Lettenhove), I, c. 43, p. 135.

England did not venture to refuse his homage for Guienne and Ponthieu. With ordinary good faith and ability, Philip might have strengthened and bettered his kingdom, and have averted the evils impending over it. But he had no wisdom; and his reign was the great beginning of woes for his people.

When the French King and the twelve peers, in the fair church of Amiens, met the English King with his barons and prelates, it is said that Edward refused to put his hands into Philip's hands, and did homage only with mouth and word¹: and that he declared that he was willing to swear it 'so far forth as he was holden'; that he must refer matters in dispute to his Parliament at Westminster; and that he could not do anything which it forbade². The French King did not press the boy: either, as Froissart says, because he was keen to go to the Crusade³, and to take Edward with him in his train; or because he thought that any act of homage whatever was so much gain, so far as it might seem finally to close the question as to Edward's right to the succession. A Parliament was then duly held in England on the homage question, which was discussed till 1331; at the end of that time the King was advised to write a letter under his great seal, acknowledging his duty to do homage 'such as he ought to do'. Edward followed it up by a hasty visit to Paris, during which all the difficulties between the two sovereigns, uncle and nephew, seemed to be smoothed away.

Not long after this Robert of Artois, grandson of that Count of Artois who had perished at Courtrai, the King's brother-in-law, and 'the man of all the world who had most helped the King to attain to the crown and heritage,' thought that his time for repayment was come; and submitted to Philip his old claim to his grandsire's inheritance. This domain had been left by the old count to his daughter; and the claims of Robert, as

¹ 'De bouce et de parole tant seullement,'—Froissart (Lettenhove), I, c. 45, p. 142.

² Ibid.

³ Philip took the Cross in 1337, but did not go; partly, because of the imminent war with England; partly, because the Pope would not promise him the imperial crown and certain other demands he made.

⁴ Froissart (Lettenhove), I, c. 46, pp. 144, 145.

nearest male heir, had been defeated by the interested views of the sons of Philip le Bel. Philip of Valois was as little willing to listen to him as his predecessors had been: and the lawyers declared the documents he produced to be false. He was also accused of using poison to rid himself of his aunt Mahaut and her daughters, who were in possession of the fiefs. Things went so ill with him that he fled to Brussels: there he was accused of having used magical arts to procure the King's death:—the great fear of the age was magic, as we shall see a little later, in the days of Jeanne Darc. He was banished, his goods confiscated; his accomplices were caught and executed. He did not deem himself safe till he had placed the Channel between himself and Philip. As a refugee he was well received by Edward, and fanned the young King's ambition and discontent (A.D. 1334). We shall often see, during this period, how easy it was to pass from one court to the other: the language spoken in both was nearly the same; and there was little or no sense of dishonour connected with a change of allegiance.

Thus did royalty, backed by the lawyers, follow its old course, smiting down the opposition of the feudal nobles: thus did the King lay the foundations of that illwill which hindered him in his struggles against England. And not content with this, he devised measures which tampered with the coin of the realm, and by vexatious restrictions interfered with (and in fact almost stopped) the course of trade throughout France. Thus he alienated the merchants and burghers, and at the same time dried up the sources of his revenue¹. Nothing tended so much to equalise the two competitors for the French throne as the harmony between all classes which had grown up in England, and the discord which prevailed in France.

In this way Philip of Valois made ready to meet the dangers of the great 'Hundred Years War,' which was so soon to break forth upon his shores.

¹ See the note to Lettenhove's *Froissart*, i, p. 177, in which the popular discontent is described.

It is time we sketched the rise of the great rival of Philip, Edward III of England.

At almost the same moment England and France became alike the scenes of a feudal reaction. To England, in 1326, Isabelle of France had come back with her young son; had been welcomed by the barons and bishops, the feudal nobility in Church and State, had overthrown and slain, by their help, the unhappy Edward II and his minion De Spenser; and the kingdom, as we have seen in the young King's appeal to parliament, had fallen almost entirely under the guidance of the feudal lords and the good cities. In France, in 1328, from different causes, the succession to the French throne had been placed in the hands of the great French nobles, who elected the nearest heir, certainly, but still one of their own number.

Here however the parallel ends: the two princes followed very different lines; Philip, a despot, in the midst of a turbulent and ill-affected feudalism; Edward, a popular sovereign, arousing his people to a fresh sense of their national existence, adopting the national language at court, attaching to himself all classes, finding a sphere for the bravery of his nobles, for the constancy and quickness of his yeomen, even for the wildness of his Welsh and Irish followers. In developing the resources of their two countries the two princes again followed opposite lines. Edward threw open his ports to all comers, welcomed them, gave them a home; while Philip continued the old vexatious and ruinous policy of Philip le Bel. Commerce ceased to pass through France: new routes, by Flanders and Germany, or by the Straits of Gibraltar, brought the wealth of the East to the shores of Britain. The incessant fluctuation of the value of coin in France; the uncertainty as to weights and measures; the known rapacity of the Court; all these things strangled trade¹. In every way, as the wealth and strength of England grew, that of France waned. There is some truth in the saying, that 'the secret of the battles of Crécy and Poitiers lies in

¹ Michelet, *Histoire de France*, livre 6, chap. 1.

the counting-houses of London, Bordeaux¹, Bruges.' Soon after his accession, Edward III married Philippa of Hainault, 'a lady tall and straight, wise and gleesome, humble and pious, liberal, courteous, and all her days adorned and decked with every noble virtue, beloved of God and man:' and 'while she lived the realm of England had favour, prosperity, honour, and all good adventures, nor did ever famine or hard times come there all the days of her reign².' Through her influence, and the natural tendencies of the times, there was close relation between England and the Low Countries.

Flanders, in one sense, lies between England and France: and has ever been a battlefield between the two nations. At this time she was commercially dependent on the former: for England supplied her swarming cities with their wool; and these cities, which were her strength, ever gravitated, when rightly advised, towards an English alliance. On the other hand she was attached by feudal relations to France, and her noblesse therefore chose, on the whole, the French side: she was destined naturally enough to be the scene on which the great struggle should begin. Louis, Count of Flanders, in constant feud with the stiff-backed burghers, lived mostly at Paris, in a state of half-expulsion. In 1336, Philip, pursuing his usual policy, persuaded him to arrest the English merchants in Flanders. Edward retaliated by stopping the whole export of wool. And as the wool was all-important to the Flemish, the measure, while it roused them to wish for a French war³, threw the Flemish cities into Edward's hands. Jaquemart van Arteveld of Ghent, then rising to the perilous height of his popularity, persuaded the men of Bruges and Ypres, in spite of the civic jealousy between Bruges and Ghent, to join with him in banishing their hated Count, and

¹ Bordeaux at this time was an English entrepôt.

² Froissart (Lettenhove), I, c. 35, p. 112, and c. 36, p. 113. He can never mention her except in terms of affection and admiration.

³ The Woolsack in the House of Lords bears witness to the early importance of the wool-growing trade of England. This 'wool famine' of 1337 drove many skilled artisans to seek refuge in England, where they could get at the wool. These Flemings did much to advance England's manufacturing greatness.

took steps to make an English alliance. Edward, prudent beyond his years, seemed to fear a war, and appealed to the Pope for mediation: but Philip was bent on fighting; demanded that Robert of Artois, then a refugee in England, should be given up, and got ready for the struggle. He entered into communications with the Scots; beginning that long chain of alliances which long connected France with Scotland in a common hostility to England. It is curious to note that Edward found in Brittany a faint counterpart to Scotland; a disaffected neighbour-land, which he could use to harass his antagonist.

At the moment when Edward is wavering between peace and war, it may be well to consider the strength of the two parties in this great struggle of one hundred and sixteen years, in which the brilliant prize was twice won and twice lost by the English; and in which throughout its earlier scenes the splendour of decaying feudalism casts a glamour over our eyes, till we can scarcely see the truth. The age was fortunate also in Froissart its chronicler, the unrivalled painter of his stirring days. No more vivid writer, no truer poet, has ever lived than the Treasurer of Chimay. To him chivalry owes very much of its popularity with later times. He draws with a graphic pen the picturesque bravery and blazonry, the fluttering pennons and trappings, the grand figures and daring feats of arms, till we are only too glad to forget how hollow all is, and how England won her victories by means of her sturdy common-place yeomen, while chivalrous France was in a state of desolate barbarism, her people sunk in misery. We scarcely hear the sound of those new engines of war, which with terrible voice were beginning to proclaim the downfall of the Middle Ages; cannon, the great leveller, smiting mail-clad baron and trembling serf with an equal fate. Armour and castle-walls were soon to be proved no longer impregnable.

And what had Edward to encourage him in his great enterprise? He set himself to the task of conquering and holding a great and solid kingdom, on the border of which indeed were

independent princedoms, as Brittany, Burgundy, Guienne; but which was recognised as the home of a most warlike and spirited nobility; a country full of great and fenced cities; a kingdom which gave laws to the fallen Papacy, its humble henchman; and which had no small influence on the German Empire; which had grouped round its throne a circle of minor princes and kings. What was it that brought the enterprise so near success, and redeemed King Edward from the charge of presumptuous folly, though it could not prove him wise?

The answer is to be found in the contrast between the two countries. England, though far weaker in men-at-arms, was still at ease and compact. Wales and Ireland were at rest; Scotland was not hard to curb. The King was popular, and had something of that genius which grasps at new methods and wins the first advantage from them. There is no doubt that, whether he used cannon at Crécy or not, Edward made early and important use of the new discovery of gunpowder¹. The barons were closely united to the nation by interest and feeling, and among them were great and brilliant soldiers; above all, the independent yeomen, skilled to draw the bow in daily pastime, resolute, sturdy, strong-limbed, sure of eye and hand, a free and gallant race, were found to be the best soldiers of the age, and proved their prowess in many bloody fields. It was a race, as Froissart tells us, 'exceeding fierce in war, and hot of temper and spirit;' a race, whose heat never brought confusion, nor was their spirit rashness. Behind them stood the burghers of the great merchant-cities whose wealth the King could employ on a war, which in its outset seemed to them destined to draw closer their relations with their chief customers the Flemings. In a word, national life had made great progress in England, and was the strength of the war-

¹ In a splendid but unfinished MS. (now in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford), written and illuminated by Walter de Millemete, a royal chaplain, bearing date of the year 1326, and presented to Edward III at his accession, there is a picture of a man in armour firing cannon on a stand, the field-piece being apparently about four feet long, bottle-shaped (like a Dahlgren gun), and being employed, significantly enough, to batter in the gate of a fortress.

movement. In France, on the other hand, though some steps had been taken towards unity, the classes of society were still far apart. The barons were turbulent and undisciplined, vain and brave to rashness: there was no middle class, except in Paris and a few large cities—nothing at all answering to the English yeomen; the bulk of the people were serfs. The King and his advisers were unwise, rash, ignorant; his army a horde of independent chiefs, each with his own following, each doing his own will. Thus were the two parties somewhat balanced: we shall also see that fortune as well as valour gave the English the advantages they won, and all but enforced that claim which might have made the English Kings the lords of France, and might also have reduced England to the position of a dependency of the mainland kingdom.

This great war may well be divided into five periods. The first ends with the Peace of Bretigny in 1360 (A.D. 1337-1360), and includes the great days of Crécy and Poitiers, as well as the taking of Calais: the second runs to the death of Charles the Wise in 1380; these are the days of Du Guesclin, and the English reverses: the third begins with the renewal of the war under Henry V of England, and ends with the Regency of the Duke of Bedford at Paris, including the field of Azincourt and the Treaty of Troyes (A.D. 1415-1422): the fourth is the epoch of Jeanne Darc, and ends with the second establishment of the English at Paris (A.D. 1428-1431): and the fifth and last runs on to the final expulsion of the English after the Battle of Castillon in 1453. Thus, though it is not uncommonly called 'the Hundred Years War,' the struggle really extended over a period of a hundred and sixteen years.

independent princedoms, as Brittany, Burgundy, Guienne; but which was recognised as the home of a most warlike and spirited nobility; a country full of great and fenced cities; a kingdom which gave laws to the fallen Papacy, its humble henchman; and which had no small influence on the German Empire; which had grouped round its throne a circle of minor princes and kings. What was it that brought the enterprise so near success, and redeemed King Edward from the charge of presumptuous folly, though it could not prove him wise?

The answer is to be found in the contrast between the two countries. England, though far weaker in men-at-arms, was still at ease and compact. Wales and Ireland were at rest; Scotland was not hard to curb. The King was popular, and had something of that genius which grasps at new methods and wins the first advantage from them. There is no doubt that, whether he used cannon at Crécy or not, Edward made early and important use of the new discovery of gunpowder¹. The barons were closely united to the nation by interest and feeling, and among them were great and brilliant soldiers; above all, the independent yeomen, skilled to draw the bow in daily pastime, resolute, sturdy, strong-limbed, sure of eye and hand, a free and gallant race, were found to be the best soldiers of the age, and proved their prowess in many bloody fields. It was a race, as Froissart tells us, 'exceeding fierce in war, and hot of temper and spirit;' a race, whose heat never brought confusion, nor was their spirit rashness. Behind them stood the burghers of the great merchant-cities whose wealth the King could employ on a war, which in its outset seemed to them destined to draw closer their relations with their chief customers the Flemings. In a word, national life had made great progress in England, and was the strength of the war-

¹ In a splendid but unfinished MS. (now in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford), written and illuminated by Walter de Millemete, a royal chaplain, bearing date of the year 1326, and presented to Edward III at his accession, there is a picture of a man in armour firing cannon on a stand, the field-piece being apparently about four feet long, bottle-shaped (like a Dahlgren gun), and being employed, significantly enough, to batter in the gate of a fortress.

movement. In France, on the other hand, though some steps had been taken towards unity, the classes of society were still far apart. The barons were turbulent and undisciplined, vain and brave to rashness: there was no middle class, except in Paris and a few large cities—nothing at all answering to the English yeomen; the bulk of the people were serfs. The King and his advisers were unwise, rash, ignorant; his army a horde of independent chiefs, each with his own following, each doing his own will. Thus were the two parties somewhat balanced: we shall also see that fortune as well as valour gave the English the advantages they won, and all but enforced that claim which might have made the English Kings the lords of France, and might also have reduced England to the position of a dependency of the mainland kingdom.

This great war may well be divided into five periods. The first ends with the Peace of Bretigny in 1360 (A.D. 1337-1360), and includes the great days of Crécy and Poitiers, as well as the taking of Calais: the second runs to the death of Charles the Wise in 1380; these are the days of Du Guesclin, and the English reverses: the third begins with the renewal of the war under Henry V of England, and ends with the Regency of the Duke of Bedford at Paris, including the field of Azincourt and the Treaty of Troyes (A.D. 1415-1422): the fourth is the epoch of Jeanne Darc, and ends with the second establishment of the English at Paris (A.D. 1428-1431): and the fifth and last runs on to the final expulsion of the English after the Battle of Castillon in 1453. Thus, though it is not uncommonly called 'the Hundred Years War,' the struggle really extended over a period of a hundred and sixteen years.

CHAPTER II.

The 'Hundred Years War'; Period I. A.D. 1337-1360.

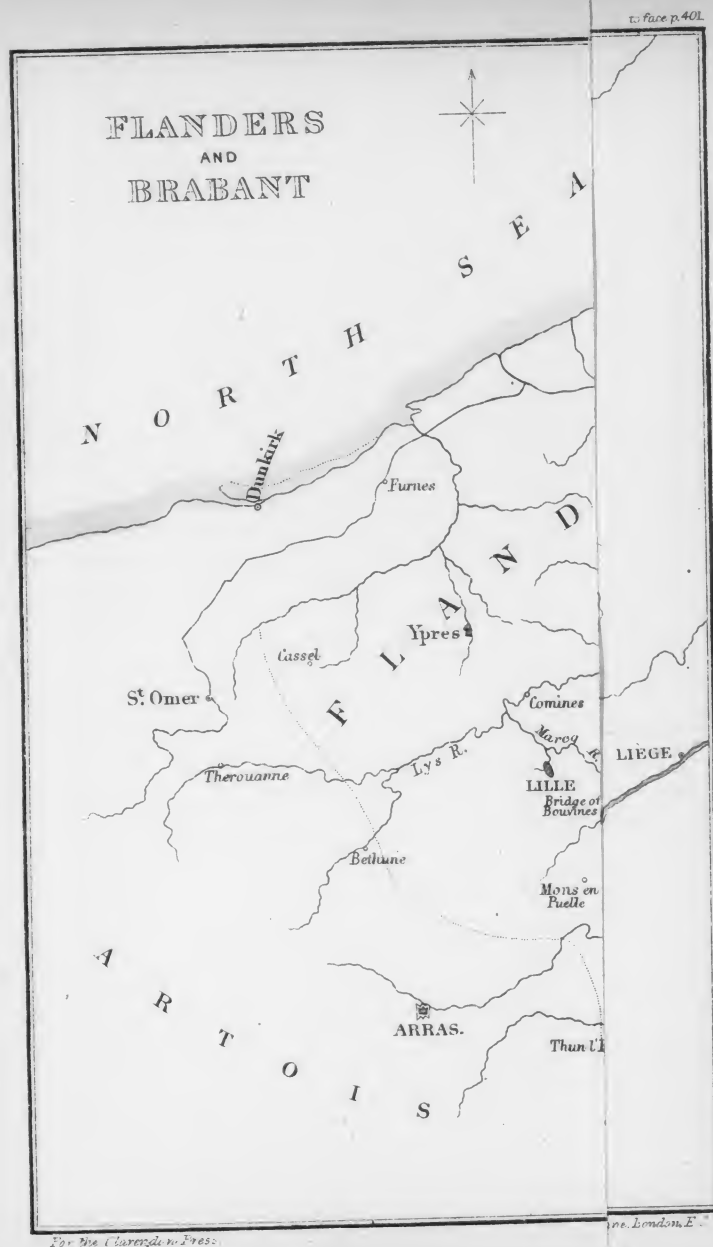
I. A.D. 1337-1347.

NEITHER the busy tongue of Robert of Artois, nor Edward's dissatisfaction as to his exclusion from the French throne, would have pushed the English King into war, had Philip of France not shown a clear determination to drive his rival to the last step. He interfered with the English trade with Flanders; he abetted Robert Bruce in Scotland; he raised claims on Guienne; he seems to have had a strong personal hatred for the English and their King. The Count of Flanders had directed from Paris the blockade of the Flemish ports; a force full 5000 strong lay in the Isle of Cadsand, and let no ship pass by. At last Edward, on the appeal of Jaquemart van Arteveld and the men of Ghent and Bruges, sent in November 1337 a strong fleet, under the Earl of Derby, who easily drove the Flemish knights out of the island. There, for the first time, the superiority of the English longbow was felt. 'There arose strong battle and fierce, and the crossbowmen drew their best, but the English made nothing of it, for the archers are far swifter to draw than are the crossbowmen'.¹ So the blockade was swept away, and the war began. Yet the King's defiance, or declaration of war, was delayed till the year 1339.

The opening of the Flemish markets brought on at once a more friendly feeling between the cities and England; and Van Arteveld did all he could to strengthen this alliance of

¹ Froissart (Lettenhove), I, c. 72, p. 220.





policy and interest. Yet when in July 1338 Edward crossed the sea and landed at Antwerp, he found little heartiness among the Flemish lords. They all held back till the Duke of Brabant should declare himself: that worthy sedulously trimmed between English and French, and hindered Edward in every way he could. They also had scruples, and would not move till Edward had been recognised by the Emperor Ludwig (or Louis) IV. The English King was present at a diet held at Coblenz, at which high talk was held, and the weak Emperor declared himself head of the Christian world, independent of the Avignon Pope. It was a feeble echo of the old war between Empire and Papacy. The diet decreed that Philip of Valois was under ban, and had forfeited the imperial protection. Edward was named Imperial Vicar—with which high title he must fain content himself; for no more solid help came from decrepit Germany. In his Avignon obscurity the Pope awoke a moment, and protested, murmuring the old phrases; and so roused the echoes of old discords in Germany, that Ludwig was frightened, and left the English King, his brother-in-law, to sustain his own cause. With his empty title he returned into Hainault, and at last in 1339 set out for France, with a few trustworthy troops, and an unwilling following of Flemish nobles. The men of Hainault alone seem to have been of any service to him in the war. He besieged Cambrai, an important and ancient frontier-town; finding it not easy to take, he left it behind, and pushed on into Northern France. At this same time a Norman and Genoese fleet crossed the Channel, sailed up Southampton water, and, on Sunday morning, when all folk were at church, sacked and burnt the rich town of Southampton; 'the news spread throughout all England, how that the Normans had been at Hampton, and had taken and pillaged it, whereby the English knew well that open war was begun between the countries¹.'

Meanwhile King Philip led a great host northward, as far as St. Quentin and Peronne in Vermandois, while the King of

¹ Froissart (Lettenhove), I, p. 251.

England came on as far as to the Oise, burning and harrying the land; and so they drew together till they were but two leagues apart. Then all thought that there would be a battle; and in either army men were knighted, notably Sir John Chandos by the English King. The two armies were drawn out in fighting array: the English, though far weaker in numbers, were admirably posted. The French therefore prudently forbore to assault them; for success must have cost much, and defeat would have been wellnigh ruin. They saw also that the English King was not likely to begin the fight; and that they had all to lose by action and all to gain by waiting; as indeed fell out. For Edward, seeing himself over-matched, and trusting little to his half-hearted Flemish friends, fell back into Hainault, disbanded his host, and retired to Brussels. Here a Parliament of all the cities and lords of Flanders was held; they called on the King, 'seeing they were under obligation of faith and oath, and liability to fine, and to the Pope's sentence, if they made war on the King of France,' to take on himself the name of King of France, and to quarter the arms of France with those of England. Then they could obey him as their true King, and would gladly make war on Philip of Valois as a pretender. The King consented; and the style and title of King of France, with the lilies on the royal shield, remained to the Kings of England for centuries, the empty memorials of an ill-founded claim, the useless token of a ruinous strife.

This done, Edward returned to England, landing at the mouth of the Orwell, and riding through Essex to town. He was received with gladness, though the Londoners were very jealous of the commercial privileges he had found himself obliged to grant the Flemish merchants. In fact, the King bought his Flemish alliances at a high rate; and they were worth little or nothing to him. Jaquemart van Arteveld only was staunch; he lost his life through his English tendencies; the barons of Flanders leant on France; the cities were thoroughly selfish and untrustworthy.

The French King also dismissed his whole army, and set

himself to strengthen his navy in the Channel. He gathered a large fleet of Normans, Picards, and Genoese, under the Genoese Barbanera, the treasurer Bahucet, and Sir Hugh Quierès, and sent them to cruise along the English coast, where they made descents on the Isle of Wight, and threatened the seaport towns from Dover to Dartmouth¹.

So ended the campaign of 1339: and yet the winter brought no rest; for the French harassed the northern frontier ceaselessly, and even took and burnt Chimay, which belonged to John of Hainault, and Aspre, which was in the land of William of Hainault, his nephew. These insults, which were as impolitic as they were useless, threw these princes into the arms of Edward. When the abbot of Crespy carried to Phillip letters of defiance from the Hainault princes, who were backed by the goodwill of all the Low Country provinces, the hasty King took no heed, but called his cousin an outrageous fool, who was planning how to have all his country burnt². And thus he alienated one of his best supporters. The Hainaulters made reprisals on Aubenton and the villages around; and then the Count dismissed his men, passed into England, and concluded a close alliance with Edward. Meanwhile John of France, King Philip's son, Duke of Normandy, carried on the war, and from his headquarters at Tournay spoiled and burnt the land. The Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, whom Edward had left in Ghent, fell into an ambush near Lille and were taken; on the other hand, the Duke of Normandy was repulsed from Le Quesnoy, where cannon on the walls taught him a new lesson in warfare. The French King used yet one more weapon: he brought his Avignon Pope to bear on the Flemings, and laid the country under interdict. The Flemings wrote to England, begging Edward to send them priests in plenty, to carry on the services of the Church: and in June, 1340, Edward set sail from London with a fine fleet, well manned, and filled with his best soldiers, carrying also no less than three hundred priests, who despised

¹ Froissart (Lettenhove), I, c. 91, p. 284.

² Froissart, c. 101, p. 281 (Lettenhove, c. 95, p. 294).

the Papal interdict, and were crossing the sea in answer to the prayer of the Flemings.

The French fleet took up its station between Blankenberg and Sluys; well knowing that the English King would desire to land there. Froissart gives the number of ships at full two hundred, with forty thousand men; among them conspicuous for size was the Christopher, a big merchantman they had captured in the winter from the English. Edward came sailing over sea with about a hundred and twenty ships, and had on board four thousand men-at-arms and twelve thousand archers. They knew not that the French were awaiting them; but when they drew near to Blankenberg, they discerned the masts of ships thick as a forest before them¹. They cast anchor, and waited for the tide; then, with one ship full of men-at-arms between every two ships manned with archers, they bore down on the foe. 'Beauty was it and great pleasure to behold these banners and strange blazonry of arms, and the Normans showed themselves right willing to fight, for they raised anchor, hoisted sail, and came forth to meet the English, with the great Christopher in the van².' When they met, loud was the clamour, down came all sails; the English recognised their old friend the Christopher, and greatly desired to recover her. So they hemmed her in, and the bowmen shooting after their wont, strongly and swiftly, soon overbore the Genoese archers³ who manned her; they boarded and took her with great triumph. The battle was hot and sharp, and lasted from eight to five; and great feats of arms were done on either hand; for good as were Normans and Genoese, the English were still more at home on the sea: 'for they were good seamen,' says Froissart, 'they are made for it, and nourished up thereon, and take great pains therewith.' And their King, in the flower of his youth, spared not himself, but adventured himself in the battle,

¹ Froissart (Lettenhove), I, c. III, p. 338, — 'Des mas qui drépoient contre mont, ce sambloit un grans bois.'

² Ibid., p. 339.

³ The Genoese archers, and their Captain Barbanera were political refugees, to whom Philip of France had granted asylum.

as much as the boldest of his knights: he sailed in a ship that was 'strong and fair, built, wrought, and timbered at Sandwich'; armed and adorned with banners and pennons rich and fair, with the arms of France and England quartered, and on her mast-head a great silver-gilt crown, which shone and flamed in the sun—a royal sight. Moreover the Christopher, now manned with English archers, did great execution. The ships were all cramped together, and knights fought as if they had been ashore. At last the English won the day, and few of their foes escaped; the French were driven back on Sluys, and could get neither out nor in. For the Flemings came on them, and slew as many on land as had fallen at sea; they also had taken part in the battle from the shore from the beginning to the end with much bravery. It is said that thirty thousand in all perished, most of them Frenchmen. Barbanera was among the slain in the battle; Hugh Quierès was beheaded on his ship's bulwark, so that his head fell into the sea; Bahucet, 'for that he was a thief and robber on the seas,' was run up to a mast and hanged. Thus ended the great sea-fight of Sluys. It is said that when tidings came to Paris, none dared to tell the hasty King the bad news, till a court-fool bethought him to cry out that the English were cowards: and when the King asked why? he replied, 'because they did not dare to jump boldly into the sea, as our brave French and Normans did,'—and so the King learnt what a mishap had befallen him¹.

For centuries after this day the English remained undisputed masters of the Channel. One blow sufficed to sweep away the naval force of France².

When tidings of this great disaster reached the French army,

¹ Walsingham, p. 134.

² I have followed Froissart's account (ed. Lettenhove), which differs in many respects from that of other historians. They all make Barbanera escape, following the chronicle of S. Denis and Villani, II. c. 120. All agree that one chief cause of the disaster was the blunder of lying close in shore at Sluys, so as to be hemmed in, and unable to use their superior numbers. The French historians excuse the defeat by saying that the ships were commanded by men who had never been at sea. As a fact, they had been cruising all the winter.

lying then before Thuin l'Évêque, the King and the nobles seemed to think but little of it. They reflected 'that these Normans were but pirates, who allowed no fish to be sent up to the inland; and besides, the French King has gained two hundred thousand florins by their death—for he owed them four months pay¹'—and they would never come back to claim it. And so they comforted themselves. But Edward came ashore at Sluys with all his men, his archers, and his three hundred priests, and was received with joy by the Flemings; thence to Ghent, where lay Queen Philippa, who had just borne him a son, John²: they met with great gladness, 'like folk who loved each other hugely.'

In spite of this fair outset, the campaign came to very little. Edward laid siege to Tournay, and could not take it; Robert of Artois made a diversion against St. Omer, and failed with heavy loss; the French again were stronger in the field, and the King of England found no firm support in his allies. A truce, first for one year, then lengthened to two, was agreed on; and he returned to England, without doing any feat of arms. So ended his second campaign.

Up to this point the war had gone in the main against Edward. It is true he had crushed the French naval power; the sea was completely open to him; but this was all. He had shown himself unequal to Philip in the open field; had failed in the siege of Tournay: the French, treating him, by a fair inference, as a vassal revolting from his lord, had declared him to have forfeited his fiefs in Guienne, which they seized; lastly, from the other side, Douglas, disguised as a charcoal-burner, had captured Edinburgh Castle, the King's strongest place in Scotland.

Now however there came a turn in affairs. Hitherto the English had had two points of entrance into France; the side of Flanders, and Guienne. Flanders they had tried: it was near, and convenient for landing and harbourage; but experience had shown the King that not much, beyond a heavy

¹ Froissart (Lettenhove), I, c. 113, p. 344.

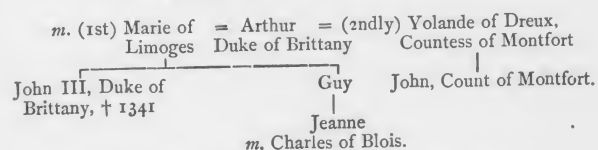
² John of Ghent or Gaunt, afterwards Duke of Lancaster.

drain of money, was likely to follow from his German and Flemish alliances. It seems however to have been preferred to Ponthieu, which was in Edward's hands, because of the connexion it permitted with the allies. To Guienne, on the other hand, it was a long and dangerous voyage; and though Bordeaux provided excellent harbourage, a force landing there would be very far away from the centre of the French kingdom. But now a third and in all ways most desirable door was opened into the very heart of France.

In 1341 John of Brittany died childless¹. His brother Guy had died before him, leaving one daughter, Jeanne, who had married Charles, Count of Blois: his half-brother, John of Montfort, was still living. To whom should the great fief fall? By the older custom the elder brother's daughter should have succeeded; but the Salic Law had shaken all the rules of inheritance, and John of Montfort claimed the duchy to the exclusion of the female line. There was first an appeal to the lawyers, who failed to settle it, when political questions entered in. Charles of Blois was King Philip's nephew; and the Parliament at Paris naturally decreed that the inheritance was his. But John of Montfort crossed the Channel, and came to Edward, promising to recognise him as King of France and suzerain of Brittany, if he would help him; and the King willingly agreed.

Then began a picturesque and oppressive war between the two claimants. Charles of Blois, with John of Normandy², besieged Nantes where John of Montfort lay. Charles, 'the terrible saint, who had pity neither on himself nor on any

¹ TABLE XIII. THE BRETON PEDIGREE.



² King Philip's son, afterwards King John 'the Good.'

other¹, and John 'the Good' were inhuman enough to behead thirty Breton knights, who had fallen into their hands, and to sling their heads into the beleaguered town: The place took the hint, and opened its gates. John of Montfort was taken, and sent to Paris; Philip cast him into prison. This was far from ending the struggle: the noble Countess of Montfort put on her husband's armour, and became the head and soul of the war. Yet she lost Rennes, her chief city, and was shut up in Hennebon, whither she had retreated, in order to be within reach of her English allies. Here she bore herself stoutly, and held her own till help came across the sea, and the siege was raised. She has won a fair place among the illustrious women of France; as though she would prove the folly of the Salic Law. About this time perished Robert of Artois, stormy petrel of the hundred years war, in a skirmish near Vannes. The English King, late in autumn, came over into Brittany; and John of Normandy gathered a great host to meet him. But though Edward's force was small (being only one-fourth of the French), he always knew how to post himself on ground which made up for his weakness, and the Duke hesitated to attack him; the Papal Legate interfered, and early in 1343 a truce was agreed to, which should last till the Michaelmas of 1346.

Thus Edward's first attempt on the side of Brittany ended in nothing: nor did he seem more likely to make good his claim here, than when he had leant on the support of the half-hearted Flemish lords and uncertain Flemish cities: these cities ere long showed signally how little they could be trusted; for Ghent, resenting Van Arteveld's plan that the young Prince of Wales should become their Duke, hastily rose up against their chief and murdered him (A.D. 1345).

Meanwhile, the rash folly of King Philip of France gave Edward an advantage he could hardly have foreseen. Not only did he grievously burden the country by a ruinous fiscal policy, and bring it to revolt and famine, but he determined

¹ Michelet, 3, p. 309 (ed. 1852).



Thence he threatened Rouen, but the place was too strong; and he marched on up the left bank of the Seine to Poissy, while his foraging parties burnt even Saint Cloud and Boulogne, and came up almost to Paris gates. Philip was in some peril, his main army being in the South; still, he had with him a strong force of Genoese archers; soldiers also from Germany, with the refugee 'priests'-King Charles of Luxemburg, and his father the blind old King of Bohemia, and the Duke of Lorraine, soon poured in to his aid, and he found himself at the head of a large army, although it was loose of texture, and under no control. With this force he left Paris, where he was certainly not too safe, and took up his quarters at St. Denis, ready to observe the movements of the English King.

To the French King Edward's movements must have seemed very uncertain. He might be intending merely to do mischief, and to fall back on Normandy. Or he might aim at the sudden capture of Paris, which the Parisians expected¹: or he might be meditating some bolder step. He had friends in plenty in Burgundy; was he going thither to strengthen their friendship²? or lastly, he might aim at a junction with the Flemish, who were besieging Béthune. Edward kept up this uncertainty. He lay at Poissy, restoring the bridge over the Seine, the piers of which had not been destroyed; meanwhile, as we have said, his scouts were pushed up close to Paris, burning as they went; and, according to one account, the French King rode southwards through Paris, down the Orléans road, where he learnt at last that Edward had blinded his eyes with the smoke of those burning villages, and had quietly crossed the Seine at Poissy. Thence the English rashly

offered to reconquer England, as their ancestors had done, on condition that they should divide it among themselves. This paper he sent to England, where it was read in the churches, and helped to fan the national feeling in favour of the war. The document was doubtless a forgery.

¹ They murmured much when the king went out to St. Denis.

² Froissart (Lettenhove), 2, c. 214, p. 222: *Disoient li aultre qui respondoient a ce pourpos: Il iroient passer en Bourgogne, qui ne lor ira aultrement au-devant.*

struck northward, King Edward here showing great lack of sagacity in war: for he could keep up no communications, and had foes before and behind. By chance he fell in with and scattered the burghers of Amiens, who were hastening to defend their King¹; then he passed through the Beauvoisin, followed by Philip with all his forces², about a day's journey behind, while the difficult river Somme, with all its bridges either broken down or strongly fortified, lay right before him. King Edward's marshals, whom he had sent out to look at the river, returned and told him there was no point at which he could get across: 'whereat the King began to muse and to be sad.' 'And his people rode on pensive and melancholy, talking to one another, how and where they might get over the Somme, for right well they knew that the French King and his people were following them hot foot in great force³.' And the French King, in close pursuit, thought he had the English in a corner, and hoped to starve them between the Somme and the sea, in a country where, if they fought it must have been at great disadvantage. And in truth the fortunes of the English army were trembling in the balance, when there came a squire and told the King that a little lower down the river, he might get across with safety when the tide was out. Where the Somme comes near the sea, it widens out, growing at the same time shallower, so that at low water it could be crossed with ease at a ford then called Blanche-Taque⁴. The need was so great that the King caught at the chance. He broke up from his quarters early in the morning, and before dinner-time the King of France entered the place where Edward had spent the night, and found great store of English bread, and 'meat on the spit,' whereof they ate. There Philip, who thought he had caught the English and had them safely,

¹ This shows that they did not much expect to see Edward on that side, or they would not have bared Amiens of her defenders.

² Some said 200,000 strong.

³ From the Anon. Chronicler of Valenciennes (MS. de l'Arsenal, fol. 194).

⁴ White gravel, 'blanche marne.'

seems to have halted for the night. Soon after midnight Edward roused his army, and by the first dawn they were on their way for Blanche-Taque, and came there when the tide was falling. Ranged on the other side, by King Philip's foresight, was Godemars de Foy with a great levy of men-at-arms, Genoese archers, and burghers, some twelve thousand men, to bar the passage. In spite of them, the English plunged in and waded over: for sore dread was on them, lest the French King, so close on their heels, should catch them before they crossed. Godemar's men also waded in; and they fought in mid-channel. But the English archers from the southern bank shot so sharply that the French burghers began to give way; and the English men-at-arms charging fiercely up the other bank, drove off their enemies, and made good their footing. It was not an hour too soon; for the French came into sight in time to kill some of the last of the rear-guard, and the rising tide caught and drowned the stragglers. The river now formed an impassable barrier between the two armies; and Philip, finding that his prey had escaped, turned on his heel back to Abbeville, where he might cross the Somme at his ease, and again pursue the foe. Had he not been so certain that they could not escape him, he might have caught Edward in the act of fording the river, which would have been the ruin of the whole English army. They, now feeling more at their ease, moved northwards through a more friendly country, till they came to Crécy in Ponthieu, where they halted, and drew their forces well together. There on a gently rising ground the King resolved to await the French. Froissart tells us that the English numbered only four thousand men-at-arms and twelve thousand archers¹. Behind the whole force Edward made a 'park' of carriages and baggage, with the horses in the midst; for all men were to fight afoot. The army was drawn out in three

¹ The French historians think that Froissart here underrates the English force, which they put at about 25,000 men. He gives 63,000 as the strength of the French. But the numbers had really nothing to do with the fortunes of the day.

lines or 'battles'; in the rearmost battle was the King, with a goodly company of knights and archers; in the next lay the Earls of Arundel and Hertford; in the first line was the young Prince of Wales, the Black Prince, under care of the Earl of Warwick, and many of the best knights of England. Among his men he had archers in plenty, and a thousand half-wild Welsh and Irish. These thus placed, the King rode among them and bade all do their duty; and they made cheerful reply that they would. And so they sat awaiting for the French.

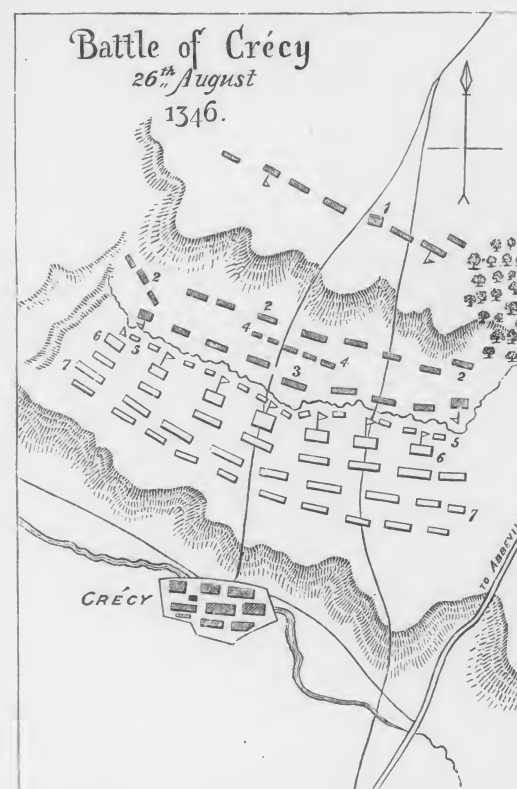
That morning betimes (August 26, 1346) Philip had ridden out of Abbeville, with all his force. 'They came forth without order, no man waiting for his neighbour¹,' pushing on as best they might. Four knights were sent on to reconnoitre, and came back to tell that they had seen the English on Crécy hillside, sitting quietly in their battles, waiting. As they rode back they met the French, on horse or afoot, with no one to control them. Seeing the goodly array of the English and the utter confusion of their own men, they counselled the King to halt that day, and wait till he could get the army together in some order. The King consented, and the word went out. But, while those in front halted, the mass of men behind still pressed on, each wanting to get to the foremost place, as at some show. Then when those who were in front saw that, they moved on again, each saying, 'I was first, and first I will remain.' 'Such was their pride and vanity,' says old Froissart, 'that there was no mastery over them.' But when they came in sight of the English lines, those in front cried halt, and stood, and those behind pushed past them into the open space between. Edward with his men-at-arms had posted himself at the foot of a windmill on a little hill, overlooking both the English lines and the French advance. With no small joy they saw the confused advance, the rocking and swaying of the enemy, their cries, and the inextricable disorder of their masses of men; and they said,

¹ Froissart (Lettenhove), 2, c. 223, p. 243.

'These people are ours,' even before the fight began. Then as they drew nearer, the English rose to their feet, quietly and orderly; and the Prince's battle made a gallant show; for they knew that they would bear the brunt of the day. The French King, when he saw this, was stirred in his hasty blood¹; 'for much he hated those English;' he forgot all good advice, and bade put the Genoese to the fore and begin the fight. The crossbowmen demurred. 'Their bows were slack; they had had orders to rest the night, they were weary;' and when the Count of Alençon heard their murmuring, he cried out, 'consider what rascals these are to be burdened with! They are useless but to eat at table; they will be more hindrance than help to us.' Then came on a summer storm, as they were thus debating, sudden and sharp, with thunder and lightning and drenching rain, which made their bowstrings give; while the English, accustomed to a far wetter climate than these Italians, hid their strings under their coats, and kept them dry. The storm passed over as quickly as it came, and the slanting evening sun shone clear and bright, full in the faces of the French, who were attacking from the east. At last the Genoese advanced; crying and singing loud—to frighten the English, but the English took no heed to it²—and shooting with their crossbows. Then the English archers took one step forwards, and drew on them; and the Genoese, who had never met with archers like these, were soon utterly discomfited; for the arrows flew like snow. They turned to flee. The French King and Alençon, when they saw how ill they fought, bade their men cut them down. So they were slain by the English archers before and the French behind, till they fell in a great heap midway between the hosts. And thus the confusion grew worse and worse. The French army rolled its waves wildly against the Prince's battle; men thought he was like to be overwhelmed, and begged Edward to send him help. But the King, who saw all from his hillside, had no

¹ 'Le roy Phelippe estoit bien hastif homs.'—Chron. published by M. Luce, p. 16.

² Froissart (Lettenhove), 2, c. 224, p. 250, 'Pour les Englois esbahir, mais les Englois n'en firent compte.'



From Sprünner's Atlas.

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| 1. Edward III. | 2. The Earls of Northampton and Arundel. |
| 3. The Prince of Wales. | 4. Welsh and Irishry. |
| 5. Genoese Crossbowmen. | 6. The Counts of Alençon and Flanders. |
| 7. Philip VI's Battle. | |

fear for the boy, and left him to fight it out, thus keeping his strong reserve, the 'third battle,' altogether untouched. The whole of the fighting fell on the first and second lines. The blind King of Bohemia begged his knights lead him into the heart of the fray: they tied themselves together by their horses' reins, and rode in, like madmen, upon sudden death; which met them forthwith. Thus they struggled and were entangled, and fell down in heaps. The Gaelic kerns from Ireland and Wales, with their long knives, knowing nothing of the speech in which the fallen gentleman cried for mercy, gave no quarter, and slew all they seized. At last the French King drew away reluctantly, almost forced to it by John of Hainault, and the summer night fell, ending the carnage. The English lighted torches, and searched the field, while King Edward came down from his windmill and embraced his fair son¹. Philip, accompanied by only four of his Barons², and the tattered remnant of his army, recoiled as far as Amiens, so heavy had been the blow; and the English, after piously burying the French chivalry, moved leisurely back to Calais. Such was the famous battle of Crécy; a battle, which has no proper history, being only a confused attack on a fixed position³. It was the pendant to Mansourah and Courtrai; another instance of the overweening pride and vanity of the French feudal lords, and

¹ It is commonly said that Edward knighted the Prince after Crécy; as a fact, he knighted him on landing at La Hogue. The error has perhaps come from Froissart's use of the phrase '*... le prince son fils; si l'accolla et baisa.*'—(Ed. Buchon), 2, c. 294, p. 374.

² Froissart (Buchon), 2, c. 292, p. 369: '*... se partit le roi Philippe tout déconforté, il y avoit bien raison, lui cinquième de barons tant seulement.*'

³ It is usual to attribute much of the French disaster at Crécy to the use of cannon by the English. But this is extremely doubtful. Only one authority mentions it, Villani, (tom. 12, cc. 65, 66), who died two years after this date. Froissart is quite silent about it, and so are the other chroniclers of the time. Villani was far off, and probably got his account from the Genoese archers, while Froissart heard both sides, especially the English. Against the cannon are (1) the balance of authority; (2) the improbability of King Edward's having been able to carry such weapons of war (though they were doubtless small and light at first) in his hasty retreat, and across the Somme, in the face of the enemy; (3) the possibility that Villani misunderstood some account of the thunderstorm for the use of these new weapons.

fear for the boy, and left him to fight it out, thus keeping his strong reserve, the 'third battle,' altogether untouched. The whole of the fighting fell on the first and second lines. The blind King of Bohemia begged his knights lead him into the heart of the fray: they tied themselves together by their horses' reins, and rode in, like madmen, upon sudden death; which met them forthwith. Thus they struggled and were entangled, and fell down in heaps. The Gaelic kerns from Ireland and Wales, with their long knives, knowing nothing of the speech in which the fallen gentleman cried for mercy, gave no quarter, and slew all they seized. At last the French King drew away reluctantly, almost forced to it by John of Hainault, and the summer night fell, ending the carnage. The English lighted torches, and searched the field, while King Edward came down from his windmill and embraced his fair son¹. Philip, accompanied by only four of his Barons², and the tattered remnant of his army, recoiled as far as Amiens, so heavy had been the blow; and the English, after piously burying the French chivalry, moved leisurely back to Calais. Such was the famous battle of Crécy; a battle, which has no proper history, being only a confused attack on a fixed position.³ It was the pendant to Mansourah and Courtrai; another instance of the overweening pride and vanity of the French feudal lords, and

¹ It is commonly said that Edward knighted the Prince after Crécy; as a fact, he knighted him on landing at La Hogue. The error has perhaps come from Froissart's use of the phrase '*... le prince son fils; si l'accolla et baisa.*'—(Ed. Buchon), 2, c. 294, p. 374.

² Froissart (Buchon), 2, c. 292, p. 369: '*... se partit le roi Phelippe tout déconforté, il y avoit bien raison, lui cinquième de barons tant seulement.*'

³ It is usual to attribute much of the French disaster at Crécy to the use of cannon by the English. But this is extremely doubtful. Only one authority mentions it, Villani, (tom. 12, cc. 65, 66), who died two years after this date. Froissart is quite silent about it, and so are the other chroniclers of the time. Villani was far off, and probably got his account from the Genoese archers, while Froissart heard both sides, especially the English. Against the cannon are (1) the balance of authority; (2) the improbability of King Edward's having been able to carry such weapons of war (though they were doubtless small and light at first) in his hasty retreat, and across the Somme, in the face of the enemy; (3) the possibility that Villani misunderstood some account of the thunderstorm for the use of these new weapons.

of the ill-feeling which existed between classes¹. But most of all it shows the difference in structure between the two nations: France still so incoherent and turbulently feudal; England already compact, with a stout middle class of freemen, the famous bow-drawing yeomen. In the French army were the unlucky Genoese mercenaries, who had no interest in this quarrel, and who were despised, distrusted, and ill used by the overbearing noblesse; there were the undisciplined levies of the cities, who increased the confusion, adding nothing to the strength of the attack²; there were the serfs from every part, mere slaves, worth nothing in war; lastly, there were the barons, great and small, brave, impetuous, ungovernable, who rushed heedlessly on their ruin, and perished fighting like blind heroes. On the other hand, one feels that the English army represented a formed nation, centred round its head. The King, in the prime of his years, riding round on his hackney, encouraging his men and getting back their cheery replies; the quiet self-reliance of the little army; the skill and prudence of the yeomen, with their longbows; used on many a village-green and in the woodland glades of England; the hearty helpfulness of the barons and doughty knights, clustered round the boy-prince at the post of danger in the van;—these are the sufficient reasons why the French army was swiftly ruined in those evening hours on the 26th of August, 1346.

Philip fell back, first to Amiens, then to Paris, having disbanded his army. He had before called home his son John³;

¹ Froissart (Lettenhove), 2, c. 185, p. 159, gives us a gloomy account of the state of feeling in France in 1343, only three years before Crécy: 'Li orgoels et la négligence estoient si grandes in l'ostel dou roi Phelippe, pour ce temps, que on ne faisoit compte de tels coses, ne del aler, ne del envoyer, et pour le temps d'adont li saudoyer estoient si mal payet en France que nuls estrangers ne s'i traioit volontiers pour demander saudées, ne ossi par- ellement chil dou roiaulme.'

² Froissart (Lettenhove), 2, c. 223, p. 246: 'Là ot sus les camps si grant peuple de communauté des chités et bonnes villes de France que tout estoit là reversé et les chemins tous couvers entre Abeville et Créchi, et plus de euls vint mille de ces bons hommes, quant ils se veirent sus les camps, traissent lors espées et escryèrent: A la mort, ces traitours Englois! Jamais piés n'en retournera en Engleterre.'

³ The siege of Aiguillon was raised about a week before the day of Crécy.

so leaving the English masters of the South; and the Earl of Derby, having heard tidings of Crécy, rode northwards as far as to Poitiers, which city he took without difficulty, and stayed there several days; 'and longer he might have held it, had he wished; for no man came to challenge his right, but all the land as far as the Loire trembled before the English¹.' The diversion also on the side of Scotland failed signally. Queen Philippa advanced to Newcastle-on-Tyne, and her army met David the Scottish King at Neville's-Cross, in Durham, where he was defeated and taken prisoner.

Meanwhile Edward settled himself down before Calais; for that city was the best landing-place the English could have; moreover, during these last years, in which the French ships had been so active and so vexatious along the English coasts, Calais had been a very scourge of English commerce, and the home of a harassing privateer warfare, which had led to angry and cruel reprisals. The siege was therefore popular in England. The King built for his army a complete wooden town—the 'Villeneuve la Hardie'²—and spared no pains to make the position as strong as possible, holding Calais in his firm grasp, first by land, then by the harbour-entrances, until famine reigned within. All through the winter of 1346 went on the unflinching blockade; all through the spring, till midsummer was past, and yet no help came from Paris. At last, in July, King Philip with a strong relieving army appeared on the Sangate Hill, between Calais and Wissant. But what could he do? There were four ways of getting into Calais, or of getting at King Edward. The sea-passage was completely blocked; the approach by the downs from the South was commanded by the English ships and the army, so that no man could pass by; to the North lay a great host of Flemish, who stood firm to the English, and barred that way; and lastly, the one approach from the inland was by a causeway through the marshes, and

¹ Froissart (Buchon), 2, c. 393, p. 403.

² We have returns from which it appears that there were about 30,000 men in Edward's camp.

over the bridge of Nieulay, and this causeway was held by the Earl of Derby, who had left Guienne to join his King. Philip looked and looked, and the more he saw the less he liked the prospect of an assault. He tried other ways. He sent the two legates of his pope, who found they could make no impression on Edward. Philip then proposed that the English King should meet him in open field: the offer was absurd, and Edward told him that he would not give up his certainty for the chances of a fight. At last Philip withdrew to Amiens; and the citizens knew that their fate was sealed. We all know the fair tale of the devotion of Eustache de S. Pierre and his brother burghers; how they came into Edward's camp with bare heads and feet, in their shirts, with halters round their necks; and how the King was unmoved by the petitions of his courtiers, till Queen Philippa, strongest and gentlest of women, came and won their lives from the angry victor¹. Eustace afterwards received conspicuous marks of favour from the English King.

The French inhabitants were all sent out, and made their way to Amiens and elsewhere, though many of them before long found their way back again to their old homes; and the city was repeopled with English traders, who made it the mart for their wool, tin, lead, and other goods. Thus did Calais become English, and continued such for full two hundred years.

II. FROM THE TRUCE OF 1347 TO THE BATTLE OF POITIERS, A.D. 1356.

The fall of Calais closed the first period of the war. As yet all had gone amiss with Philip. He had suffered a great defeat in the field; had lost Calais before his very eyes; had withdrawn from the struggle in Guienne, leaving all Southern France at the mercy of his rivals. Flanders became more decidedly English; in Brittany the French party was ruined,

¹ This beautiful tale is found in Froissart's pages (c. 321), and has been strongly suspected of being a poetic rendering of some very simple transactions.

the Scottish King was a prisoner. It was time to stand still and get breath. England also was exhausted by the cost and drain of the siege; and a ten months' truce was readily agreed to.

But, while the two nations were thus recovering breath, an enemy worse than war was slowly drawing near. From Egypt, perhaps from still farther East, perhaps from the centres of Mahometan faith and pilgrimage, then doubtless as now centres of infection, came rolling over Europe the dark cloud of pestilence—the Black Death. First it smote Italy, where Boccaccio has immortalised it in the ghastly selfishness of his 'Decamerone,' and where three-fifths of the people of Florence perished, among whom was John Villani the historian; thence it passed into Provence, in 1347, where Narbonne was ruined for ever, and Avignon lost three-fourths of her population, where Petrarch's Laura was snatched away from her happy home; then northward to Paris, in 1348, where no man's life was safe, and many were smitten even in the King's court. The tale of dead amounted sometimes to more than eight hundred in a day; the charities of life disappeared; the priests fled; the monks and friars and some heroic sisterhoods alone defied the last enemy, and threw in their lot with the stricken. The usual accompaniments of pestilence appeared: men were hardened and grew careless; or became mystics, as in Germany¹; or they wreaked their panic on the unlucky Jews, who were accused of witchcraft, and who perished wretchedly by thousands². The scourge reached England also, though not quite so severely; and, by the end of 1349, it had worn itself out.

This plague lit up the darkness of the Church, and men saw how corrupt it had become. Clement VI, the Avignon Pope, was sunk deep in debauchery³, the clergy were little

¹ These were the days of Tauler and of the Flagellants.

² The Continuator of William of Nangis is our authority here (p. 110). Froissart had no care to describe the 'grands apertises d'armes' of the Black Death, and dismisses it in three lines. He had no eyes for mankind in general; only for kings and knights.

³ 'Molto cavalleresco, poco religioso.'—M. Villani, 3. c. 43.

better; only in the religious orders did any religion and humanity survive. France, vexed with heavy imposts and foolish restrictions on trade, suffering also from the effects of war, and devoid of any true national feeling or aims, had sunk very low; even chivalry, the natural growth of France, was perishing by its own weight¹. In one respect only did the kingdom seem to gain: two valuable districts were added to the crown in Philip's reign. In 1349 Humbert, 'Dauphin' of Vienne, resigned his domains, in order to become a Carmelite, and the district was bought by Philip. He ceded it to Charles, eldest son of John of Normandy, his grandson, who took the name of the Dauphin, which afterwards became the established title of the eldest son of the King of France. About the same time Philip bought from James of Aragon, last King of Majorca, the district and city of Montpellier. To pay for these acquisitions the value of the coin was changed again and again; and offices, titles, pardons, nobility, began to be put up for sale: this miserable source of income cursed France as long as the monarchy lasted.

Philip, now about fifty-eight years old, married again a lovely maiden of eighteen, Blanche of Navarre. But his health was gone, and in 1350 he died, leaving the crown to his son John of Normandy, 'John le Bon.'

Thus ended a dark and melancholy reign. All things seemed to be evil in France. These were days of oppression, war, pestilence, faithlessness in King and people, days of shame and distress.

Nor was the new King likely to be helpful. 'Le Bon' does not mean 'the Good.' It is the epithet of one prodigal, extravagant, foolish, the 'good fellow' of those who were debased enough to take his gifts. To be gay, courteous, and liberal;

¹ At this very time, 1349 (though Froissart says 1344), Edward III. instituted the Order of the Garter at Windsor, so grouping around himself the chief men of England. Chivalry was surely passing away when it began to need the help of such institutions; it was becoming a piece of royal furniture, and began to have least of life when it had most apparent bravery.

to imitate, in fact, John of Bohemia, his kinsman, who had perished so madly at Crécy, far from his own country, which he had abandoned that he might amuse himself at the Court of Paris¹:—this seems to have been the ideal of King John. A man very like his father, King Philip, and like him on his worse side: he was passionate in every sense, violent and cruel, self-indulgent, ignorant, rash, proud: you have in King John 'le Bon' the most unhappy character that could have come to the throne at such a moment. A cool wise head might perhaps have drawn France out of her difficulties; King John only thrust her deeper down. To him she owes the day of Poitiers, and the humiliating peace of Bretigny.

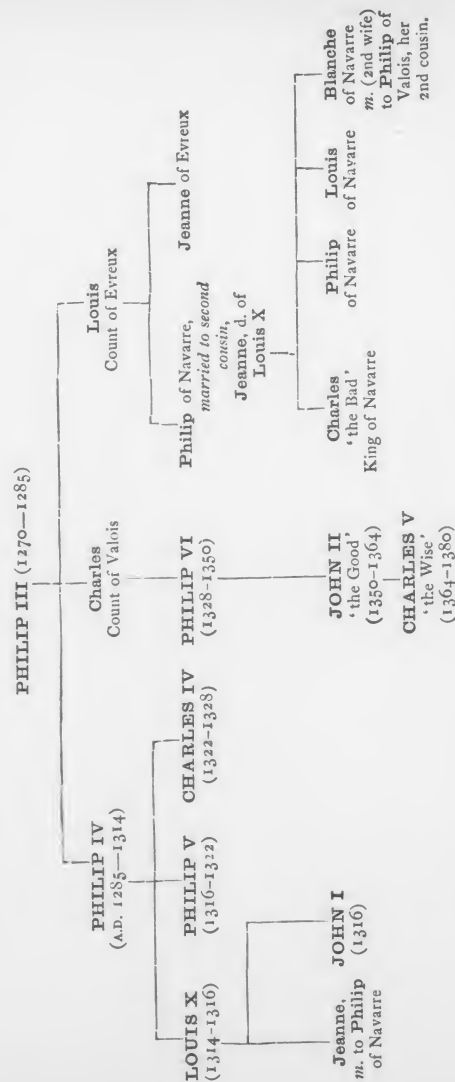
Between King John 'the Good' of France, and King Charles 'the Bad' of Navarre, the country had evil days. Still Charles 'the Bad,' the French King's kinsman², was by far the better man of the two; nobler in thought and acts, and of a higher type. He had eloquence and winning manners; he was ambitious, intriguing, often false; restless for action, and not too particular as to whether its end were evil or good. When Charles the Dauphin (afterwards Charles V, 'the Wise,') became Duke of Normandy, he entered into friendly relations with Charles of Navarre, who, with many friends and followers, ventured to come to a banquet at Rouen, and was then and there surprised and taken by King John (A.D. 1356): he did not hesitate to treat Charles shamefully, casting him into prison in the Louvre; the Count of Harcourt and some others, who were taken with him, were at once beheaded behind Rouen castle walls. It is not known whether or not father and son had concerted this surprise beforehand. Philip of Navarre and Godfrey of Harcourt escaped, crossed over to England, and were welcomed by Edward, who was only too glad to promise them speedy and effectual help.

The truce between the Kings had had but little reality. King John did nothing to allay the growing ill-feeling: his warlike

¹ Martin, *Histoire de France*, tom. 5, p. 120.

² See the Genealogical Table on the next page.

TABLE XIV.—THE RELATIONSHIPS OF THE VALOIS PRINCES.



measures were weak and unsuccessful; he attempted Calais, but was foiled; Guines threw itself into the arms of England; slight hostilities were kept up in Guienne; war never ceased between the two parties in Brittany, the school which bred the great captain of the next period, Du Guesclin. France was restless and miserable; the English King, who had felt little of the woes, and had enjoyed much of the excitement, of war, was eager to begin again: each successive act of King John laid him more open to the English attack. Edward had already sent three expeditions out to the three vulnerable points of France on the western side. In 1355 he had himself landed at Calais, but was recalled to quiet Scotland; he sent Charles of Navarre to Cherbourg, and the Duke of Lancaster lay on the frontiers of Brittany; and lastly, the Prince of Wales sailed down to Bordeaux, and thence harried all the south unhindered, as far as Narbonne itself, returning back to Guienne for the winter months. In the next year, the English made ready for something more than a mere war of excursions.

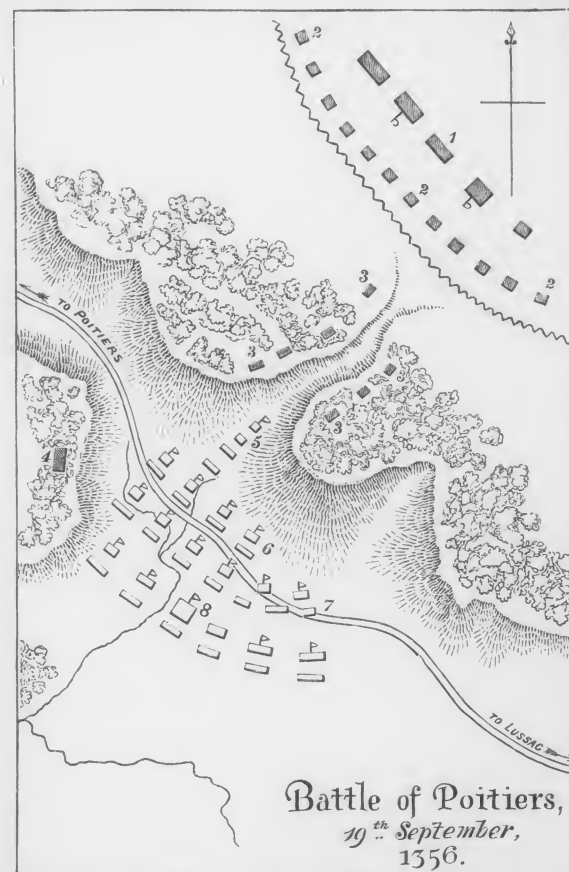
In the early summer of 1356 the Black Prince took the field with a small army, not more than from eight to ten thousand men¹, the most part not English, and rode into the Rouergue, Auvergne, and the Limousin, meeting no resistance, sacking and taking all they found, and so upwards to the Loire. Doubtless the opposition with which the Estates of the 'Langue d'Oil' had but just met King John, made it very hard for him to set an army afoot. The Estates, weary of long exactions, refused to vote him supplies without concessions; by the mouth of Etienne Marcel, Provost of the Merchants of Paris, the head of the bourgeoisie of the capital, they demanded rights of session, of control, of levy, and of taxation. They seemed likely to take up the same ground which had already been successfully occupied by the English Parliament. But it was only for a moment: the parallel cannot be carried

¹ Froissart (Buchon), xxii^me addition 3, p. 155: 'Avec deux mille hommes d'armes et six mille archers, parmi les brigands' (i. e. besides the light-armed mercenaries).

on seriously between the progress of the English Constitution and the fitful efforts of the French Estates.

The French King was lying before Breteuil, with a strong force, when news of the Prince's northward ride came to him. He hastily granted the garrison of the town easy terms, and they withdrew to Cherbourg; then he marched to Paris, and summoned all his nobles and fief-holders to a rendezvous on the borders of Blois and Touraine. He himself moved southwards as far as Chartres. The Black Prince threatened Bourges and Issoudun, failing to take either city; then he marched to Vierzon, a large town of no strength, and took it; here he found, what he sorely needed, wine and food in plenty. While he lay here he heard that King John was at Chartres with all France at his back, and that the passages of the Loire were occupied. So he broke up, and turned his face towards Bordeaux, at once abandoning any plan he may have had of joining the Earl of Lancaster in Normandy. King John, hastening to overtake him, actually overshot the English army, and placed himself across the Prince's line of retreat. Thus he had the English utterly in his power: a little patience and prudence, and he might have avenged himself almost without loss on the invading army, by capturing both it and its brilliant captain. But, unfortunately for France, John 'the Good' was possessed with chivalrous ideas, which prompted him to do exactly the wrong thing.

The Black Prince, seeing his retreat cut off, stood at bay in a strong position at Maupertuis, near Poitiers. It was a rough hill-side, covered with vineyards; cut up by hedges, and also sprinkled with low scrub. Nothing could be better for defence: the chivalry of France, whose overwhelming weight would have been irresistible on the plain, were of no avail on such a hill-side; and there was plenty of cover to delight sharpshooters who knew their work. The only point of attack from the front was a narrow and hollow way, liable to a converging fire, which would grow more severe the farther the enemy penetrated; for the cheeks of the ravine commanded the whole of the roadway.



From Sprünner's Atlas.

- | | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. The Black Prince. | 2. Archers. | 3. Sharpshooters, lining banks. |
| 4. English ambuscade. | 5. Audenham and Clermont. | 6. The Duke of Orleans. |
| 7. The Duke of Normandy. | 8. The King of France. | |

On the level ground atop lay the main English force: every available point was crowded with archers; the narrow way had high hedge-crowned banks. Underneath lay the 50,000 Frenchmen, 'the flower of their chivalry,' all feudal, no city-leves this time. The King was there, with his four sons, his brother, and a crowd of great princes and barons. Had they been content to wait, and watch vigilantly, the Black Prince would have been starved, and must have laid down his arms. This, however, was not their idea; nor the idea of that age. So they got them ready to assault the Prince's formidable position; to give themselves the utmost disadvantage arising from useless numbers; and to give him the means of taking the greatest possible advantage of his ground, where every man of his little force was available. Before the assault took place the Papal Legate interposed, and obtained a truce for twenty-four hours. The Black Prince, knowing well his peril, was willing to treat on terms honourable to France: unconditional surrender was the only thing King John would listen to. This would have been as bad as a lost battle; what could they do but refuse? better die in arms than suffer imprisonment, starvation, and perhaps a shameful death. So they set themselves to use the remainder of the day's truce in strengthening their position; an ambuscade was quietly posted on the left flank of the one possible line of attack. Next morning, the 19th of September, 1356, the French army was moved forwards: in the van came two marshals, Audenham and Clermont, with three hundred men-at-arms, on swift warhorses; behind them were the Germans of Saarbrück and Nassau; then the Duke of Orleans in command of the first line of battle; Charles, Duke of Normandy, the King's eldest son, was with the second; and lastly the King, surrounded by nineteen knights all wearing his dress, that he might be the safer in the fight¹: before him fluttered the Oriflamme. With heedless courage the vanguard dashed at the centre of the English position; for such were the King's orders. They rode full speed along the narrow roadway

¹ Froissart (Buchon), 3, c. 351, p. 186, 'armé lui vingtième de ses parements.'

up the hill-side, between the thick hedges; but the hill was steep, and the archers flanking it shot fast and well. A few only struggled to the top; these were easily overthrown. The rest were rolled back in wild confusion on the Duke of Normandy's line, and broke their order; at this moment the English ambuscade fell on their left flank. Then, when the Black Prince saw that the Duke's battle 'was shaking and beginning to open,' he bade his men mount quickly, and rode down into the midst, with loud cries of 'St. George' and 'Guienne.' Pushing on cheerily, he fell upon the Constable of France, the Duke of Athens; the English archers, keeping pace afoot with the horse-men, supported them, shooting so swiftly and well that the French and Germans were speedily put to flight. Then Charles, the Dauphin, with his two brothers, put spurs to their horses, and fled headlong from the field; there followed them full eight hundred lances, the prime of the French army, who might well have upheld the fortune of the day. It was a pitiful beginning for the young Prince, who would so soon be called to fill his father's place. The first and second lines of battle were thus utterly scattered, almost in a moment: some riding hither and thither off the field, in panic; others driven back under the walls of Poitiers, where the English garrison took great store of negotiable prisoners; for at that time prisoners meant ransom. The King, perhaps remembering the mishap of Crécy, now ordered all his line to dismount and fight afoot. And then for the first time a stand was made, and something worthy of the name of a battle began. The French were still largely superior in force: at the beginning they had been seven to one¹; and the advantage of the ground was no longer with the English. But the Prince of Wales pressed ever forwards, with Sir John Chandos at his side, who bore himself so loyally that he never thought that day of prisoners, but kept on saying to the Prince 'Sire, ride onwards; God is with you, the day is yours!' 'And the Prince, who aimed at all perfectness of honour, rode on-

¹ Froissart (Buchon), 3, c. 360, p. 210, 'Les François étoient bien de gens d'armes sept contre un.'

wards, with his banner before him, succouring his people whenever he saw them scattering or unsteady, and proving himself a right good knight¹. Thus the English force fell, like an iron bar, on the soft mass of the French army, which had but little coherence, after the manner of a great feudal levy; and this swift onset, with the Prince riding manfully in the van, like the point of the bar, scattered them hither and thither, and decided the fortunes of the day. The Dukes of Bourbon and Athens perished, with many another of noble name; among them the Bishop of Châlons in Champagne: the French gave back, till they were stayed by the walls of Poitiers. King John was now in the very thick of it: and with his own hands did many feats of arms, defending himself manfully with a battle-axe². By his side, Philip, his youngest son, afterwards Duke of Burgundy, founder of the second line of that house, who here earned for himself the name of 'le Hardi,' the Bold: for though but a child, he stood gallantly by his father, warding off the blows that rained thickly on him. The rout was too complete to be stayed by their gallantry. The gates of Poitiers were firmly shut; there was a great slaughter under the walls. Round the King himself the fight was stubborn; many of his bodyguard were taken or slain. Geoffrey de Chagny, who bore the Oriflamme, went down: and the King was hemmed in, all men being eager to take so great a prize. Through the crowd came shouldering a man of huge stature, Denis of Mortbeque, a knight of St. Omer; when he got up to the King he prayed him in good French to surrender. The King then asked for 'his cousin, the Prince of Wales': and Denis promised that if he would yield he would see him safely to the Prince: the King agreed. Thus he was taken, and with him Philip and his little son. Then arose around him a great debate between English and Gascons, all claiming to have taken him: they tore him away from Denis, and for a moment he was in great peril. At last two barons, seeing the turmoil, rode up; and hearing that it was the French King, they spurred their horses,

¹ Froissart (Buchon), 3, c. 361, p. 216.

² Ibid. c. 364, p. 223.

forcing their way into the angry crowd, and rescued him from their clutches. Then he was treated with high respect, and led to the Prince of Wales, who bowed low to the ground before one who in the hierarchy of princes was his superior: he paid him all honour; sent for wine and spices, and served them to him with his own hands. And thus King John, who one day before had held the English, as he thought, securely in his grasp, now found himself, broken and wounded, a prisoner in their hands.

Thus went the great day of Maupertuis, or, as it is more commonly called by us, of Poitiers.

Great was the carnage among the French: they left eleven thousand on the field, of whom nearly two thousand five hundred¹ were men of noble birth; while nearly a hundred barons, and full two thousand men-at-arms, to say nothing of lesser folk, were prisoners. They were so many that the victors scarcely knew what to do with them: they fixed their ransom as quickly as they could, and then let them go free on their word. The Prince, with the huge booty gathered in his expedition, and with the richest prize of all, King John and his little son, at once fell back to Bordeaux. The French army melted away like snow in spring, such feudal nobles as had escaped wandering home crestfallen, the lawless and now lordless men-at-arms spreading over the land like a pestilence. A two years' truce was struck between England and France; and Edward at once carried his captives over to London. There King John found a fellow-King in durance, David Bruce, King of Scots, who had now for eleven years been in King Edward's hands.

The years between Poitiers and the peace of Bretigny were indeed dark and evil for France. The nobles were utterly shattered; from Mansourah to Courtrai, from Courtrai, to Crécy, from Crécy to Poitiers, they had, within a century, proved by their turbulent vanity that they were unable to stand against the times. Their power was much weakened; and, far worse, all France could see that weakness: 'the nobles who returned

¹ In exact numbers, 2426. See the careful list given in Buchon's note to Froissart, 3, c. 364, p. 224.

from the battle were so hated and abused by the Communes, that they scarcely could venture to set foot in any of the good towns¹.

III. ÉTIENNE MARCEL AND THE BOURGEOISIE OF PARIS.

A.D. 1356-1360.

The four years from Poitiers (A.D. 1356) to the peace of Bretigny (A.D. 1360), years of disaster, are relieved by the greatness of one man, Étienne Marcel, Provost of the Traders of Paris. No man has been more unfortunate: while he lived circumstances were against him, for he struggled in vain for his country, became entangled in intrigues, committed crimes which were also blunders, and perished by the hand of the city he loved and served. After his death, history was also against him; the chroniclers, with Froissart at their head, were ignorantly and violently prejudiced against him. One contemporary writer only, the second continuer of William of Nangis, a poor friar of Paris, eye-witness of many scenes of that time², writes of Marcel in a friendly spirit. He had no prejudice against the burghers; was no hanger-on at courts, like Froissart; and he had with his own eyes seen Marcel, and knew what strength and worth were in him.

Even before Poitiers the chivalry of France had lost their credit in men's eyes. 'Pride and dissoluteness flourished among many nobles and men-at-arms': their dress was sumptuous and scandalous, with gilt and silvered belts and precious stones, and all manner of luxury. 'At this time they wore brave birds' plumes in their hats, giving themselves up without stint to fleshly lusts and sports and games by night and day, so that the people grieved greatly when they saw the money levied from them for war wasted so uselessly³.' And again, after Poitiers,

¹ Froissart (Buchon), 3, c. 372, p. 253.

² The second Continuator Willelmi de Nangis (in D'Achery, Spicil. tom. 11. pp. 785-920) speaks of himself: 'Ego frater quidam . . . prout in parte vidi et audivi,' and again, where Edward III, before Crécy, threatened Paris, he says, 'Omnes hos eventus, ut in pluribus, vidi ego qui hæc scripsi.' His part of the chronicle begins with A.D. 1340.

³ Continuator secundus W. de Nangis, sub. ann. 1356.

this feeling grew stronger still: royalty and chivalry seemed to have fallen at once and together from their high estate. In the attempt to make a firm government by the Three Estates¹ at Paris very few nobles joined, 'and those who came were either very young or were dishonoured.' Everything went amiss in the realm: bands of lawless soldiery ranged the land; no man cared for his brother: the nobles repaid contempt with contempt; they neglected their King, a prisoner, and their people in their defeat: they oppressed and robbed their rustics; took no thought for the defence of their country; trod underfoot or carried off the chattels of men. Above all, it was clear that the Lord Regent took no heed at all². Then began the whole land of France to fall into grief and confusion of spirit, for it had neither defender nor guardian.

A few 'good towns,' that is, towns girt with wall and ditch, were saved from the terrors which befell the defenceless countrymen. Paris, safest of all, was crowded by countryfolk, driven in by stress, and wellnigh starved; even monks and nuns came in; for not even were the houses of God safe, unless they were within the walls of some good town.

Thus, with the annihilation of the kingly authority, the downfall of the nobles, and the misery of the country districts, the cities, and specially Paris, became more and more important. In them alone survived security and some shadow of good government. Directly the Dauphin returned to Paris he convoked the States-General: the nobles, as we have seen, were few; the clergy numerous; the commons strong and resolute. The nobles, not yet weaned from the dark traditions of their order, still eager to fight and pillage, and to be paid for it by the industry of the land, clamoured for war and subsidies; the clergy and commons made common cause, and, under the leadership of the Archbishop of Rheims and of Étienne Marcel the Provost, demanded delay. No conclusion was come to; the release of Charles of Navarre, now a prisoner at Arleux, in the Courtrai country, was insisted on: and the Estates broke up

¹ Ordonnances des Rois, 3. 47.

² Continuator secundus, p. 828.

after sitting less than three weeks. Meanwhile, the fortifications of Paris were pushed on; chains stretched, ditches dug, many fair houses outside the walls demolished; steps taken, in a word, to make the capital a bulwark and a rallying-point for the nation.

Étienne Marcel was not likely to leave things in chaos without an effort. His name may possibly have been a corruption of the name of that great Roman family, the Marcelli, whose representatives had not then died out of Italy. If so, he retained in Paris some of the old Italian spirit of civic life, and dreamed of making Paris the Rome of France. But his plans did not involve an abolition of the royal authority. He laboured hard and long to reconcile Charles the Dauphin and Charles of Navarre. It was not till he had made the former his irreconcilable enemy, that he threw himself into the hands of the 'bad King.'

Charles 'le Sage,' 'the Wise,' called by the misfortunes of his country to act as Regent of France, was very foolish in his young days, very cowardly and self-indulgent. His health was wretched; he had suffered from some mysterious malady in which he had lost hair and nails, and 'became as dry as a stick.' Though but nineteen years old, he was weak, pale, mean-looking, lantern-jawed¹, wanting in courage, and, instead, full of cunning, clear of aim, tenacious, cold, unfaltering in carrying out his ends. He was surrounded by a knot of nobles, and was in fact in their hands. There is no truth for France in the saying that royalty allied itself to the burghers to counterpoise the noblesse; the Kings used either, and distrusted both: if they had to choose between the two forces, their tendency would certainly be to incline towards the barons.

There was old dislike and distrust between the royal party and the cities; and from the beginning Charles of Navarre had supported the good towns in resisting the King's demands. He also, thanks to his charming manners, which go so far in a prince, and almost do instead of virtues, had won Bishop Lecocq of Laon to his side. The Bishop of Laon was a leading man

¹ Michelet, 6, c. 3, p. 366.

among the clergy; no wonder therefore that the second and third Estates joined in the demand that Charles should be let out of prison at Arleux; no wonder that when they found the Dauphin unmanageable, they turned to Navarre as their last hope.

When Charles the Dauphin had dismissed the Estates of 1356, he set off on a bootless mission to Metz: it was, in fact, simply his pretext for getting rid of counsellors who were too independent. To Metz came envoys from the Emperor, from the Pope, and from the English King. Nothing came of the meeting except rumours which reached Paris as to the Dauphin's brave doings, his feasting and shows. When he came back, bringing no treaty of peace, the city rose in anger against him. During his untimely absence things had gone worse, and the debasement of the coin was renewed, in spite of the burghers' protest. No sooner did they hear that the Dauphin insisted on his depreciated money than they flew to arms, by their corporations. The Dauphin's counsellors fled for their lives, and he gave way. He agreed that the debased coin should not be forced on the people, that the Three Estates should meet where they would, that he would dismiss, and, if possible, bring to justice, the seven high officers denounced by the Estates. Thus Paris, with Marcel, a man of 'a severe and noble countenance',¹ at her head, gave to the state some semblance of constitutional life. Happy for her could she have maintained it! The Estates met at once: under Marcel and Bishop Lecocq they set themselves to carry out the resolutions come to at the session of the previous autumn. They had then agreed—

1. To assert the equality of all under taxation, from the King to the peasant.
 2. To name collectors of revenue to check and control, if possible, the extravagance of the Court.
 3. To make these collectors independent even of the King.
- They also forbade the depreciation of the coin of the realm;

¹ This 'sévère et belle figure' is to be seen in an illumination of the assassination of the Dauphin's favourites, in a copy of the *Grandes Chroniques* which belonged to Charles V himself.

and decreed that all men of whatever rank might arm as a kind of national guard.

Charles the Dauphin was forced, unwillingly, and meditating ill-faith, to ratify these decrees. Some hope of good government sprang up. The Committee of Thirty-six, appointed out of the Estates to help in governing the land bereft of its King, were vigorous and vigilant: they made a truce for two years with the English; King John was carried over from Bordeaux to London; and just before his departure he sent envoys to Paris to forbid the execution of the agreement between his son and the Estates. Henceforth the King and his son are on one side, and Marcel with Paris at his back, with some uncertain countenance from the clergy, on the other side. The noble example set by the capital was not followed or understood elsewhere: she stood almost alone. All the nobles, and the bulk of the clergy, vexed to see the chief power in the hands of the Third Estate, withdrew from the city: they mostly betook themselves to the Dauphin, and helped him against the citizens. The authority of the Thirty-six was first weakened, then brought to an end; the Dauphin declared that he would rule alone: even Bishop Lecocq withdrew to Laon.

The times were critical for Marcel; everything pointed to a restoration of the old corrupt government, a renewal of extravagance, the neglect of national defences, a royal anarchy. Then the Provost, in a secret meeting with his few trusty friends, the officers of the city, Bishop Lecocq, the Baron of Picquigni, and a few deputies of good towns (for all had not fallen away from Paris), decided on compassing the release of Charles of Navarre, in hopes that his influence might be a counterpoise to that of the Dauphin. They seem to have thought that he might some day found a new dynasty in France, connected with the old noblesse and the King's family, and at the same time resting on, and grateful to the Third Estate and to Paris, willing therefore to grant to France some constitutional government, the blessings of a firm rule, and the assuagement of the worst ills under which the land was groaning. Picquigni undertook

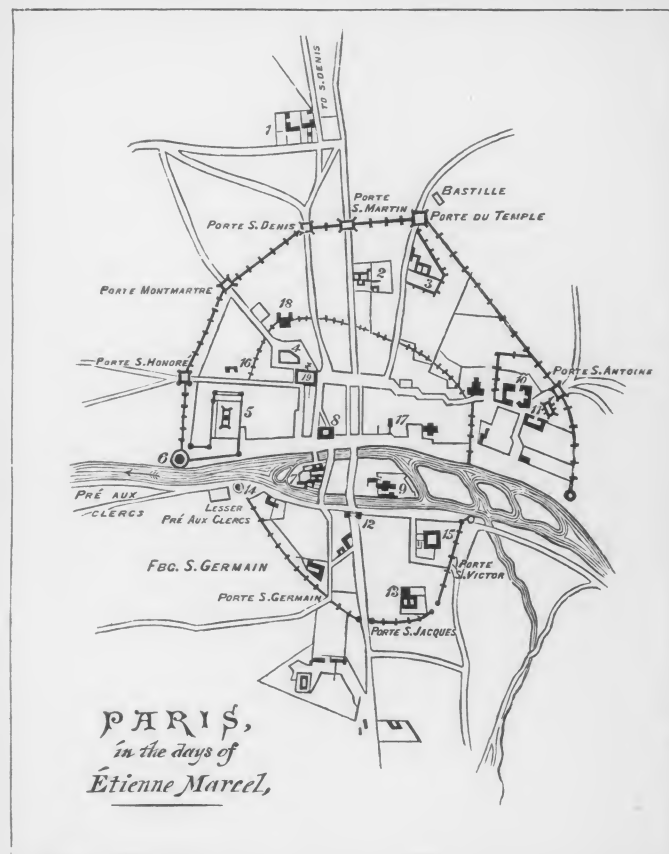
the task of freeing the King of Navarre; and did it so well that he was got out of prison without difficulty or bloodshed¹. Charles went first to Amiens, thence to Paris, with a safe-conduct granted most reluctantly by the Dauphin. The bishop of Paris met him on the road, and brought him in with triumph; he and Lecocq of Laon were almost the only prelates who stood by the civic party. All Paris rejoiced; but the deputies of the good towns of Champagne and Burgundy, fearful of committing themselves, withdrew hastily from the city. Distrust and coolness existed already between the towns, which ought to have had one common interest. Paris at the first was not cast down by their desertion; for she thought she had in Charles of Navarre, fascinating, clever, and wronged, a prince who would free her from the incompetence and ill-faith of their Kings, and would foster her growing liberties. And so, next day, all the city was astir, 'above ten thousand burghers, scholars, prelates, clerks,' in the Pré-aux-Clercs, the Clerk's Park, just outside the walls of the Abbey of St. German des Prés; there the King of Navarre climbed up on a kind of hustings against the abbey-walls, and, after the manner of the age 'preached'² to the crowd. He took for his text the words: 'The righteous Lord loveth righteousness; his countenance doth behold the upright'³. That all might be in keeping, he began in Latin; but soon, that he might creep into his hearers' hearts, he changed speech, and ended in French. He laid before them his wrongs, spoke of his desire to live and die for the defence of France, referred to his royal lineage and relation to the crown, which was nearer than that of King Edward III of England⁴. He spake right courteously and wisely, says Froissart; and his words were gladly heard and much approved: men shed tears as they

¹ Froissart (Buchon), 3. p. 289.

² 'Incepit praedicare,' or, as Froissart (Bnchon), 3, c. 384, p. 291, says, 'et là prêcha et remontra.'

³ Ps. 11. 7 (Vulgate 10. 8). This 'preaching' of leading men, as of the Dauphin at the Halles, or Marcel at St. Jacques, is curious in the hands of laymen. It was the common way of opening Parliament, and was also the best way of appealing to public opinion.

⁴ See Genealogical Table, p. 424.



Taken chiefly from Viollet le Duc.

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 1. S. Lazare. | 2. Palace of King Robert. | 3. The Temple. | 4. The Halles. | 5. The Louvre. |
| 6. The Tour de Bois. | 7. The Law Courts. | 8. The Grand Châtelet. | 9. Notre Dame. | |
| 10. The Palais des Tournelles. | 11. Bastille S. Antoine. | 12. The Petit Châtelet. | 13. S. Geneviève. | |
| 14. The Tour de Nesle. | 15. The Clos du Chardonnet. | 16. Hôtel d'Armagnac. | | |
| 17. Hôtel de Ville. | 18. Hôtel de Bourgogne. | 19. Cimetière des Innocents. | | |

listened; the impression made was deep and fruitful. Next day Marcel waited on the Dauphin Charles, and urged him to be reconciled with Navarre, and to give him his rights. This was promised, in form at least; his castles and towns were to be restored, and burial granted to his luckless adherents of Rouen, whose bones still hung bleaching on the gibbet: the question of an indemnity in money or lands was deferred for the present. Had Marcel been a mere intriguer, we can hardly imagine that he would have tried honestly to bring the Dauphin and the King of Navarre to terms; yet he certainly seems to have done this in good faith. His plan probably was to make the two princes balance one another, hoping that Paris might so be left free to expand: or at this time he may have thought that Charles of Navarre was honestly minded to befriend the city, and to help in bringing in good government; and that his influence would be greater as a friend than as a foe to the Dauphin. Whatever was his thought, there can be no doubt he acted in thorough good faith at this time, filled with a patriotic desire to relieve the sufferings of France, and seeking not his own advancement, but her welfare. But he was foredoomed to failure. His instruments were princes, and there was no trust to be put in them. Charles of Navarre, 'the Bad,' found that Charles the Dauphin, 'the Wise,' took no active steps to carry out the understanding come to by Marcel's intervention: the strong places were not given up; their captains declared that they held them for King John, and would yield them up only on his order. And so war began again. Philip of Navarre, Charles's brother, had never made peace, but had kept up a kind of brigand-war, with such bands of men as he could gather together. Even when Navarre was under the walls of Paris he had refused to lay down arms, saying, in the true spirit of a French noble of that age, that he would not enter the town; for 'in a Commune there was nothing certain and determined on, save the determination to disgrace everything'.¹ The Dauphin also threw off disguise;

¹ Froissart (Buchon), 3, c. 384, p. 292: 'Disoit que en communauté n'avoit

he rode with five or six of his favourites to the Halles, and there 'preached' to the Parisians in his turn; assured them of his goodwill, told them he was gathering troops to fight their foes, accused Marcel and the popular party of keeping the supplies for their own use. He went on in the old way; gathered troops, and issued fresh orders for the debasement of coin. Paris under the Provost's orders rose again to resist him: they took arms, and wore a 'revolutionary cap,' parti-coloured, blue and red. The towns round Paris, which were almost alone in recognising the importance of the work the capital was trying to do, also rose and donned the Provost's cap and colours.

Now came a shameful act; and it is almost impossible to make out what was the cloud on Marcel's judgment which led to it. He perhaps thought that, the Dauphin being a timid man, a scene of violence in his presence would at once free him from his evil counsellors, and throw him, under the influence of terror, into the Provost's arms. He may also have calculated on committing the city to acts from which it could not recede. His own account of it afterwards ('as the Provost himself in my hearing,' says the continuer of Nangis, 'and that of many others confessed') was that the Dauphin had often promised redress, and had done nothing; and that the citizens held that he was hindered therein by the corrupt nobles around him:—which, though true enough, was but a poor justification for so great a crime. Whatever his idea, the Provost did not understand the tenacious duplicity of the young Prince's character. It was agreed that Marcel, with some armed citizens, should enter the Dauphin's quarters, while the city militia stood under arms, ready to support him. Charles the Dauphin had with him the Marshals of Champagne and Normandy, and a great company of knights, nobles, and prelates. No sooner had Marcel entered his chamber than he sharply addressed him¹,

nul arrêt certain, fors pour tout honnir'—a sentiment which the courtly Canon clearly approves.

¹ Froissart (Buchon), 3, c. 382, p. 287. 'Moult aigrement.'

and bade him take heed to the business of the country, so that it might no longer be spoilt and harried by free companies. The Dauphin replied he would gladly do it, but that he was kept penniless, and could not; that they who took the money ought to defend the land; meaning by this the Provost and the citizens. Words began to run high; Marcel made a sign, and the men at his back drew and fell on the marshals, slaying them then and there: so close were they to the Prince that his robe was all bedabbled with their blood. He thought his hour too was come, and fell abjectly at Marcel's feet, praying for life: the Provost placed the civic cap on his head, and bade him be without fear: the corpses of the marshals were thrown out to the people. Thus the revolution seemed to be accomplished; and for a time the Provost became the actual head of government. He sat as President of the Thirty-six, and organised similar bodies to govern the provinces; he bought a house on the 'Place de Grève,' called 'the House on Pillars,' and there established the headquarters of the municipal government. Thus he is the true founder of the Parisian Hôtel de Ville, the 'Palace of the Parisian People,' destined to be the scene of many stirring and tragical acts in the later history of the French nation.

For a time all seemed to work well: the Dauphin was cowed, Navarre returned to Paris, and was reconciled to him. But the revolution of Paris could not command sympathy and sequence in France; not even did the other great cities, in any number, come to the Provost's help²: on the contrary, ill-will broke out; the towns were jealous of the capital; the Estates, when they met, were jealous of Marcel; even in Paris herself factions sprang up.

In order to counterbalance the Provost's power, the Dauphin was named Regent of the realm (March 1358); and seizing his opportunity escaped from his half-captivity at Paris, and

¹ Martin, *Histoire des Français*, tom. 5, p. 187 (note).

² Amiens, Rouen, Beauvais, Laon, Senlis, and a few more, took the blue and red.—Martin, *Histoire des Français*, tom. 5, p. 189.

fled to Meaux. When the Provincial Estates met, as usual, to hear the Report of the States-General, they were found to be divided in opinion: those of Vermandois, Champagne, Auvergne, Dauphiné, Languedoc, declared for the Regent, promising him help. Thus the murder of the marshals only made the breach wider. The Regent summoned the States-General to remove to Compiègne: some obeyed, some did not: there were two bodies in session, each claiming to represent France.

There was nothing left for Marcel but to consolidate such power as he had. He stormed the Louvre, fortified Paris, hired mercenaries. The Dauphin's army cut off the city's supplies: he sent an offer to pardon all with the exception of ten or twelve, nay even of five or six, 'and these he did not intend to put to death.' Marcel's influence was still strong enough to persuade the Parisians to reject this proposal. But though they stood by him, yet a growing ill-will appeared, until he saw that he must get help from without: so he sent messengers to Charles of Navarre, who came at once. It was a fruitless attempt; for he was as little at heart a friend to Paris as the Regent was, with whom we find him almost immediately treating; evidently prepared, if he got such terms as he cared for, to betray the city into the hands of the royal party.

A diversion from another side now came to the Provost's aid. The miseries of France weighed more and more heavily on the peasantry; and none regarded them. They stood apart from the cities, knowing little of them, and having but small sympathy with them; the nobles despised them and robbed them of their substance or their labour. And now another evil fell on them: the country was overrun with free-lances, and no man's wealth, honour, or life, was his own. The 'Archpriest', a knight of Vergnes, ravaged Provence, and put the Pope at Avignon in deadly fear; so much so that 'he was as respectfully received as if he had been the King's son,' and had banquets with the Pope, and pardon for his sins. Another great troop lay between Paris and Orleans,

¹ Froissart (Buchon), 3, cc. 380, 381.

so that no one could pass through that district or dwell there: these were headed by one Griffith, a Welshman. In Normandy a third rout, under Robert Knolles, worked their will on town and castle, none withstanding them. At last the peasantry (May 1358), weary of their woes¹, rose up to work their own revenge and ruin. They began in the Beauvais country, and there fell on the nobles, attacking and destroying castles, and slaying their inmates: it was the old unvarying story. They made themselves a kind of king, a man of Clermont in the Beauvoisin, named William Callet. Froissart imagines that the name 'Jacques Bonhomme' meant a particular person, a leader in these risings. Froissart however had no accurate knowledge of the peasant and his ways. Jacques Bonhomme was the common nickname, the 'Giles' or 'Hodge' of France, the name of the peasant generally; and from it such risings as this of 1358 came to be called the 'Jacquerie,' or the disturbances of the 'Jacques'.² The nobles were soon out against them, and the whole land was full of anarchy. Princes and nobles, angry peasants with their 'iron-shod sticks and knives,' free-lances, English bands of pillagers, all made up a scene of utter confusion: 'cultivation ceased, commerce ceased, security was at an end'.³ The burghers of Paris and Meaux sent a force to help the peasants, who were besieging the fortress at Meaux, held by the nobles; these were suddenly attacked and routed by the Captal de Buch and the Count de Foix, 'then on their return from Prussia'.⁴ The King of Navarre also fell on them, took by stratagem their leader Callet, tortured and hanged him. In six weeks the fire was quenched in blood.

Then the Dauphin was strong enough to draw his lines round Paris: the nobles having put down the peasants now turned against the cities. The people of Senlis won a surprise from them, which had no influence on the general fortunes of

¹ Continuator secundus Willelmi de Nangis in D'Achery, Spicil. 3, p. 119.

² The true origin of the name was well-known to the honest second continuer of William of Nangis, 3, p. 114; he wrote without prejudice, and with his eyes open.

³ La Vallée, 2, 45.

⁴ Froissart (Buchon), 3, c. 387, p. 299.

the struggle. The Regent lay before the gate of St. Antoine, holding the two rivers, Seine and Marne, and thus strangling and starving Paris. The King of Navarre, not satisfied with Marcel's offers of the treasures of the city, and the title of Captain of the kingdom, deeming also that he was now within reach of the actual crown of France, began to treat with the Regent. The Parisians and he, not trusting one another much, were glad to part company: 'the King of Navarre, sage and subtle, saw that things could not long go on as they were between those of Paris and the Regent, and not much trusting to the commons of Paris, left the city with great courtesy, and came to St. Denis¹.' There he stayed expecting the end. The two princes lay over against Paris for some weeks, meantime drawing somewhat together: at last, by means of the Queen Jeanne, the Archbishop of Sens and others, they came to terms of peace. At this moment came secret messages from the Provost of the Traders to the King of Navarre. Marcel was in the utmost straits; Paris was penniless, famine-stricken; the burghers were suspicious, almost hostile; he had no soldiers, and little hold on the citizens. They had compelled him to invite the Regent to return to Paris, and to join them in ejecting the English and the King of Navarre's men. The Regent, had he been generous, might then perhaps have healed the wounds of France. But he replied that he would never re-enter Paris while the murderer of the marshals lived. Then, as a last step,—he must have felt it to be almost a hopeless one,—Marcel called on Charles of Navarre to come back, offered to give him entry into the city by night, to crush with his aid all opposition, and to proclaim him King of France at the Hôtel de Ville. Charles listened gladly; he seemed to touch the goal of his ambition: he took his measures well, and came quietly down to the St. Antoine gate, where Marcel was to open to him. The Provost however was watched, and his plans known. When with fifty or sixty of his followers he went down at midnight to seize the gates, one of the sheriffs

¹ Froissart (Buchon), 3, c. 389, p. 305.

of the city, by name Maillart, with some partisans of the royal side, fell on him, and killed him on the spot. They then rode through the town, shouting the royalist war-cry: the city was paralysed. The Dauphin, three days later, entered Paris, and took grim vengeance on his enemies. Thus perished this ill-starred attempt to build up France on civic liberties; and thus fell Étienne Marcel, the one man who with happier fortunes might have rescued France from the miseries before her.

This attempt to govern France from Paris, in many of its features so like the modern revolutions of that city, failed because there was no civic strength in France, nor any yeoman-class in country places, nor any great patriotic churchmen to keep alive the belief in the nation's life, nor any popular party among the nobles, nor any true germs of parliamentary government. Experience had shown at Ghent, when Jacquemart van Arteveld perished, that the burgher-nature was not broad or strong enough to rule over a nation, or indeed to rule itself: and if it failed there, far less hope for it in Paris. All this while the country was racked with the agony of private war and hostile interests: all industry, confidence, and unity were at an end. Marcel's attempt, foredoomed to fail, was, in spite of errors and its great crime, the murder of the marshals, a brave and a loyal effort to stem anarchy and to restore good government. It did but teach the Dauphin greater circumspection, a more wary cruelty, and more cunning skill in carrying out his plans for reducing France still further under the royal power.

The King of Navarre, baffled even as he sprang to seize his prey, fell back to Normandy: thence he made war on the Regent, returning in force, and ravaging the banks of the Seine, occupying Meudon, and doing the Parisians no small mischief; for no supplies could reach them from above or below. He took into his pay most of the free companies of the time.

Meanwhile, the Dauphin fell on his foes in Paris: these were the Days of Terror of that revolution—terror from the royal,

not from the republican, side. When he felt that he had destroyed all opposition there, he moved on one step farther; he made peace with Charles of Navarre, buying him off on easy terms, and, after his wont, cherishing vengeance against him in his heart. No man ever knew so well how to dissemble.

IV. THE TREATY OF BRETIGNY, A.D. 1360.

News came that King John in England had agreed to terms of peace, ceding to Edward all the conquests his father had made, also Calais and Boulogne, with a large sum of money. But the Regent, who had used his father's name to evade his promises to Charles of Navarre, found it quite easy to refuse such terms as these. He was now friendly with Navarre, and asked his advice. That King suggested that the States-General should be consulted; and the Regent, in spite of his dislike for that body, called them together, in order that he might have the support of the nation in refusing to be bound by his father's word. Few came in answer to his summons: the times were so bad and the ways so unsettled. Those who appeared deemed the treaty 'too hard,' and 'replied with one voice that they would rather go on enduring their great evil and misery, than see the noble kingdom of France thus diminished and wronged; and that King John must abide yet awhile in England.' When this message of the Estates reached London, King John was much enraged, and said, 'Ha, Charles, fair son, you have been listening to the King of Navarre, who deceives you, and would deceive sixty such as you!'

Edward thereon declared the truce broken. The free companies, hitherto ravaging France in the name of the King of Navarre, now ranged themselves under the King of England's banner. Truce or no truce, the woes of France never ceased; it was the ceaseless scourging of medieval demons. The Regent prudently garrisoned the strong places in his power, and determined to risk nothing in the open field; he knew that no

¹ Froissart (Buchon), 3, c. 419, p. 404.

hostile army could find sustenance in the open country, or indeed could much increase the sufferings of the land. The policy which ruled the whole course of his life lies displayed here: by opposing a tenacious passive resistance, by offering no field in which his foes might win glory, by shutting his ears and eyes to the miseries of his ravaged country,—he wore out army after army of his enemies, and saved France.

On the other hand, King Edward made great preparations, 'the greatest one had ever seen in England¹.' All knights and squires gathered horse and harness, the best they could, and made for Calais, awaiting the King: they came to win his favour and booty from defenceless France; 'and especially was it so with the Germans, who are more greedy than other folk,' says Froissart². They were so many that they embarrassed King Edward. He sent the Duke of Lancaster to amuse them, which he did by leading them into the country round St. Omer, to ravage and spoil. In 1360 the King himself came over; he also passed through, spoiling the land till he came to Rheims, one of the Regent's strong places. There Edward would fain have been crowned King of France; but the city held out stoutly, and he had to raise the siege, and wander on into ducal Burgundy. Here the Queen of France governed in name of her son, Philip de Rouvre; she too would not fight, and bought the English out of the province. In this she acted entirely for herself; there was, apparently, no central power at all. All this time the Regent stayed quietly at Paris, watching and thwarting his domestic enemies, the citizens and the partisans of Navarre: vigorous war raged also out at sea. Edward came down from Burgundy to the suburbs of Paris: not even did this provocation move the Regent, nor was the English army strong enough to attack the city. After a while Edward wandered on towards the Loire; thence towards Brittany, giving out that he would return in autumn. And now it became clear to him that of such warfare there was no end: his army could do no more than was being

¹ Froissart (Buchon), 3, c. 420, p. 406.

² Ibid.

done daily by the free companies, while it shrank away insensibly but surely. With this conviction forced on him, he reluctantly agreed to treat for peace. French and English met at the village of Bretigny-lez-Chartres, about two leagues from Chartres. On the 8th of May, 1360, the treaty was signed, and peace declared. King John, or those who spoke for him, said truly that it was done, 'not only for our deliverance, but also to escape the perdition and ruin of our realm and good people' of France¹.

The terms of peace were these:—

1. King Edward III renounced his claim to the French throne.
2. He gave up the old possessions of the House of Anjou north of the Loire.
3. On the other hand, he was secured in the sovereignty of Guienne and Gascony, including the Agénois, Périgord, Rouergue, Querci, and Bigorre.
4. Poitou, Saintonge, La Rochelle, the Angoulême country, the Limousin, Montreuil-sur-Mer, Calais, Guines, with their dependencies, and Ponthieu, were secured in full to Edward.
5. The Counts of Foix, Armagnac, Comminges, Périgord, Isle-Jourdain, the Viscount of Limoges, and all lords of the Pyrenees, and barons of Aquitaine, were to renounce the French, and accept the English suzerainty.
6. The inheritance of Eleanor was to come intact to her descendants, free from all feudal duties towards France.
7. King John's ransom was fixed at three million crowns, or francs of gold, payable in six yearly instalments. The King to be free after the first payment, due guarantee for the rest having been provided.
8. King Edward promised to give up all the fortresses which his subjects, adherents, or allies held in those districts which were left to the French throne.

¹ Ordonnances des Rois, 3. p. 434.

9. France gave up the Scottish alliance, and England the Flemish.

The Pope, Innocent VI, was invited to confirm the oaths of the high contracting parties with the utmost solemnity and sanction.

This treaty, which indicates the weakness of France, and left her in fact smaller than she had been in the days of Philip Augustus, was received in Paris and elsewhere with transports of joy:—such was the misery and dejection into which the proud nation had fallen. We may close the record of this period with the words in which King John, after his return, in an Ordinance relating to sundry fiscal matters, alluded to the sorrows of his land. 'By the space of four years and over have we and this our people ever sustained and suffered many ills, discomfitures, and griefs; for as these grew daily worse and worse, tidings came to us how that the people of our realm were divided, and were slaying and destroying each other, and giving themselves up to rebellion and disobedience, and were committing divers horrible and enormous crimes, such as made it plain that had such things gone on, our realm and people would have been utterly destroyed, with perdition of all they had.' Wherefore, all this considered, he had made the aforesaid peace; 'for we have found that in our realm there have been many divisions and rebellions, robbery, pillage, arson, larcenies, seizures, violence, oppression, exactions, extortions, and many other cruel misdeeds and excesses, justice ill administered, many new taxes levied, and much seizing, carrying off, and putting to ransom of personages, stores, horses, beasts, and other goods, whereby all industry is at end¹.' What further picture of the state of France is needed after this proclamation of her King?

¹ Ordonnances des Rois, 3. p. 434.

CHAPTER III.

The Deeds of Charles V, 'the Wise.' A.D. 1360-1380.

I. AS REGENT, A.D. 1360-1364.

KING EDWARD soon carried his army back to England. John was sent, under charge of the Prince of Wales, from Dover to Calais, there to remain in English keeping till the first part of his ransom should be paid. Small hope was there of gathering in four months, the time named, so large a sum from wretched France. But fortune came to the rescue. Galeazzo Visconti, Lord of Milan, chief of the Italian civic tyrants, wishing to secure his lordship as a hereditary principedom, be-thought himself of an alliance with the royal family of France, and offered to purchase for six hundred thousand florins of gold the hand of Isabelle, daughter of King John for his son, John Galeazzo. The bargain was struck, the money paid, and the foundation laid for future interference and troubles between France and Northern Italy. The immediate result was the release of King John. He returned to Paris, and, under the prudent guidance of his long-headed son, seemed likely to govern well. Reforms in finance, a fixed money-standard, a decree against private wars, apparently promised well for the desolate land. Unfortunately, the evils of the time were aggravated by pestilence, of which the Queen of France and her two children by her first marriage perished; and thus the younger branch of the earlier Capets became extinct. The King of France, thrusting aside the King of Navarre, whose hereditary claim to the province was better than his own, went

A.D. 1360.

KING JOHN'S LAST ACTS.

453

down to Dijon, and took possession of the titles and lands of the Duke of Burgundy¹. And then, directly he had won this fine territory for France, he threw it away again. He bestowed the duchy and peerage of Burgundy on his fourth son, Philip, so delaying for a long time the union of that fair province with the kingdom, and laying the foundation of the Burgundian power.

Of all the curses of France, that of the free companies, the very worst, remained unabated. They ranged unchecked; one of them, the 'Great Company,' swollen to the size of an army, ravaged Burgundy. King John called together the feudal lords of that district, and gave battle to the freebooters at Brignais, where he was routed with great loss. It was another heavy blow to feudalism, proving its impotence against the more regular forces of warfare. The Great Company, unopposed, now streamed over all the rich lands of the Saone and Rhone. King John, still guided by the old spirit of feudalism, which had worked him so much woe, wished to drain the country of these roving bands by leading them in crusade to the East. But the time for this was past; and, indeed, his attention was soon called elsewhere. One of the royal princes, the Duke of Anjou, escaped from Calais, where he was a hostage for the King; and, careless of all claims of honour, refused to return into captivity. Then John, partly moved by his sense of what was due from him as King, partly, perhaps, seeing that his son was a better ruler than he, partly, no doubt, contrasting the desolation of France with the gay court of Edward of England², asked for a safe-conduct, placed the regency again in the hand of Charles, and turned his back on Paris for ever. He was splendidly received by Edward; and feasts and shows, while the crowned heads round the board chatted lightly and

¹ Franche-Comté and Artois went to the Dowager Countess of Flanders, daughter of Philip the Long and of Jeanne of Burgundy, who was daughter of the great Countess Mahaut. The counties of Boulogne and Auvergne passed to John of Boulogne.

² The honest second Continuator of Nangis says so expressly; declaring that he returned to England 'causa joci.'

gaily of crusades¹, rewarded him for his return to a nominal captivity. But, in the midst of this festival, these pleasant talks about future travel and excitement, the grim hand which spoils so many plans beckoned to the King of France, and he died, three months after his return to England².

II. CHARLES V AS KING, A.D. 1364-1369.

France, to whom King John was little more than a name, and to whom the Regent Charles was a sickly youth but rarely seen, took no interest in the death of the one or the accession of the other. It was some time before she became aware that she had come into the hand of a master. Everything had long tended to depress the feudal noblesse. King Charles 'the Wise' was the instrument exactly suited to raise the tottering monarchy on the ruins of the feudal power. His reign is of the highest importance to those who endeavour to trace out the growth of the absolute monarchy in France.

Of his wretched health and looks we have spoken³. It should be added here that his necessarily sedentary and quiet life cut him off from all the sports and jousts of the barons: he saw little of them, and what little he saw he disliked. His infirmities proved to be his strength; they kept him from all those feudal sympathies which would have hindered him in doing his life's work. They also turned his mind towards learning. He passed through the courses of study then known, an apt and eager scholar. Religious he was and learned, yet not a monk on the throne. To read in Latin and French; to know something of mathematics as then studied, of astrology, alchemy, theology; to gather round him well-known learned clerks and philosophers seeking science; to collect books and

¹ The Kings of Denmark and Scotland were there, in order to discuss the subject.

² His funeral rites were done in St. Paul's; his body was afterwards transferred to Paris, and buried with much solemnity at St. Denis.

³ See above, p. 435.

lay the foundations of the great library of Paris¹; to listen to grave moralities, or noble deeds of olden history, or 'divers fair tales from Holy Writ,'—these were the occupations of the sickly King. Rumour, half-malevolent, half-marvelling, gave him credit for dark doings in the secret chambers of his palace; his silent, unscrupulous course, his life unlike the then-known royal life, the singular success of his reign;—all these things gathered round the character of the sage King, and, striking men's imaginations with a sense of contrast between his quiet life and his fortunes, gave a special meaning to his name 'the Wise,' and endowed him with gifts which seemed in no sense human. In much of his character he bears striking resemblance to Philip II of Spain, that closet-King, so ceaselessly industrious, so silent and active, so determined, so mysterious.

Morally cold, prudent, long-waiting, he lost nothing by passion or by haste; his shrewdness divined the future,—this was his astrology; his patience, and freedom from the trammels of the 'point of honour,' enabled him to prepare for that future, and reap his harvest in it. His famous saying, quoted by Christine de Pisan², expresses the great principle of his reign, 'Lordship is more than glory³'; the substance of power, not the show of it, was what he sought and won.

He reformed the coin of the realm, so taking away the chief grievance of the burghers; he found in one man, Du Guesclin, the instrument with which to recast and reform the war-power of his age. Hitherto, war had been one of the sports of the noble, the ruin of the land, the penury of the peasant; Du Guesclin made it a serious affair, and taught the French that hard-hitting and determined style which more than a

¹ He placed nine hundred MSS. in three fair chambers of the Louvre.

² Christine de Pisan, who was daughter of the King's astrologer, wrote a panegyric on Charles. It is of but small historic value. In 2, c. 26, she gives us insight into his unscrupulousness. 'Circumstances,' he said, 'make things good or bad; this way cloaked, 'tis virtue, that way, 'tis vice. To know how to dissemble with the perverse is right good sense.'

³ Martin, *Histoire de France*, 5, p. 242.

century later amazed and shocked the Italians when they came into collision with the fighting-men of Charles the Eighth.

And so this is the period of two great reforms, in finance and in war. Du Guesclin in the battlefield, in the secret chamber Charles,—these were the two powers with which France won back all she had lost; no wonder that she has transformed the soldier into a hero of chivalry and romance, the King into a miracle of magical and hidden wisdom.

And yet she misjudged both these great men. Charles was simply cold, prudent, patient, with one fixed idea—namely, that it was bad to fight pitched battles (like that ill-starred field of Poitiers, whence he had fled so early and so ill), when, at the small cost of ruin to wretched country-folk, an invading army might be made to wear and waste itself away. Little magic, and little heart—that is what was wanted in him who should plan and coldly carry out such a war-policy as this. This policy baffled Edward III, and led to Bretigny; it led too to all the revival of the French power. And Du Guesclin, a hard, angry fighting-man, was in all things unchivalrous. He cared for and treated tenderly the poor folk, never doing them intentional wrong; he was a captain not of feudal knights but of free companies, himself a free-lance. He was the man who overthrew the old feudal service, and heralded the age of mercenaries, which in its turn led the way to the ages of standing armies. No man had less of chivalry and romance, as those things were then understood: fighting was his life and delight; fighting in earnest, with his short powerful frame, all knit up for the combat, his heavy features bright-kindled with the joy of battle. The English armies had done much to ruin feudal chivalry: Du Guesclin wellnigh destroyed it, while at the same time he also wellnigh destroyed the English hosts.

Son of a Breton gentleman, poor and of small estate, Du Guesclin was short and ugly, a marvel of strength, and utterly fearless; rude also of bearing, ignorant, of small capacity, and that not developed: he had great natural cunning, that half-savage quality; was full of ruse and trick in war: he was

contemptuous towards the high noblesse, but gentle to the poor and generous to his friends.

It is said that on the day of King John's death, Charles beheaded eight-and-twenty burghers of Paris, the last victims of their ill-starred attempt at civic liberty. They were said to have been in communication with Charles of Navarre. That shiftily prince was at open war with the Regent, and had raised large forces, composed of free-lances under the Captal de Buch.

Against these the King sent other such, a like force of mercenaries, led by Du Guesclin, already the most renowned of all the captains of freebooters. The two armies, from five to six thousand on either side, met at Cocherel, and the Captal after a hard day was utterly beaten, and taken. The war lasted yet a year; then the King of Navarre made peace, gave up Mantes, Meulan, and Longueville, and received in exchange the far-off border town of Montpellier¹. The King gave Du Guesclin the county of Longueville, on condition that he should rid the kingdom of these free-lance companies; but the warrior was a free-lance himself, and did but aggravate the evil with his Breton followers. In self-defence cities, villages, houses, girt themselves with bulwarks, churches became fortresses: we may see still in the battlemented towers of fourteenth-century churches the evidences of this evil time.

Meanwhile, the old Breton feud between the Montforts and their English friends on the one side, and Charles of Blois, with his French supporters on the other, went dimly on, till Du Guesclin thought well to mix himself up in the fray. Charles V gave him pay for men; he collected a force and set out, marching westward, till at Auray near the Morbihan coast he fell in with Sir John Chandos, with an English force and some armed adventurers. Du Guesclin had far

¹ There is a characteristic account of the way in which Charles V tried to evade his part of the treaty: first the King of Navarre had sealed it with a small private seal; this he objected to: he then sealed it with a big official seal, and the King professed that he thought it not valid because it was broken in the transit.

the larger body of men; the English were well-posted on a hill, whence the French tried in vain to dislodge them. Sir Hugh Calverley, with a reserve force, came up so swiftly that he secured the victory to the English. This battle ended the war. Charles of Blois fell, Du Guesclin was made prisoner, the army was destroyed. All the Breton towns opened their gates to the triumphant Montforts; the treaty of Guerande was signed and gave them the duchy of Brittany.

Charles V was powerless; he recognised the treaty, and received the homage of John of Montfort for the duchy. The French people worshipped Charles of Blois as a saint; miracles at his tomb were reported and believed¹; the Holy See was asked to canonise him. But though the French King supported the petition, the Montforts had interest enough at Avignon to neutralise the attempt; and Charles remained, like St. Hugh of Lincoln, a popular not a Papal or official saint.

The free companies were still the scourge of France; but their day was coming to an end. An attempt to send them by Metz into Germany, in order that they might follow the Emperor on crusade to Egypt, failed; they came back from the German frontier all the greedier for pillage. Then Charles V, who watched the English power with unflagging jealousy, espied a weak place in the armour of his rivals. Castille was in the hands of Pedro the Cruel, a monster in human form, who was on friendly terms with the Black Prince in Aquitaine. Henry of Trastamare, Pedro's bastard brother, was eager to avenge himself and wrest the crown from the ruffian's hands; all Castille looked kindly on the claimant. Charles got Du Guesclin free by paying his ransom to Chandos, and gave him funds to raise another host of adventurers. The brigands flocked like vultures to his standard. Many who had served under the English now joined the French; it was all one to them; even Sir Hugh Calverley himself came into the French camp. The army, led by Du Guesclin, took the road to Avignon, where they extorted from Pope Urban V full indulgence for their sins and a large

¹ Froissart (Buchon), 3, c. 511, p. 268.

sum of money. When the Pope heard their demand, he said that other sinners coming for absolution brought money to pay for it; these demanded both forgiveness and gold. It was irregular; but it was ill arguing with free-lances, who might sack the Papal city and take its treasures, if they would. So Du Guesclin got his will: finding afterwards that the Pope had made the citizens of Avignon provide the money, he returned it all to them, and compelled Urban to pay it again out of the Papal treasury. This time the Pope recovered it by a tax on the clergy.

Du Guesclin, thus reinforced, marched into Aragon, and was helped by Pedro the Ceremonious, King of that land, a prince nearly, if not quite, as great a ruffian as Pedro of Castille. No effectual resistance could be made to the French. Pedro the Cruel fled at last into Aquitaine and took refuge with the Black Prince; Henry of Trastamare was crowned King at Burgos; Du Guesclin made Constable of Spain; his adventurers streamed back into France, richer, not less rapacious.

As yet all was under cover; there was no open war between Don Pedro and Charles, though all knew that Charles had pushed him from his throne; there was no sign that the treaty of Bretigny was in danger, no hint that the English rule in France was drawing to an end: yet it was for this that the 'pedant in his closet' at Paris was steadily and silently working. Meanwhile English Edward gathered up his force; the brigands, of late the soldiers of Henry, now crowded round Pedro the Cruel; there was to be more fighting, more booty. Embarrassed by their numbers the Black Prince dismissed the Gascons in his pay, saying he had no need of them; a step which angered his subjects, and seems to have been the beginning of the ill-feeling which sprang up between the English and the southerners. But at present it was unnoticed. The Black Prince crossed into Spain; fought and won a great battle at Najara (A.D. 1367) on a tributary of the Ebro, where Du Guesclin was again taken prisoner: again his stubborn and ignorant courage left him to fight and rage and be taken, when he ought to have covered

the retreat of his men. And thus Henry lost for a time the throne of Castille. Pedro, now again proclaimed King, neglected the Gascons and English, who had won the prize for him; fever and other maladies set in; half the host perished; the Black Prince himself, when he withdrew into Aquitaine to defend it against Henry of Trastamare, carried with him the seeds of the disorder which saddened his last years. He came back to discontented subjects, with the stain on his escutcheon of having lent himself to replace on the throne of Castille one of the vilest of mankind. From that time the fate of the English possessions in France was sealed.

The Black Prince saw what was beneath the turmoil, the secret energy and influence of the sorcerer, the friend of Jews, the odiously learned King of France; and he warned his father. Edward III, weary of war, and old before his time, was unwilling to believe it; he treated his hostages well, was contented that the instalments of the ransom continued to be paid, and shut his eyes to the signs of the coming storm. The Black Prince found himself surrounded by new dangers—by the ill-will of his Gascon and Aquitanian subjects—and was very unwise in dealing with them. He claimed a heavy aid from them, and treated them imperiously; doubtless made irritable by sickness.

France at last found herself delivered from the grievous burden of the free companies. Many had perished in Spain; the rest passed into Italy, where they found a rich land and a ready market for their arms. They took sides, as they were paid, for and against the Visconti at Milan; they enrolled themselves as a 'foreign legion' under the cross keys, and restored to the Pope the States of the Church which had wellnigh slipped out of his grasp. Even Urban V thought he might put a stop to the scandal of the Avignon captivity under their protection; and, in spite of the opposition of Charles V, went down to Marseilles with his court, whence he sailed for Italy, and, after some days, entered Rome¹.

¹ Continuator secundus W. de Nangis, p. 139, col. 2.

Thus France was solaced, and the long-broken industries of life revived. The King busied himself with internal reforms; for he had the true French spirit, the desire to administer his kingdom, to be the fountain of law and justice, to centralise everything round himself. At last the time came that he could safely throw off the disguise of years. With characteristic subtilty of mind, he set his lawyers and Universities to pick holes in the Treaty of Bretigny, and to find frivolous pretexts for a war, the true justification of which lay solely in its patriotism. In July, 1368, he offered Henry of Trastamare terms of open alliance; he no longer veiled his help, unavowed indeed but open to all eyes, against the English. He listened to the complaints of the Aquitanians, and found with them that the acts of the Black Prince were unbearable; he sent defiance to King Edward, summoning him to Paris to defend himself against the complaints of the prelates, barons, knights and communes of the Marches of Gascony and others who had taken refuge at his court. Edward scornfully replied he would appear, but with helm on head, and sixty thousand men at his foot: though his words were brave, his strength was gone from him, and he was destined to do no more feats of arms. The French King silently prepared for war, favoured by the Black Prince's illness, and the reluctance of Edward III to believe in the evil.

The spring of 1369 saw the end of Pedro the Cruel. Defeated by Henry at Montiel, he was taken prisoner, and brought into the camp of Du Guesclin. There he met his brother, and all the hatred of years burst forth. From hard words they came to blows; they closed, and fell struggling on the ground. Pedro was uppermost, and got his dagger out to stab his brother; then Du Guesclin caught him by the leg, and turned him over, so that Henry lay above; and he, seizing the opportunity, smote Pedro to the heart. So in a disgraceful brawl, Du Guesclin looking on and helping, perished this monster of cruelty. With him perished also the hopes of the English party. Tidings of it reached Paris, and doubtless encouraged Charles to take the final step. And thus the mistake made by

the Black Prince, when he supported Pedro, though he must have known of the enormities of his character and reign, now recoiled on the English with fearful violence.

III. THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR; PERIOD II.

CHARLES V. MAKES WAR ON ENGLAND, A.D. 1369-1380.

In April, 1369, Charles, the story runs, in order to pour contempt on both his English foes and the French chivalry, sent a varlet of the scullery to England with a declaration of war. A senseless insult, unless he meant to show the King that his policy was to fight him without the help of the feudal lords, whom he had so firmly and successfully depressed.

On the very day on which he declared war, he began war; surprised the English at Abbeville, and took that city and St. Valéry that very day: within a week all Ponthieu was recovered. The States-General were convoked, to sanction the step already taken; the French clergy, nothing loth, were bidden to preach the war; Querci, led by the Bishop of Cahors, revolted at once. The Aquitanians felt that they were suspected by the Black Prince, and soon deserved that suspicion. Fortune seemed to have deserted King Edward. An army was gathered in Normandy, under Philip Duke of Burgundy, who, thanks to the able intrigues of Charles, and the complaisance of the Pope¹, had just secured as his bride Margaret, heiress of Flanders, in spite of the opposition of Edward, who desired her hand for his son, Edmund Earl of Cambridge. Philip was stationed at Rouen, with strict orders not to risk a battle. His army came face to face with a small Anglo-Flemish force, under the Duke of Lancaster; though he was seven times as strong, the King's orders were peremptory, and he was obliged to fall back. The Duke of Lancaster,

¹ Edward of England and Philip of Burgundy were of the same degree of relationship with Margaret. But the Papal scruples, which were fatal to the suit of the Englishman, were forgotten when the Frenchman came forward.

untouched, retired on Calais; did some small ravages on his way, and returned to England.

It would be useless to trace out the obscure wars of this period: it is enough to state the results. The English hold on France was so slight and so precarious, that it was shaken off almost without an effort. The Duke of Burgundy in Northern France, those of Anjou and Berri to the South, gave way at once before the Black Prince with his English. There was no attempt at fighting. The well-known captain, Robert Knolles, pushed on from Calais, and set fire to the villages round Paris. These things were as nothing to the impassive King; he let the English weary themselves as before; they raged without resistance and without results.

The Black Prince, worn out with suffering, closed his brilliant career amid the smoking ruins of burnt and ravaged Limoges. From his litter he saw the massacre he had commanded, passing slowly down the streets ghastly with corpses of warriors and women. From this last act of war—the summary of war's evils, and a blot on his glory for ever—he returned to Bordeaux, gloomy and sick; from Bordeaux he crossed to England, where he languished out the sad remainder of his days.

At last, when the long-expected moment came, Charles called Du Guesclin to him, and created him Constable of France; and thus the poor gentleman of Brittany took rank above the highest in the realm—another of the King's conquests won for monarchy over the feudal forces around him. The Constable went forth at once; caught the English at Pont-Vallain, and drove them before him into Brittany; and thus they were cleared away.

In Aquitaine the new governor, the Earl of Pembroke, could not even land. He was attacked by Henry of Castille off Rochelle with a far superior force of ships and boats, and a two-days' battle took place. Rochelle refused to succour the English, who in the end were overwhelmed. Pembroke was made prisoner, the whole fleet sunk or taken; the treasure-ship,

carrying pay for the Gascon army, went to the bottom (June 1372). This was the death-blow to the English ascendancy in the South.

Poitou threw herself into Du Guesclin's arms; Poitiers itself was taken; the Captal de Buch and Percy were surprised and made prisoners: La Rochelle drove out the English garrison, first making good terms for herself with the French King¹. The Constable swept, almost without loss, across Poitou, the Angoumois, and Saintonge.

In Thouars lay almost all the Poitevin nobles of the English side: there Du Guesclin laid siege to them. They agreed to an armistice; if not helped from England before the end of November, they would capitulate: Du Guesclin fortified his position round the town, and waited so long. The English King and even the Black Prince, with the army intended to land at Calais, took ship at Southampton. But the autumn gales were on them; for nine weeks they struggled in vain against this new foe. The day for the capitulation of Thouars came while they were still at sea; and the old King at last gave orders to steer back to the English shore. He landed again at Southampton², and the effort had failed. 'Never was there King of France,' said he, 'who wore so little armour, yet never was there one who has given me so much to do³.'

Thus he summed up the character of the French King's warfare; and it was by these means that Poitou was entirely lost to the English.

Next, Charles set himself to punish Montfort the Duke of Brittany for his English sympathies. In a very short time nothing was left to the English party there except Brest, Auray, and Derval. The first of these was besieged; it was, however, succoured by the Earl of Salisbury, who offered battle to

¹ These were, that (1) They should rase the castle, which had often been a grievance to them; (2) They should never be separated by marriage, treaty, or otherwise, from France; (3) They should regulate their own coinage; (4) They should never be subjected to any taxation except of their free-will.

² Oct. 1372.

³ Froissart (Buchon), 6, c. 672, p. 22.

Du Guesclin; and he, faithful to the King's system of warfare, avoided the open field, and raised the siege. He joined the Duke of Anjou before Derval, where he received orders from the King to hasten back to France, to watch a fresh invasion.

The Dukes of Lancaster and Brittany, landing at Calais, had broken in on France. The King followed his old tactics:—open country and villages abandoned to their fate; fortified towns held in silence; no army in the field. So the Dukes passed unresisted through Eastern France; crossed the Marne and Seine into Burgundy; thence through the hill-land of Auvergne to the Limousin; and so on to Bordeaux. When at last they reached that city they were utterly undone. Without a battle, almost without a skirmish, they had passed through France, leaving behind them a black and desolate trail; leaving also the bones of two-thirds of their force: horses, arms, everything gone, they reached Bordeaux a beaten and disorganised rabble. Nothing remained for them but to cross over again, with such poor shattered force as there was, into England. Thus ended King Edward's last attempt to hold his ground in France; his last attempt to attain what was impossible. The French followed in their track; the Duke of Anjou entered Guienne; the lords of Gascony submitted; and of all France proper the English now held nothing save Calais, Cherbourg, Bayonne, and Bordeaux¹. Thus was the sage policy of Charles thoroughly successful. The English were utterly overthrown, without bloodshed or glory; and, worn out with this strange struggle, both parties welcomed the intervention of the Pope; a truce for two years was signed (A.D. 1375–1377).

During this time Charles busied himself with reforms; France recovered something of its internal prosperity; the taxation was, no doubt, heavy, and enforced on clergy and lay-folk alike; in return for it, there was peace and security, during which men could work.

In 1376 Edward the Black Prince closed his years of suffering

¹ They had still possession of Brest; but we must not include Brittany in France proper.

in silent death. Though a great soldier, for those days, and in some respects a noble character, he lacked opportunity for real greatness; he was brilliant with the brilliancy of fireworks, transitory like them, and wasteful. A year later the old King Edward also passed away: days of change are coming; a new era in English history begins.

The English would gladly have renewed the truce, had not Charles been too wary for that. He at once sent the Castilian fleet, which had done him such good service at La Rochelle, to ravage the English coasts. It was unopposed. By sea and land the quiet King was alike supreme. His armies entered Picardy and Guienne: there was no one to withstand them. The English efforts to relieve the King of Navarre, who, for all his ruses, was hard pressed by the Castilians, were but partly successful. Charles the Bad was between the upper and nether millstones of Charles the Wise, who ground down his French possessions, and Don Juan, son of Henry of Castille, who attacked his Spanish territories. Though succoured by the English he had to make a lame peace with the Castilian King.

The English also attacked St. Malo; fruitlessly, except in so far as they drew Du Guesclin and the Duke of Berri away from their close siege of Bordeaux. No battle was fought, Charles being still faithful to his policy; the English could make no impression on St. Malo, and were forced to reembark.

On the whole, by sea and land, the English were completely overmatched; and the year 1378 saw Charles V successful on every side: he seemed likely to be able to rescue all France from foreign interference, and to administer a newborn kingdom with Ordinances, arbitrary no doubt, but in the actual condition of the age and country clearly sagacious and suitable.

He pushed his concentrating tendencies too far. The outlying districts, Flanders, Brittany, Languedoc, never French, but called on to choose between Paris and London, might, with prudent and gentle handling, have become firmly united to

France; and would then have gradually been assimilated with the kingdom. On the contrary, Charles paid little attention to local prejudice, and, with that cold unimaginative nature of his, trampled underfoot the local liberties; consequently, the last years of his reign saw his great work in France not consolidated but imperilled.

He set himself to confiscate Brittany. That Duchy, so free and high-spirited, was now without a head: John of Montfort had been expelled by the wave of opposition to the English; and no one was put in his place. Charles was not content to do what was prudent, by reinstating the Blois family in the Duchy; a step which would have bound Brittany, retaining its feudal relations to its own chief, by strong ties of gratitude and need to the French throne. He wished rather to absorb the Duchy, and abolish its ancient liberties. In vain did Jeanne, the widow of Charles of Blois, protest and remonstrate; Charles secured the neutrality of Du Guesclin and Clisson, who let their allegiance to him outweigh their patriotism, and then, in December 1378, declared the Duchy united to the crown.

These great Breton soldiers, Du Guesclin, Clisson, Rohan, were true freebooting captains: they had driven out the English faction, had re-established serfage and heavy taxation: they now sold themselves and their country to the timid King. Yet, though her natural leaders thus deserted her, Brittany did not hesitate: her anger broke forth at once; in the early summer of 1379 the whole Breton people were in full revolt. John of Montfort reappeared, welcomed by an united and enthusiastic people. The royal forces made no progress, for the royal war-formula, 'no battles,' did not suit this case. When Englishmen were dragging their weary course across France, they were wisely left 'to perish by their own weight,' suffering the doom of 'violence bereft of prudence'; against a vigorous national uprising this 'little warfare' was of no avail. The King became angry, distrustful; remembering that Du Guesclin was a Breton, he suspected him: and he in turn, not easy in his mind,—how should he be so?—and feeling himself ill-placed

between Brittany on one side and his master on the other, begged leave to be gone, and, getting leave, sent to the King an angry message with his Constable's sword, and set forth for Castille. A reconciliation, of a kind, took place; and he consented on his way to reduce some English-holding fortresses in the South. Accordingly he sat down before a little place, Château-Randon, on the frontiers of Languedoc; and there fell ill and died (July, 1380). So passed away the free-lance hero of a dark age; in half-discredit with his King, at a time when a greater man would have risked still more discredit for his native land. But these were evil days for soldiers; and the spirit of patriotism was distracted by cross-interests. Du Guesclin worthily receives honour from France; for he was a notable instrument in her building-up: this is the only praise we can give him; no other true glory or greatness belongs to the fierce-tempered Breton. They brought his body back to the North, and laid it among the tombs of the Kings in St. Denis, hard by the resting-place which Charles, with the sickly imagination of an invalid, had built for himself while he yet lived; and a never-dying lamp burnt for ages over his grave.

Meanwhile troubles broke out in North and South. Flanders was torn with civil war of the burghers against the nobles, headed by their Count Louis. Charles V, when Louis in his strait applied to him, refused him help. He would not now move a finger in the cause of the nobles, though with them he had triumphed over Paris; and this too even though he knew well that the burghers were attached to England, and that the cause of the nobles was, so far, his own. He seems to have based his refusal on personal grounds: 'Louis,' he said, 'is the proudest prince alive; I would gladly bring him to reason.' This was only the pretext; the principle on which he acted was his old and fixed rule of lowering the power of the great nobles.

And lastly, in these same years, 1378-1380, the Duke of Anjou, being sent by the King into Languedoc, had found there, as he thought, a fine field for his dangerous ambition, and had treated that fair province as his own private domain. He crushed the

inhabitants under his feet; his subsidies were huge, he violated the privileges of the cities, treated all except the noblesse with contempt. At last their cry reached the King's ears, and he, finding them pushed to the end of their forbearance, recalled the Duke of Anjou, who was at the moment intriguing with his friend Pope Clement VII at Avignon, and sent down commissioners to inquire into abuses and to reform them. He eventually gave the charge of Languedoc to the Count of Foix, a most popular Southern lord; and this danger to the crown was averted.

Nor was France proper altogether at rest: the royal exactions rendered the population uneasy: in 1379 the King was obliged to suspend all his fiscal officers, and to give the cities some control over their taxation¹. In all things Charles showed himself rather a great proprietor than a great prince: the sufferings of his country never seemed to affect him till they expressed themselves in a falling-off of the royal revenues. Then he bestirred himself;—as a landlord, not as a King².

In the midst of these dark signs of a task half done, came to the King his summons to lay down the sceptre. His physician had told him, early in life, that when the abscess under his arm closed he must prepare to die; death would be upon him within a fortnight: and now, early in September, 1380, the sign came. Charles arranged his affairs calmly, as befitted the 'sage' King; sent for two of his brothers, the Dukes of Berri and Burgundy, with the Duke of Bourbon, his Queen's brother; leaving unsummoned the ambitious and unscrupulous Anjou. To them he commended his little son Charles, now only twelve years old, light of character, and one who needed prudent governors: he bade them make Clisson Constable in the room of Du Guesclin; he lamented greatly the heavy aids with which he had grieved and crushed the poor folk of France.

¹ *Ordonnances des Rois*, tom. 6, p. 440.

² Martin, *Histoire des Français*, tom. 5, p. 327: 'Le roi n'était, dans sa manière habituelle de penser et de vivre, que le plus grand propriétaire de son royaume; S. Louis est peut-être le seul de nos vieux rois qui ait vu les choses de plus haut.'—Cp. *Ordonnances des Rois*, tom. 6, pp. 464, 467.

And having made them this too late confession of the harshness of his rule, he devoutly resigned the weary burden of his life and crown into the hands of Him who had laid them on him.

So died King Charles the Fifth, the Sage.

There is something fascinating about this sickly King, so unlike all before him, at once weaker and stronger than they. We see him in his youth flying like a craven from the field of Poitiers, with a following of horsemen who, led by a brave man, might have stemmed the 'onward ride' of the Black Prince. Then we see him grovelling at the feet of Marcel, abjectly begging his life; we note his companions, noble and frivolous;—and what a prospect for France when this poor creature becomes King! Add to this his terrible illness, soon after his coronation¹; and then compare his accession with that of his lively, handsome son Charles the Sixth:—who would have said that the one would leave his kingdom enlarged, at peace; the other drag it down to the lowest depth of humiliation?

But when Charles V became King unknown qualities emerged. He is silent, hidden from sight. From his secret places he rules, an occult power. The feudal world around him loses sight of him, has no influence with him. He studiously depresses the great nobles, does all by means of new men, the 'Marmousets,' as the feudal lords contemptuously call them; or he employs his brothers, the Princes of the Lilies, whose ambition and rude health he satisfies and employs now here now there. His cold temperament cares for no man's sufferings; he has little love for any one except Du Guesclin. His tenacity outwears his enemies, reduces his domestic burdens, enables him to smother any latent desire for liberty in France, brings his finances into good order, avoiding the disastrous ignorance of his forerunner's fiscal policy; he restores confidence and in-

¹ 'Depuis le temps de son couronnement, luy estant en fleur de juenece, ot une très griève et longue maladie, à quel cause luy vint se ne scay, mais tout en fu affoiblis et debilitéz, que toute sa vie demoura très pale et très maigre, et sa complexion moult dangereuse de fièvres et froidures d'estomac.'—Christine de Pisan, 2, c. 10.

dustry, he enlarges the borders of his kingdom. Yet so secretly and silently, so unlike the clatter of that false chivalry with which men's ears were still filled, that the world was fain to account for his power by occult causes: he was over-learned, a magician, a practiser of forbidden arts. The truth was, he was a shrewd lawyer¹, patient, unscrupulous, sagacious; and he knew his times. He saw that the day of chivalry was past, that the old forces of the world were wearing themselves out; he knew that by waiting he could outstay them. Their life was all action and glory; he denied them the stirring excitement of battle, and quietly wearied them out. This is the secret of his success.

We have a minute account of his daily life from Christine²: it was thus. After dressing, he received his chaplain, with whom he recited Breviary and Hours. Then at 8 a.m. he heard Mass in his chapel, after which he gave audience to rich and poor alike. Then, on Council days, to the Council; then talk, after the business done, with the lords of the blood or the bishops. By 10 a.m. breakfast was ready: simple food, washed down with good wine much diluted; music playing the while. Then conference with any prince or ambassador who might be at Court; questions propounded, discussed, solved; letters signed; gifts and offices granted. This all done, he withdrew and rested, taking sleep for about an hour. Refreshed, he amused himself with his private friends, using simple relaxations for the sake of his health: and this till vespers. Then, in summer, he would stroll in his garden, and, if at St. Pol, the Queen and children would sometimes come too, and he would speak to the women, and ask after the well-being of the children. In the winter he sat and heard one read, now Holy Writ, now the 'Gesta Romanorum,' or Moralities, or Philosophy, till supper, which was early and light. After the meal, he fenced a little with his comrades, and so betimes to bed. It is a quiet feeble life, strictly by rule, without energy or enterprise or much of interest, except when he pleased himself with his fine

¹ As the Duke of Lancaster called him.

² Christine de Pisan, 1, c. 16.

collections of jewels, for which he had a great love. He wearily did his work as a ruler; saying with a sigh, that government was 'more burden than glory,'—'plus charge que gloire.'

He was also a great lover of architecture and engineering, and built not a few noble castles and churches, such as the chapel at Vincennes, and the great abbey of St. Ouen at Rouen. The Bastille dates from his day; he projected the canal between the Seine and Loire. He loved learning and the learned; his reign saw translations of the Bible,—then of Aristotle, next in authority,—then of St. Augustine and of Livy; and he gathered together the germs of the great Library at Paris.

His public and striking acts are few. He did much for good government in detail; his administrative and civil ordinances bear the mark of a mind steeped in law, especially in Roman Law. He made the Parliament of Paris permanent, treating it as a high Law Court, and placed it significantly in the old palace of St. Louis. He ordained that the majority of the Kings of France should be fixed at the age of thirteen¹; and very wisely separated the regency from the tutorship of a minor King; so that the Regent should never have the personal charge of the King as well as that of the kingdom. His Ordinances show no small favour to the higher bourgeoisie; it is not uncommon to find him granting nobility to the Provost and Sheriffs of a city, as in 1372 to those of Poitiers, and in 1377 to those of Paris. His Ordinances for the cities had as an obvious aim first to detach them (as in the cases of La Rochelle and Poitiers) from the English cause, and secondly, to raise them up against the feudal noblesse. We may note also that he overthrew many feudal castles, under pretext that they might prove serviceable to the English. In fact he succeeded in bereaving the nobles of many of their sovereign prerogatives, and in concentrating on himself the whole legislative power. They retained their powers of administration and war; the time would come when the Monarchy would absorb these also².

¹ This law held good till the Revolution.

² Duruy, *Histoire de France*, I. 421.

One more trait. Though it is true that Charles confirmed his brother in the Duchy of Burgundy,—finding the thing in fact done when he came to the throne,—he took good care that no more limbs should be torn away from France as provisions for younger sons. There exists an Ordinance from his hand which forbids all such concessions of sovereign fiefs in the future, and fixes the provision for princes of the blood in the form of revenues and titles. Thus while with one hand he helped to found the great ducal house of Burgundy, with the other he secured the unity of the French kingdom. Henceforth France has but three great fiefs on her flanks: Guienne, the chief scene of these Anglo-French wars; Burgundy, destined to rise almost to the rank of a kingdom in the coming time; and Brittany, whose stubborn Armoricans would be the last to bow the head before the crown of France¹.

¹ La Vallée, 2, pp. 56, 57.

CHAPTER IV.

Charles VI. A.D. 1380-1422.

I. THE GREAT SCHISM.

ONE of the last public acts of Charles V was the creation of the 'Great Schism of the West,' which divided Europe into two new camps: that of the Clementines, or of those who recognised Pope Clement VII, and that of the Urbanists, who paid allegiance to Urban VI. Though the latter claimant had apparently the stronger and better cause, the French King did not hesitate to throw his weight into the opposite scale. And from that moment (A.D. 1378) for many years raged this great struggle between Pope and Pope, to the scandal of Christendom. The policy of France respecting the Popes, which was characterised by their 'captivity' at Avignon, the want of moral character and of a true sense of responsibility, and the persistent resistance to all reform shewn by the Popes, led naturally to this deplorable sight, this duel in which the greatest names and the greatest ideas in Christendom, were pitilessly dragged through the dust.

The last quarter of the fourteenth century was a very bad time throughout Europe. Everywhere there was ferment and restlessness, there were sudden uprisings from below, ill-managed and abortive, yet capable of shaking still more the crazy feudal fabric. Everywhere the feeling was the same: in Italy the Fraticelli; the Vaudois, the Turlupins; 'the Society of the Poor,' the 'Beggars,' in Germany; in France the Jacquerie;

A.D. 1378.

THE GREAT SCHISM.

475

the followers of Wicliffe and John Ball in England:—all expressed the same discontent. Froissart, who watched it from the feudal castle-wall, opines that it sprang 'from the great ease and abundance of goods in which the common folk then lived.' He also finds it quite natural that the 'common folk should till the lands of the gentleman, gather in his harvest, lead it to his grange, store it, thrash and winnow it, and, as his servile duty, cut the hay, make it, stack it, and do all such like *corvées*.' But the unreasonable people¹ appealed to things unheard of, to God's order in the world, to Adam and Eve, complained that they were kept like beasts, not like men, and even went so far as to demand wages for their work.

At the same time the faithless Papacy at Avignon was the mother of all horrid crimes and vices, slave to its own passions and to France. The conclave was entirely under French influences; one Pope after another bowed before the French King. This however could not always continue; and at last Urban V, in spite of all the efforts of Charles V and the French party at Avignon, broke loose in 1367, and returned to Rome. The Emperor Charles IV held his stirrup at his entry, rejoicing to think that his turn of influence might be coming. Cardinal Albornoz had subdued the Romagna, Umbria, and the March of Ancona: it looked as if the Papacy might come back and reseat itself in its temporal principedom. Yet Urban soon slipped back again to Avignon, where he died in 1370. His successor, Gregory XI, moved chiefly by St. Catherine of Siena, whose influence over him was unbounded, risked his personal safety, and also escaped to Rome. Italy was now fast turning against France; and when in 1378 Gregory XI died, the Roman populace, dreading above all things another Avignon Pope, showed so ominous a temper, that the sixteen cardinals, of whom eleven were French, were compelled, much against their will, to elect an Italian, the Bishop of Bari, as Pope. He took the name of Urban VI. The conclave, even while it elected him, made protest that it was acting under compulsion; and

¹ 'Les méchants gens,'—Froissart (Buchon), 8, c. 106, p. 14.

when the stern severity of the new Pope became plain to them, when no one seemed safe from violence, when even the cardinals of his own party were seized, and (so the tale ran) cast into the sea, they were terrified at the master they had given themselves, and withdrew to Anagni, in order to be near Naples. They called to their aid the Gascon and Breton brigands who were still roving about Italy; they wrote to Charles V, and made terms with him; they declared the Papal See vacant, and proceeded to a new election. This time their choice fell on Robert of Geneva, a man who did not belong to one of the powerful nations: he had led freebooters into Italy, and was now but thirty-six years old. He took the name of Clement VII. Charles V of France, the kingdoms of Scotland, Naples, and Castille, recognised him at once. On the other hand Urban was acknowledged by Northern Italy, by Germany, England, Holland, Navarre, and most of the northern states of Europe. Thus was all Christendom split asunder by the 'Great Schism' between the aged Urban VI, the stern, disinterested, and violent Italian Pope, and the youthful Clement VII, the supple and dissolute French Pope.

The duration of the schism is reckoned by some at forty, by others at seventy-eight years. The Church herself was never quite clear as to the rights of the question; it got itself mixed up with many cross issues. It destroyed the idea of the theocratic monarchy; it struck a heavy blow at the old faith, and prepared men for the Reformation. It was a great scandal in Christendom, this house divided against itself. The Popes fired bulls point-blank at one another, they distracted Europe with the sight of their selfishness, and seemed bent on proving the impotence of their most tremendous ecclesiastical weapons.

At first the vigour of Urban carried all before him. He drove Clement out of Naples and compelled him to take refuge at Avignon; then, with help of Charles of Durazzo, one of the Angevin claimants to the throne of Naples, he took that city, and put its unhappy Queen Joanna to death.

II. THE EARLY YEARS OF THE KING. A.D. 1380-1392.

So things stood, when Charles V died, leaving his throne to the handsome boy¹, now nearly twelve years old, whose reign was so disastrous to the state, so sad for himself. Just before the sage King died, he had commended his little son to the dukes his brothers, Berri and Burgundy, and to Bourbon, the Queen's brother. 'All my trust,' said he, 'is in you; the child is young and fickle-minded, and great need there is he should be guided and governed by good teaching.' Ill did they fulfil the trust! Berri was occupied with his pleasures and his extortions in the South; Burgundy was busy securing the great fief of Flanders, and founding a powerful dominion to the north and east of France; Bourbon was an amiable and worthy man, gentle and of small influence; and lastly, the Duke of Anjou, whom Charles had not called to his bedside, was rapacious and selfish, vehemently ambitious, and full of schemes for winning the throne of Naples.

The times looked dark in Church and State. On the thrones of France and England sat children, each surrounded by a group of dishonest and selfish princes of the blood: drunken Wenceslaus abased the Empire: the state of the Papacy we have seen. There was neither dignity in high places nor contentment among the people. The English troubles were social², and more agricultural than civic: the French movements were political, springing from the ideas of the burghers of a few great cities, in sympathy with the Flemish towns. There was but little harmony between them and the peasantry.

Never was there greater need of a wise prince than when light-headed Charles VI was called on to take his father's place. Unfortunately, he had not a single quality likely to be useful to his people, except it were his good-nature. He does

¹ Christine, 2, c. 15, says he was tall, handsome, and well-built, 'souverainement bel de corps et de viaire (visage), grant des corps, plus que les commune hommes, bien formé, et de beauls membres.'

² Wat Tyler's insurrection took place in 1381.

not seem to have been cruel of disposition. Juvenal des Ursins says that at Courtrai he tried to prevent the murder, fire, and pillage. He also calls him 'benign and gentle'.¹ Fickle-minded, fond of pomp and pleasure, he disliked the duties of a ruler, and craved for fresh excitements. When his father, shortly before his death, had given him leave to choose among his exquisite jewels, the lad passed them all by and took instead a little helmet; he hung a little suit of armour, like a child's toy, at his bed-head: all tended to show that expeditions or court-games, movement, excitement, self-indulgence, were the needs of the boy-king; and in these his uncles, the Princes of the Lilies, gladly indulged him; for thus he would most surely become unfit to exert his own authority against theirs.

By an Ordinance of 1374² Charles V had fixed the age of his successor's majority at thirteen, hoping thereby to free his son from the uncles: he died unfortunately two years before the boy reached even that early age. In 1375 he had given the regency to his eldest brother, the Duke of Anjou; afterwards (probably discerning his character better), he tried to keep him out of it altogether. The tutelage he entrusted to the Queen his wife, to his third brother the Duke of Burgundy, and his brother-in-law the Duke of Bourbon. The regency was to have no authority over Paris, Senlis, Melun, or the Duchy of Normandy, which were to be governed by a council of prelates, barons, members of the Parliament, and six burghers of the city of Paris.

Of these Princes of the Lilies, the Duke of Burgundy, Philip le Hardi, had married Margaret, heiress to the Count of Flanders; whence he had the immediate expectation of Flanders, 'the wealthiest district in Christendom';³ together with Brabant, Artois, and other places of note.

¹ J. Juvenal des Ursins, ann. 1388: 'avoit grand sens et entendement, et estoit très belle personne et benigne et douce.' The great *Chronique de France* describes the King as seeking to save the citizens, 'combien que le roy eust fait crier qu'on ny tuast personne et que on ne fit desplaisir a nulluy, toute voies, en despit de la bataille de Courtray... les gens de guerre tuerent presque tous ceulx de la ville.'—*Chron. de France*, tom. 3, p. 45.

² *Ordonnances des Rois*, tom. 6, p. 26.

³ 'La plus noble, riche et grant qui soit en Crestienté.'—Christine, 2. 13.

Anjou, the worst of the brothers, was greedy and ambitious; he it was who stole the jewels Charles V had collected: he scented out and seized the bars of treasure hidden in the walls of Melun Castle, and intended as a reserve for the use of the young King. Having got this wealth, he determined to win with it Naples and Sicily, the glittering prize which dazzled him and lured him to destruction. That he was thus attracted out of France, and furnished with the means of making his way in Italy, was perhaps the best thing that could have happened. The money was not altogether ill laid out.

Berri, who presently took the command of the South of France, was incapable as a ruler, extortionate, unjust; he oppressed his people scandalously.

These selfish Princes of the Lilies quarrelled at once. Anjou, through the great lawyer Jean des Marests, claimed both regency and tutelage: the Chancellor, Peter d'Orgemont, for the Dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, claimed that the King should be at once consecrated, and that there should be no regency, alleging the express wishes of the late King. The dispute came to arbitration. It was agreed that Anjou should be Regent, but only till the King's consecration, and that he should have as his own all the treasure, plate, jewelry, and furniture of Charles V. His hopes of Naples made him acquiesce in this award. There was established a great council, in which sat the four Dukes, and with them twelve councillors, whom they chose. The King's consecration at Rheims followed at once; Oliver Clisson was made Constable of France; the Dukes divided the charge of the kingdom as they thought best. Burgundy had Normandy and Picardy; Berri went south to Languedoc, ruling there and in part of Aquitaine, having full regalian rights over nearly one-third of the kingdom. Anjou was President of the Council, and had control of finance; Burgundy and Bourbon set themselves over the King's education.

Just at this moment Ghent sounded her war-note. Philip van Arteveld headed the revolt of the burghers against feudalism,

in his struggle with Louis de Male, Count of Bruges, and feudal lord of Ghent: and in the battle of Bruges (A.D. 1382) won the independence of his city. At the same time Paris had revolted, and had compelled the King's advisers to lighten the burden of taxation; for thirty thousand armed citizens were not to be trifled with. Rouen also revolted, and set up a draper as their civic king: him the Dukes presently overthrew. The States-General were refractory; the provincial States disaffected. The feudal party, the nobles of France, saw clearly that the triumph of the cities would be their loss; and they urged the boy-King to make war on the citizens of Flanders. Nor was he loth to take the field. Philip van Arteveld appealed to England; but, though the Urbanist churchmen of England wished to aid their friends the Flemings against the Clementine French, and though the English cities were not altogether unwilling to stand by Ghent, succour came reluctantly, and too late. The English nobility, like the French, saw that their interests were not on the side of the towns. Consequently, the campaign of the French chivalry against Ghent was little more than a military excursion. A great part of the civic forces were engaged in the siege of Oudenarde: with the remainder, men of plentiful goodwill but small knowledge of war, Philip van Arteveld marched out against the French. Froissart tells us that he was no skilful general, 'being more fit to fish with a worm,' as he used to do on the bridges of Ghent, than to command armies: and probably the contemplative citizen was better in the council-chamber than in the field. Certainly, at Roosebek there was but little strategy. The citizens tied themselves together, we are told, and advanced in a solid body on the French. But though they made some impression on the centre, the two wings of the French army lapped round their flanks, where they were defenceless. They stood and were massacred: 'soon there was a long and high heap of slaughtered Flemings; and, for so great a battle and so many dead, never flowed so little blood'—some were knocked down with clubs and maces; numbers were stifled in the crush, and lay dead without a wound. It is said that 26,000 perished:

the whole of the Ghent battalion, with Van Arteveld at its head, was destroyed; and the war was in fact ended with one blow. Had King Charles pushed on, he might have brought all to a very speedy close. Flanders was crushed; the siege of Oudenarde raised; Bruges threw open her gates; Ghent left her walls undefended for three days. The King wished to see the body of the great burgher whom he had so signally overthrown: and they sought it among the dead. There he lay, under a heap of his faithful Flemings, crushed and stifled to death. The prisoner, who found and pointed out the body, was so overwhelmed with grief, that he tore open his wounds, refusing to live now that his chief was dead. The body was displayed before the King, and then, it is said, was hung on a gallows-tree¹. 'And this,' says Froissart, 'was the last end of Philip d'Arteveld².' Thence they turned to Courtrai, took it, sacked it, and burnt it down. The townsfolk were slaughtered in crowds, the wretched remainder dragged into servitude. The Duke of Burgundy carried away the fine town-clock, and set it up in his good city of Dijon. Thus was 'the Day of the Spurs' avenged.

And it was, in truth, a great triumph of the noblesse over the cities. Paris was the first to feel it. The King came back with great pomp of arms; the burghers' offer of honours at his entry was contemptuously refused: the gates were torn down, the barriers broken; the Bastille at the Porte St. Antoine strengthened. The city was treated as a fallen foe, and heavily taxed³. The same was also done at Rheims, Châlons, Troyes, Sens, Orléans. There was also a strong reaction against the lawyers and the 'new men,' the 'Marmousets'; Des Marests, the aged and faithful servant of so many Kings, now fell, nor did he escape the scaffold⁴. There was no little judicial murder, no small squeezing of the rich. Terror and oppressive taxation fell on

¹ It is also said that the King kicked the body as it lay. But this rests on the very slightest authority, that of a MS. chronicle at Oudenarde, cited by M. de Reiffenberg.

² Froissart (Buchon), 8, c. 198, p. 354.

³ Ibid. 8, c. 204, p. 387.

⁴ Possibly his having supported the Duke of Anjou was partly the cause of his fall.

the intelligent and industrious classes. In all ways the triumph of the nobles seemed to be complete.

It was in vain that a strong force of English under the warlike Bishop of Norwich was sent to Calais to support the Urbanist cause, to give the English nobles a chance of emulating the feudal glory won by the French at Roosebek, and to express, at the same time, the popular sympathy with the burghers of Ghent. None of their leaders showed strategy or wisdom, if we except Sir Hugh Calverley, a true warrior of the sterner type, whose voice they never listened to. They took Dunkirk, overran West Flanders as far as Sluys, laid siege to Ypres. Then Charles VI rode northward again with a great host; and the English, overmatched, gave way point by point, until they were forced back into Calais.

Then came negotiations; and a truce, in which the men of Ghent were included, was signed in January 1384. At the same time the burghers' old foe, Louis de Male, Count of Flanders, perished by an obscure death, probably in a brawl with the Duke of Berri. Flanders then fell into the hands of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, who had it in right of Margaret his wife. He was wise and conciliatory, restored the Flemish liberties, and 'was himself more a Fleming than a Lily-prince.' And thus the foundations of the great Burgundian dukedom, stretching in a curve from the sea round all the northern and much of the eastern frontier of France, were securely laid.

While Burgundy was thus fruitfully busied in the North, Louis of Anjou pursued his own plans to the South, and brought them to a very different issue. He crossed the Alps in 1385, styling himself King of Sicily, and passed, with no small loss of men, through Italy. Charles of Naples, his rival for the kingdom, withdrew all provisions, so that men and beasts were starved. In vain did Anjou assert his claim as adopted son of Queen Joanna; in vain did he challenge Charles to come out and fight. Like his namesake, Charles V of France, the King of Naples was sufficiently cool to watch quietly the

daily weakening of his antagonist. Thus, Anjou, being before Barletta, in which town Charles was lying, drew out his forces and offered battle. 'The French were well enough armed, but very scantily dressed; the King himself wore a linen coat, painted to represent armour.' Then Charles of Naples, who had promised 'to see him in the field,' marched out of one of the city-gates; and, having thus raised the hopes of the French, who languished for want of a battle, and having fulfilled his promise to the letter, he marched back into the city by another gate. 'King Louis seeing himself thus mocked, and in such straits, with his men all dying fast, determined to be gone and to return home. But of his wrath and displeasure he died They put him in a coffin of lead, with such obsequies as they could muster . . . and then, noble or not noble, they made for home afoot with great difficulty, each staff in hand; and sore pity it was to see them. And thus all the chivalry and help King Louis had had from France was lost. A fair example for princes not to undertake such enterprises, if they do not well know how to carry them out¹.' And thus disappeared the most covetous, unscrupulous, and ambitious of the brothers.

In this same year the King was married to Isabelle of Bavaria; a lad of sixteen years to a pretty child of fourteen. She was destined, for all her fair innocence, to be the scourge of France.

Next year (A.D. 1386) the King and his uncles declared war on Richard II, proposing to cross the Channel and invade England². The preparations were enormous; the rendezvous at Sluys. There were collected nine hundred ships³; and a wooden town was constructed, which was to be carried over and built up as a fortress on the English shore. There were knights and squires in crowds, archers and lesser folk without count. The burden fell on the people; great taxes were levied, and with strictness. So severe was it, that a great part of the people fled the land: 'the exaction was so sharp, that it took all one was

¹ J. Juvenal des Ursins, A. 1385.

² Froissart (Buchon), 8, c. 206.

³ Froissart says fourteen hundred.

worth¹. Meanwhile all waited for the Duke of Berri; but he 'made good cheer,' as he wrote to the King, 'and lived joyously,' without moving. The autumn came, rough equinoctial weather set in, the Channel was not safe, and the whole thing failed. All the ships either perished at sea, or were taken by the English; the wooden town was given to the Duke of Burgundy; the King went back to Paris. So ended this great effort, 'which did more harm to France than ten years of actual war would have done².'

And yet Clisson was eager, in the spring of next year, to collect his forces again. But he was hindered by the Duke of Brittany (who was suspected of English leanings), and an expedition into the Ardennes and to Luxemburg, in the direction of Germany, was planned and undertaken. This too was a wretched failure. The army was starved; the wreck of it slunk home in disgrace.

These things all tended to make the Regency of the Dukes very unpopular. Men, as usual, cherished the fond thought that the young King was good and kindly, and not responsible for these mishaps. And, consequently there was great joy in France when, at Rheims, in 1388, the King, acting under advice of the prelates, but chiefly of the Cardinal of Laon, took on himself the charges of the government, and dismissed his uncles 'right well and graciously, with many thanks for the trouble and toil they had had with him and the realm³.' And they went, Berri into Languedoc, Burgundy to his lands and lordships, both ill content, with anger at heart. Before long, the Cardinal died suddenly, and they were suspected of having poisoned him⁴. The King at once chose his counsellors from the 'Marmousets,' who had been the advisers of his father—such as Oliver Clisson, Constable of France, the Lord de la Rivière, and Nougant. The burdens of Paris were lightened, and Juvenal des Ursins, father of the chronicler, was made Provost; Clisson the Constable was in high honour with the King.

¹ J. Juvenal des Ursins, A. 1386.

² Martin, *Histoire de France*, 5, p. 459. ³ Juvenal des Ursins, A. 1388.

⁴ Juvenal. 'Il fut ouvert, et trouva-on les poisons.'

At first there was an attempt to govern well: the new ministers were active, intelligent, prudent. The King made circuit of Languedoc in 1390, and deposed the shameless Duke of Berri. But it was only a gleam of light, soon to be clouded over by the thick darkness of his madness. Though not without kindly impulses, Charles had no self-control; he plunged into all kinds of excess, and undermined a feeble constitution and intellect. So he drifted on for a while, ever counselled by the 'Marmousets,' allowing them to govern, and never halting in his own round of wasteful and dissolute pleasures.

III. THE KING'S MADNESS. A.D. 1392-1415.

In the summer of 1392 came a great change. One Peter Craon, servant to the Duke of Orleans, the King's brother, was dismissed from court. He imagined that Oliver Clisson, with whom he had had high words, was the cause of his disgrace; watching for an opportunity, he attacked the Constable by night with twenty armed men, and left him for dead. The King, who was passionately fond of his great soldier, heard the news as he was going to rest. He hastened out, and found the Constable recovering his senses, though sorely wounded. Clisson told him who had done the cowardly deed, and then and there the King vowed vengeance on the assassin. The Constable recovered; but Charles was none the less determined to punish Craon, who had fled for protection to the Duke of Brittany. Then the King, on advice of his friends, and against the will of his uncles, gathered an army, and, as soon as the Constable could sit on a horse again, set out for the West. It was in August. Charles was not in good health; his debaucheries had shaken him, he was feverish, light-headed; men noticed a change in his manner and speech; and his physicians advised him not to go out in such hot weather. He would not listen. The royal Dukes, though much opposed to the expedition, followed in his train. One hot afternoon, as he was riding in his armour westward in the burning sun, he was startled by a

wild-looking man, who seized his bridle and forbade him to go on, 'for he was betrayed to his enemies.' For the moment he seemed to pay no heed, and rode on. But in the heat of the day, one of the two pages who rode behind him dozed, and dozing, let the spear he carried clatter down on the steel cap of his brother-page. The sound roused the King; he yelled out 'Treason,' and, drawing his sword, fell on his escort, and, chasing them to and fro, killed four ere he could be stayed. When they got him down, he lay on the ground as one dead. They carried him back to his quarters. The physicians came, and they too judged he was gone. The common people came also, and wept, and lamented. 'Sore was it to see their tears and mourning¹.' After a while he recovered his health, though not his senses. He knew no one but the Duchess of Orleans, whom he called 'his fair sister': he even denied his own identity². The people thought him bewitched.

Burgundy and Berri at once seized the government; the Duke of Orleans, the King's brother, was put aside. This was the first sign of the coming civil discord between the parties of the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, which forms the chief part of the history of France during this desolate time. The King's friends escaped as best they could: Clisson made for his castle in Brittany, John of Montagu fled to Avignon, Nougant and others were imprisoned in the Bastille. The luckless King was left in charge of his wife, who, from being idle and pleasure-loving, sank into scandalous debauchery, and tore France in pieces by her vices. Unfortunately for France and for himself the King's malady was found to be intermittent; lasting usually from June to January, and leaving him more or less sane during the spring months. Consequently, the Dukes were regarded as only the King's agents. They sheltered themselves behind his name, his personal popularity, and the pity felt for him; they got his assent to their baleful measures;

¹ J. Juvenal des Ursins, A. 1392.

² 'Ne cognoissoit personne quelconque tant qui luy mesmes se descoignoissoit, et disoit que ce n'estoit il pas.'—Chron. de France, 3, p. 68.

they left the state in unrest. The people trusted that the King would again awake to sanity, and hailed his half-lucid intervals with joy and hope. It was sad to see his feeble endeavours to govern when he was better; still more sad to watch him sinking back into madness. He was always aware that the fit was coming on again; and then 'it was most piteous to hear his regrets, as he invoked and called on God's favour, and our Lady and divers saints.' Once he bade the Duke of Burgundy take away his knife; for he said, with tears, that he would rather die than be so tormented¹. 'If any of this company,' said he, 'are causes of my sufferings, I conjure them, in the name of Christ, to torment me no more, but kill me outright' (July, 1397).

In his lucid times the King seems to have tried honestly to put an end to the scandals of the Great Schism². There were two plans suggested: (1) the 'way of cession,' that both Popes should abdicate, and a third be elected in their place; (2) 'the way of compromise,' that there should be a general Council called, at which both parties should be present (or at least should be summoned), and that the judgment of the Council should be held to be binding on all. The University of Paris, which had declared against the King's former counsellors, was now rising to the position of the recognised organ of opinion in the realm; joining with the civic authorities, she had made her mind known in remonstrance or advice; had appealed with the voice of a lawyer, not of a churchman, to the high principles of justice, humanity, and duty; had striven to keep alive some sense of right and wrong in days in which religion had fallen so low as to become the unscrupulous partisan of this or that unworthy Pope. To the University the King appealed for her opinion on the Schism. Each Master sent in his own reply: there were, it is said, 'ten thousand opinions'; and the University also sent her Orator, Nicolas de Clemangis,

¹ Histoire de Charles VI, by the anonymous Monk of St. Denis.

² 'Infinita scandala procedebant ex radice nephandissimi scismatis in Ecclesia vigentis.'—Chron. Kar. VI. lib. 1, c. 3.

a man of much eloquence, many ideas, and no principles, to court. He addressed the King at length. He threw doubts on the infallibility of Councils; he proposed that the University should temper the one-sidedness of the bishops in Council by a due admixture of doctors in theology and law. He also wrote a book on the corrupt state of the Church. He seemed likely to be a Church-reformer, a forerunner of Luther; this, however, was not to be; for he had no true depth, and was content to become the mere secretary of one of the rival Popes. Little help then did the King really get from him. Still there seemed a chance of a solution from another quarter. The Avignon Pope died. King Richard of England, now friendly with the French court, was also eager to bring the quarrel to an end; so that two at least of the old opponents were at one. Still nothing was effected: another Avignon Pope, Benedict XIII, was elected: the evil was unabated.

When, in 1396, King Richard of England met the French King between Ardres and Calais, one of the important matters discussed was this of the Schism. The two princes determined to act in concert, both supporting the 'way of cession,' and agreeing to compel the Avignon Pope to abdicate. The Germans also accepted the same solution, and the chief lay-powers seemed to be quite agreed. But there was no chance with Benedict XIII; he stood out firmly for himself. Why should he abolish himself for the good of Christendom? Why should men now expect self-denial from a Vicar of Christ? The Gallican Church withdrew (A.D. 1398) from her allegiance to him, and had a dream of asserting her ancient liberties. Avignon was besieged:—what form of pressure was omitted? But Benedict held grimly to his 'Apostolic seat,' and beat off the assailants. The siege was raised. He doubtless received covert help, at least encouragement, from Spain, and also from the Duke of Orleans' party. For Orleans, with South-French instincts and interests, supported Benedict; while the Burgundians, with their North-French and Germanic sympathies, were for 'the way of cession.'

Richard II of England, in 1396, made a truce for twenty-eight years with France; ceded Cherbourg to the King of Navarre, and Brest to the Duke of Brittany, to the great disgust of the English people, and was affianced to Isabelle, the little daughter of the French King. For a brief space a little light falls on the picture. But the King soon sank back into dissolute courses, and thence into madness; and though he had lucid times in the summer, and a still clearer period about Christmas, he never again was fit to take charge of affairs. Meanwhile the court amused itself: the Queen and the Dukes spent all they could extort from the wretched people on their scandalous pleasures: 'though there was no war, aids and money were ever levied from the people.' There was no proper Regency; the court was torn asunder by the two great factions. At the head of the one was the Duke of Burgundy, who drew most of his strength from the North and East of France, partly also even from Germany and England; for after the revolution of 1399, when Richard of England was deposed by his cousin of Lancaster, the Duke was friendly towards Henry IV. In the matter of the Schism the Burgundians urged the 'way of cession'; in politics they affected at least some popular sympathies. At the head of the other party was the Duke of Orleans, supported by the wretched Queen. The Orleanists had their strength in the South of France; they upheld the Avignon Pope, and represented the aristocratic elements of French society; they were at this time very unpopular and extravagant. They nursed the opposition to Henry IV in England.

The Burgundians were probably the stronger; they had a more distinct policy, more powerful friends, a more compact territory to fall back on; their territory was also strong in position, as it lay between France and Germany, having ties to both; it seemed not unlikely to become the arbiter between them. The Burgundians, however, suffered a terrible blow in 1396, when John, the Duke's son (who afterwards succeeded him as John the Fearless), led a harebrained crusade against

Bajazet the Ottoman Sultan, who was pressing Hungary, and threatened to stable his horse in St. Peter's at Rome. The Christians, with true feudal impetuosity, ignorance, and thoughtlessness, refused the counsels of the Hungarian King Sigismund, and fell victims to their enemies at Nicopolis. It was the old tale: the feudal chivalry wasted its strength and breath on the first foe who appeared; with great heat they beat back the Ottoman scouts, and then, disordered and spent, found themselves opposed to Bajazet's real army, the splendid janizaries, fresh, cool, disciplined. They all fell on the field, or were made prisoners. Bajazet had all his captives put to death excepting John of Nevers, the future duke, and eighty nobles, whom he saved that they might be ransomed. It is said that ten thousand of them so perished. The battle of Nicopolis was a fearful blow to the Burgundians. They were weakened by their losses, and crushed with debt for the recovery of the captives. On the other hand, the Duke of Burgundy gained by supporting Henry of Lancaster in the revolution which overthrew King Richard of England in 1399, and laid the foundations of that friendship with the Lancastrian house which was so formidable to France during the next century. Thus for the moment, in England and France alike, the aristocracy seemed to triumph over royalty. Paris was garrisoned with the troops of the two Dukes in 1401, 1402. England had also just seen the overthrow of royalty by aristocracy. Yet, whether triumphant or defeated, the forces of the aristocratic parties were ever eating themselves away, and preparing for that ascendancy of monarchy which the next age was destined to see.

Meanwhile the wretched King, to whom the French people clung with a touching and simple hopefulness, calling him the 'well-beloved,' and waiting for his recovery and the golden days it should bring, lingered on in a miserable condition, amused, as it could best be compassed, with shows and entertainments. This is said to have been the time at which the game of cards was first brought into vogue in France, though it had been known in the days of Philip of Valois; and, in connexion with

it, came the first hint of printing, block-printing of the rude figures with which the cards were adorned. It was at this time also that the great Mysteries, the origin of the French drama, were first acted in Paris by citizens, who formed themselves into a guild for that purpose.

The people, in spite of all, seem to have somewhat bettered their condition during these years; agriculture advanced: the true wealth of France has ever lain in her fields, and in the patient, thrifty cultivation of them by her peasantry¹.

It will not repay us to enter in detail into any account of the years during which France was a prey to rival princes and factions. These were miserable years, when the leaders of parties were selfish and depraved, without principles or patriotism. On one side were the Burgundians, on the other the Orleans party, afterwards nicknamed the Armagnacs². Every party had a nickname, sign of a degraded political and moral life. Cabochians³, Armagnacs, Urbanists, Clementines, the names indicated persons more or less badly prominent, round whom raged the waters of intestine strife. While the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans head the parties, those of Berri and Bourbon try to trim the balance between them, or to bring them from time to time to a hollow peace. Thus, in 1402, we find such an accord, made but to be broken; then the poor King, awaking somewhat from his loathsome madness, and doubtless influenced by his Queen, named the Duke of Orleans regent of the realm. Forthwith Burgundy, Berri, and Bourbon resisted. Orleans, whose one idea of government was the extortion of money by foolish and oppressive taxation, had to yield before the popularity of Burgundy, who stood forth, once and again, as champion of the oppressed taxpayer.

In this same year Henry of England married the Duchess of Brittany, thus alarming the French; and Orleans, glad of a pretext for standing out as the exponent of French national feelings, defied England, and declared that he would avenge poor King Richard. Orleans, however, was a man of low

¹ Martin, *Histoire de France*, 5, p. 469.

² See below, p. 495.

³ Ibid.

moral life, great words, small action; and nothing came of it till 1406, when there was a feeble and abortive attempt at war.

In 1404, Philip Duke of Burgundy died, leaving his great territories and the inheritance of his quarrel to John the Fearless (*Jean sans Peur*), his eldest son. John was a young man of irresolute character and much ambition, little fitted to face the difficulties of his position, though he thoroughly understood what that position was. He hated Louis, Duke of Orleans, who on his side despised and had wronged him; he took up the popular resistance to wasteful expenditure and shameless taxation; he kept up good relations with England.

At first, however, Orleans seemed likely to prevail. Burgundy thought it wise to retire to his own states for a time. But he soon came back with an army (A.D. 1405); and Berri and Bourbon rallied to him, so as to balance the great influence of Orleans. Each party had an army in the district round Paris, and a collision seemed imminent. The Duke of Berri, however, acted as peace-maker, and an open explosion was averted. In this same year the Queen and her brother, Louis Duke of Bavaria, tried to carry off the Dauphin and the children of the Duke of Burgundy as hostages to Pouilly. They were detained by a heavy storm; and tidings of the attempt came to Burgundy, who was lodged at the Louvre. He at once took horse, and rode after them full speed; and so well he rode that he caught them up, took the lads out of their hands, and brought them back to Paris, to the great joy of all the people¹. The Duke now thought it time to make his manifesto to the Parisians; in it he said that he had interfered for four reasons: '1. For the sake of the King's government, and to bring about the recovery of his health: 2. To do justice in the realm, wherein were committed infinite ill-doings: 3. To improve the Royal Domain by good administration, for its revenues were naught, and it was in a ruined state: 4. In order to assemble the Three Estates, and to advise with them touching the government.' And he went on to show that those who had the

¹ J. Juvenal des Ursins, A. 1405.

government before had spoiled and wasted everything. No small vexation and disgust was felt by the Queen and the Duke of Orleans at this, and at the fact that Burgundy had with him in Paris eight hundred men-at-arms, and that the burghers also surrounded him with weapons in their hands. They came as far as to the wood of Vincennes, and there lay watching for an opportunity. Burgundy called up his German allies, the Duke of Austria, the Count of Würtemberg, the Duke of Savoy and the Prince of Orange; there came also men of Holland and Zealand, of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault. He appointed the Duke of Berri Captain of Paris, restored the street-chains and the defences at the gates. In the face of this vigour the other side gave way. The Queen and the Duke of Orleans came into Paris; and the Duke of Burgundy was acknowledged to be at the head of affairs; 'many fair ordinances were issued, but they lasted not.'

In this year (A.D. 1405) Margaret of Burgundy died. She was the founder of a kingdom in all but name. Through her was built up the great Burgundian dukedom, which comprised Flanders, Artois, Franche-Comté, and Ducal Burgundy.

There was a kind of suspicious peace between the parties for a few months; but as they kept up, out of sight, a great deal of gnarring and grudging, it was agreed that the two dukes should each take force, and march against the English; Orleans to the South, Burgundy to the North. The former only played at war; he had neither civic nor military virtue; and did but waste money and men in scandalous pomps to the neglect of his duty, after a while making his way back to the pleasant vices of Paris. Burgundy, marching against Calais, acted more respectably, and fared no better; he was ill-supplied with stores and money, and, winter coming on, he recognised that Calais was too strong for him, raised the siege, disbanded his force, and also made for Paris. The Duke of Berri, as usual, stood between the irritated princes, and flattered himself that he had at last brought them to terms of friendship. They swore peace and amity, and even heard mass and received the

communion together (Nov. 26, 1407); but on the Wednesday next following, one Raoul d'Octonville, a Burgundian partisan, fell on Orleans, as he returned from visiting the Queen, and murdered him. The Duke did not shrink from taking the crime on himself; avowed it to Louis of Anjou and the Duke of Berri; and then (on the advice of the latter) took horse and rode off to his own dominions.

And how was this foul deed received? Paris was in ecstasies of joy; Flanders also and Burgundy approved; the Duke saw that he might safely return to Paris: he came and was received with transports of enthusiasm. The Church, in the person of Jean Petit, accepted the act and apologised for it: for the Duke was dear to the clergy of Paris as being against the Schism, and against Pope Benedict. Even the thin voice of poor King Charles, as of a shadow from the other world, was heard absolving him from any evil consequences. 'He felt,' he declared, 'no wrath against the Duke for the murder of his brother.' The widowed Duchess of Orleans alone,—who had little cause to think well of her husband,—made her voice heard against the murderer, and for the rights of her young sons. So low had morality fallen in this bad age.

It would be vain to trace the minute and inglorious features of the struggle which then ensued. At first the party of the young Duke of Orleans had the upper hand, and Burgundy was called away to quell revolt at Liège: when he came back victorious, the Queen, who was now Regent, fled with the King, the Dauphin and her party, first to Gien, thence to Tours. In the spring the quarrel was patched up, and the King came back to Paris. About the same time another element of European confusion seemed likely to be brought to an end. The Council of Pisa met (A.D. 1409), and the Cardinals of both parties agreed to abandon their masters; the Council declared both Popes to be heretics, excommunicated and deposed them, and forthwith elected another, Alexander V, to fill the vacant throne. Their authority being set at naught by the two previous Popes, the 'way of cession' failed, in not securing the

consent of those who had to cede; and forthwith there were three Popes instead of two: the Avignon Pope Benedict being recognised by Spain; the Roman Pope Gregory by Italy; and the new or Pisan Pope Alexander by the rest of Europe.

The next year saw a new league of princes against the arbitrary rule of Burgundy. These were Berri, the Orleans princes, Bourbon, the Duke of Brittany, and Bernard, Count of Armagnac, father-in-law of the Duke of Orleans, a southern prince of great vigour, who brought the Gascon free-lances to the help of the princes, and became the real head of the party. They have taken their historic name of 'Armagnacs' from him. These princes now issued a long manifesto to France, claiming to have reason and justice on their side. The Duke of Burgundy had to bow before this new coalition; and though he gathered together his forces from Brabant, Picardy, and Lorraine, he thought it prudent to come to terms with his opponents in a convention called the Treaty of Bicêtre. It was no true peace—only such a breathing-time as the irreconcilable parties thought needful now and then.

In 1411 war broke out again. Burgundy, it was believed, made terms with the King of England¹: at any rate negotiations with him soon became part of the recognised politics of the time. But for the moment Burgundy received much more effectual help from Paris herself. While it was felt that the Armagnacs were completely the noblesse-party, which also showed a tendency to become more and more the national party, it was seen that the Burgundians were allied to the burgher-party in Flanders and Paris. And though opinion was much divided at Paris, still for the time it was very loudly pronounced in favour of the northern Duke. Now however rose up a new domination in the city, that of the Butchers, the *Cabochians*, as they were called, from the name of one Caboché, a flayer of cattle, and chief butcher-leader. Under this rough and vigorous party, entirely devoted to the Burgundians, Paris showed a resolute

¹ 'Et estoit commune renommée que dès lors eurent alliance le roy d'Angleterre et le duc de Bourgogne.'—J. Juvenal des Ursins, A. 1411.

front against the nobles. The King and Dauphin were constrained to side with them, adopting 'the cross in the form in which St. Andrew, not our Lord, was crucified,' and the 'chaperon blanc,' the symbols of the Burgundians. Much violence was done to the partisans of the other side, and (as is usual at such times) to harmless rich folk; 'it was only needful to call such an one an Armagnac, then all fell on him, killed him, and took his goods.' Though the Armagnacs came up to Paris and besieged it from South and North, they made no farther progress. They fortified the villages round, notably St. Cloud; where they were attacked and worsted by the Burgundians, who took the place and slew many of them. They then abandoned St. Denis, which they had also occupied, and fell back to the South. Early in 1412 the King decided to take the field in person against the princes, being specially enraged against the Duke of Berri, whom he besieged in Bourges. The English, to trim the parties, and keep up this wretched civil war, now sent help to the Armagnacs. It was all in vain: after terrible privations, famine, camp-fever, and all the rest of the usual story, Berri, much battered, made his submission, and a peace was patched up at Auxerre, which the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy signified to their soldiers by the strange feat of both riding on one horse. The treaty made Burgundy for the moment lord of France, while it threw the Dauphin, a dissolute vicious lad, into the hands of the Armagnacs. The Cabochians ruled supreme in Paris, led by their captain Helion de Jacquerville, a knight of Beauce, who 'in fact governed all things¹.' Paris and Ghent made common cause again; it was a pale reflexion of the better days of Étienne Marcel.

This period was made illustrious by a certain famous state-paper, usually called 'the Cabochian Ordinance,' which appeared in 1413. The States-General had been convoked, Church, Noblesse, and Good Towns; and those who came busied themselves

¹ J. Juvenal des Ursins, politically opposed to them, says, 'À la fin d'avril ... se mirent sus plus fort que devant meschantes gens, trippiers, bouchers, et escorcheurs, pelletiers, cousturiers, et autres pauvres gens de bas estat, qui faisoient de très inhumaines, détestables et deshonnestes besongnes.' (A. 1413.)

over the griefs and troubles of the land. Then came forth this Ordinance¹, a singular monument, and one not to be forgotten, when we are told, as ever in the chronicles, of the brutality of the butchers. It proves conclusively that theirs was no mere 'marrow-bone and cleaver' rule: it shows that their ideas of good government were infinitely higher than those of the princes who were regarded as the natural rulers of France. We must not forget, however, that the Ordinance was the work not of the brute force of Paris, but of her brain, the doctors and jurists, who were always far in advance of all others, even of the clergy. We read that in this year a notable doctor in theology of great repute, John Jarson (Gerson) spake evil of the dominant party, so that they greatly desired to take him; he escaped into the high vaults of Notre Dame, and there lay hid, while his house was pillaged. This Gerson is one of the reputed authors of the famous treatise *De Imitatione Christi*.

After all, the Cabochian Ordinance bore no fruits of its wisdom; for in the autumn it was abrogated. The city was weary of the domination of the butchers, with its mixture, which seems almost inevitable in France, of just ideas and lawless action, of noble sentiments and wise utterances joined to pillage and judicial murder. The citizens, headed by John Juvenal des Ursins, father of the historian, called in the Armagnacs, who gladly came and easily overthrew the Cabochians. John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, who seems to have lost all his nerve and decision, fled headlong into Flanders, and for a time his greatness waned; his good fortune seeming to have deserted him. The Armagnacs made the Duke of Berri Captain of Paris; 'and,' says Juvenal, 'he rode through the city, and men saw him very gladly; people said it was a very different chivalry from that of Jacquerville and the Cabochians.' Thus said

¹ See Michelet 4, p. 248. This Ordinance was in reality a great code in ten chapters, which were intended to regulate all the government of France. The subjects are: (1) The Royal Domain; (2) Coin of the Realm; (3) Taxation; (4) War-chest; (5) The 'Chambre des Comptes,' or Exchequer; (6) The Parliaments; (7) Justice; (8) The 'Chancellerie,' or Foreign Office; (9) Water-rights and Forestry; (10) Gendarmerie.

Juvenal, whose father had headed the civic party against the butchers; and doubtless the riding of the Duke with his noble company was far more gallant and showy than that of the Cabochian leaders. It may be doubted whether, after all, the change was a great gain.

The Duke of Burgundy made some considerable effort to replace himself, but without success. He got into St. Denis, and the King, entirely in the hands of the Armagnacs, declared him his mortal enemy. They now felt strong enough to attack Duke John on the north and east. They drove his party out of Compiègne, Soissons, Noyon, Laon; they drove the Duke himself as far as to Liège. There he had to make such terms as he best might with the Armagnacs and the King; and the treaty of Arras was signed in September 1414.

In 1410 Pope Alexander V had died, leaving the Church in uttermost confusion. He was succeeded by John XXIII. Benedict XIII still ruled at Perpignan, Gregory XII at Rome, and the triple schism became yearly more and more scandalous. In 1414, in concert with Sigismund, King of Romans and Emperor-elect, John XXIII was induced to convoke a General Council at Constance. Thither came he, the Emperor-elect, the envoys of both the Anti-popes, a crowd of dignified clergy, the ambassadors of all Christian States of the West, the Electors, many German barons. It was said that a hundred thousand strangers were there. Significant symptoms of the growth of national life in Europe appeared. Sigismund proclaimed himself 'above grammar',¹ that is, contemptuous towards the old universal tongue of Latin Christendom, the outward symbol of the imperial unity of the Church: the Council was divided into nations, the German, Italian, French, English, and (after a time) the Spanish. John XXIII, odious to all for his vices and crimes, fled to Fribourg, where he was under the protection of Frederick of Austria. Thither Sigismund pursued him; conquered

¹ He is said to have replied to one who desired to correct a grammatical error in his utterances at Constance, 'Ego sum Rex Romanus et super Grammaticam.'

Frederick, and brought the Pope back to Constance. The head and moving intellect of the Council was Gerson, whom we have seen hidden in the upper vaults of Notre Dame. He it was who led the Council to make the significant declaration that it was superior to the Papacy, and authoritative over all Christendom. We need not enter into details of the trial and deposition of John, the legitimate Pope, an act which seemed to justify in the eyes of the world the high pretensions of the Council. The Pope accepted the sentence, and solemnly descended from his lofty throne. Gregory XII did the same; Benedict XIII resisted, and was deposed: and to signalise the reunion of Christendom, John Huss, the Bohemian reformer, the eloquent foe of the corrupt priesthood, the man whose opinions were so clearly opposed to that outburst of clerical and conciliar power which had but just asserted its supremacy even over the Papacy, was arraigned, condemned and burnt. Then the Council elected a new Pope, Martin V, who undertook to work with it for the reform of the Church. No sooner was he Pope than he concluded a Concordat with each of the nations, and forthwith broke up the Council. The time for reform was not yet come.

Meanwhile, at Paris, the Dauphin ruled supreme, and gave himself up to debauchery. He little recked what a cloud was gathering in the West, to shake him from his scandalous life; he cared little for the growing force, which was so soon to drag him out to see with his own eyes the downfall of his country.

CHAPTER V.

The Third Period of the 'Hundred Years War.'

A.D. 1415-1422.

WHEN in 1413 the young Henry V succeeded to his father's throne, the Red Rose had already taken firm root in the soil. All things pointed him out as likely to play an important part in history; his vigour and severity of character, his industry in study¹, his kindliness, even the lively faults of his youth, denoted a prince who would seek for stirring deeds when he came to be King. What troubles met him, what conspiracies beset him, on the threshold of his reign, and how he overcame them; how his attention was called at the Parliament of Leicester to the possessions of the clergy; how Archbishop Chichele, to distract his mind from the confiscation of the goods of the Church, pointed out the advantages of a war with France, and gained his point with ease; all this is often told to the student of English history. The high-spirited young King did not forget the insulting message and present sent him by the foolish Dauphin soon after his accession², nor could he fail to see the tempting opportunity offered by the intestine troubles of France, the madness of her sovereign and the hare-brained debauchery of the Dauphin; and he sent over an offer to conclude peace with France on the

¹ He was a student at Queen's College in Oxford, where a very interesting portrait of him is preserved.

² Redman's History of Henry V, A.D. 1414. 'Visum est Carolo Galliae Dolphino . . . legatos ad nobilissimum principem mittere; quorum inepta ac plane ludicra, nec inter sanos unquam nominanda, legatio non injuria Anglorum regis . . . animum ira inflammavit.' He had sent the young King a present of pretty balls from Paris, as a plaything for a child; and this Henry much resented.

A.D. 1415.

HENRY V DECLARES WAR.

501

basis of the treaty of Bretigny, with the startling addition that he himself should marry Catherine, daughter of Charles VI¹, and that she should bring with her, as dowry, Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and a large sum of money. These terms were too hard even for dejected France; in reply Charles offered Henry the hand of Catherine, with Aquitaine and a considerable dowry. This again was refused, and war came on. In August 1415 Henry set sail from Southampton, after having crushed the great conspiracy of Lord Scroop, and safely entered the Seine; there he landed on the right bank of the river, near Harfleur, a town which stands as the doorway into Normandy. The town was invested at once; Henry had with him six thousand men-at-arms, and twenty thousand archers.

And how did the French Court receive the news of this formidable invasion? The English lay five weeks besieging Harfleur: they suffered fearfully from dysentery and camp-fever; a large part of the King's forces returned to England, weary or sick. A very little energy would have wrecked the whole expedition; a few hundred men pushed boldly forward would have relieved the Sire d'Estoutville, who held Harfleur; and then there would have been nothing for the English but to set sail again for Southampton. But nothing was done at Paris. The King, who had at the time a lucid interval, took indeed the Oriflamme at St. Denis, and came out as far as to Vernon. But instead of acting, the two parties in France only negotiated with each other, and squabbled over old feuds. Thus we find in Juvenal des Ursins a long account of the contention between the Duke of Burgundy's ambassadors at Paris, and the famous theologian Gerson, who had persuaded the Council of Constance to condemn John Petit, a member of the University of Paris, for having maintained that Burgundy was justified in causing the death of the Duke of Orleans. The paper drawn up by Gerson is dated August 1415, the very moment at which Henry was sitting

¹ Henry was at the same time cleverly amusing the Duke of Burgundy, and sowing distrust (if that were needed) between him and the Armagnac Princes, by another proposal; namely that he should take to wife another Catherine, daughter of John the Fearless. Rymer's Foedera, tom. 9, p. 136.

down before Harfleur. And though the Marshal of France, Boucicault, pushed down to Lillebonne and even came in sight of the English near Harfleur, he was not in sufficient force, and fell back without accomplishing anything: the next week he had to receive the remnants of the French garrison, who, worn out with siege and waiting, had capitulated to the English.

King Henry's force was now much reduced¹: he had probably not more than two thousand men-at-arms, and about thirteen thousand archers,—some say more, some less. With this force any prudent general would either have secured himself in Harfleur, and awaited the spring, or would have left a strong force there, returning straight to England. But the inexperienced young King wished to 'ride through France,' like his fathers; and therefore broke up from Harfleur, and made northwards for Calais. At first he kept near the sea, hoping to pass the Somme, as King Edward had done, near its mouth. And the French leaving Rouen marched parallel with him, due north to Abbeville. They had broken down the bridges, and destroyed all the provender and victual they could.

The French were a great host of nobles, and very presumptuous; as indeed they had some ground for being, seeing that King Henry seemed to be caught in a snare. They refused to allow the Burgundians (with exception of two of the Duke's brothers) to be with them: great numbers of burghers from Paris and other cities wished to join them; but they 'vilipended and despised them²,' as they had before done at Courtrai and elsewhere. At the time the report ran that the English were so straitened that they offered to give up

¹ Elmham, in his Metrical Chronicle, l. 384-386, says:—

'Hinc vix nongenta pila fuere sibi.

Millia vix quinque remanent simul arcitenentes:

Quotidie numerus fit minor inde sibi.'

But J. Juvenal des Ursins says the King left a good garrison in Harfleur, and then 'se partit, accompagné de quelque quatre mille hommes d'armes, et bien de seize à dix-huit mille archers, à pied, et autres combatans.'—J. Juvenal des Ursins, A. 1415, edited by Michaud, 2, p. 518.) Sismondi says 2000 men-at-arms, and 13,000 archers. These figures may be near the truth.

² J. Juvenal des Ursins, A. 1415.

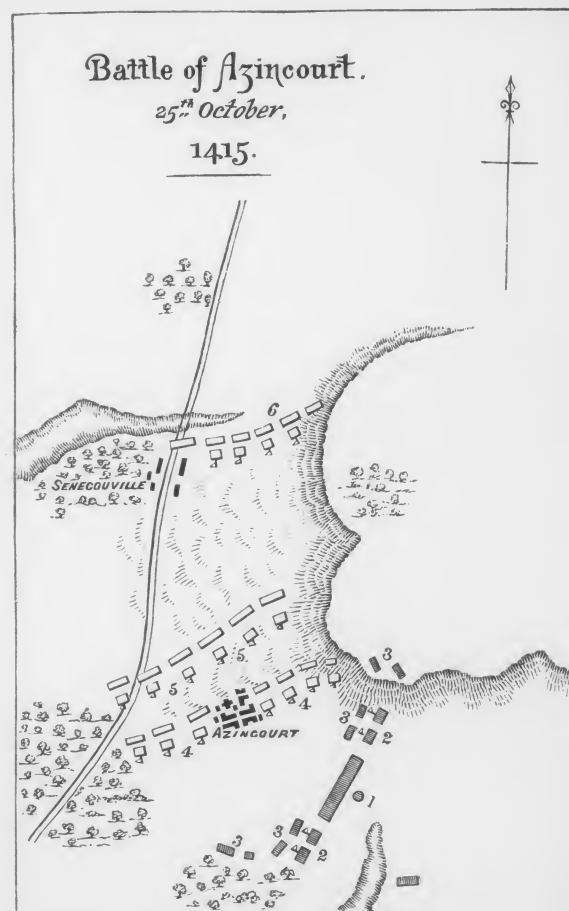
Harfleur for a free passage through to Calais; and that the nobles refused it. It is said that the Marshal Boucicault, and the Constable d'Albret, the men who best understood the matter, were for accepting the terms; but that the Princes would not hear of it. So King Henry went on first through the Pays de Caux to Fécamp, thence to Arques, where long after Henry of Navarre did great deeds of arms, thence to Eu, and so to the mouth of the Somme. Could he cross at Blanche-Taque, like King Edward, there might have been a second Crécy;—but Blanche-Taque was too well guarded that day, and he had to strike inland. So doing he somewhere crossed the path of the French host. He found the bridges at Abbeville broken, and had to push farther up the Somme even than Amiens. 'Bridges and causeways are broken everywhere; the pomp of the French grows and swells. The King has scarce eight days' food; the French destroy farms, wine, and food. They sought to weary the people out with hunger and thirst¹.' The French nobles had not sufficient energy in vexing the struggling army, which laboured on, hungry and weary, under the autumnal rains. The English passed Corbie, burnt Nesle; and then, the Somme having become shallower, they found two narrow causeways leading to a ford. Here they got over unmolested, and turned their faces once more towards Calais. The Dukes of Bourbon and Orleans now lay between the English and that city. The King passed Peronne, pushed steadily on, crossed a small stream then called the 'Swerdys²,' now the Ternoise; and then beheld in front of him the broad hosts of his enemies. They were in great force, and posted at a well-chosen point, barring his further progress towards Calais. There King Henry halted. He had a wood on either hand, and on his right flank a rising ground, covered with trees, in which he placed archers. The French were also between the woods, across the line of the valley, which was ploughed land, and soft. There the armies lay that night; and it rained

¹ So says Elmham's doggrel Chronicle. Cap. 26.

² 'Fluvius Gladiorum' is Elmham's rendering. Cap. 35.

hard. Next day early (October 25, 1415) they drew out their lines. The game of war was entirely in the hands of the French; they had only to wait and let the handful of English attack, and beat them back, or hang on their flanks, surrounding, watching, alarming, cutting off; and the fall of Harfleur would have been avenged without a battle. But they could not resist the excitement of an assault; the Duke of Berri alone seems to have been anxious as to the result. He would not allow either the King or the Dauphin to be there. 'Better,' said he, 'to lose a battle only, than to lose a battle and a King.' Nor indeed were the Dukes of Berri, Brittany, or Burgundy present. Still, though Charles and the Princes were absent, almost all the nobles and great men of France were there. It was a great host, cramped in a narrow space, where their numbers were of small avail. It is said there were sixty thousand of them; perhaps there were some ten to twelve thousand English. The French were in three lines, in the first the battles of Bourbon and Orleans, behind them the Dukes of Bar and Alençon, and in the rear Dammartin, and others. Their van lay at the little village of Azincourt. On the other side King Henry set his compact body of footmen in the centre, with his few men in armour and the bowmen flanking them to right and left, and feeling the two woods. As the French had not enterprise enough to turn their flank, a piece of simple generalship which with their large force would have been easy, the position, as a defensive one, was strong and good, and the English had strengthened their front with a rough palisade. Between them and the French host was the soft ploughed land, deep from the heavy rains: the day was warm and fine. The battle was begun by the French, whose cavalry was told off to ride forward, and attack the English archers. This they did, and behind them followed heavy-armed soldiers. The mud was deep, and clung to them: their weight made them sink in 'up to the thick part of their legs'.¹ So the advance was slow and disorderly, men and horses slipping and sticking. When

¹ 'Estoient en terre molle jusques au gros des jambes,' says Juvenal.



From Sprünger's Atlas.

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Henry V. | 2. English men-at-arms. | 3. English archers. |
| 4. Dukes of Bourbon and Orleans. | 5. Dukes of Bar and Alençon. | |
| 6. Dammartin, Marle, and Falkenberg. | | |

they got near the palisade behind which the archers lay, the English began that sharp swift shooting the French knew of old. The horses offered a broad aim, and were at once stung into confusion; the wounded animals turned and carried their riders into the ranks of the infantry behind, throwing them into panic; those who got up to the paling were hot and spent, begrimed and breathless, dazzled by the sun. Then the light-armed English stepped gaily down, and fell on the French host, entangled in the mud: small resistance was made, except by the Duke of Alençon, who perished in the battle, and who won the praises of both sides for his gallantry. 'The noise,' says Juvenal, 'was as if men were hammering on many anvils;'—so thick and fast fell the English blows on the helms and corslets of the French. They fell in heaps; the nobles lay one on another; many were stifled, the rest slain or taken. There was not much quarter given; and yet the number of prisoners was great. Towards the latter part of the day, a report spread that the Duke of Brittany had come in with a great force; and the French rallied. Even this turned to their misfortune; for the English, who were much encumbered with prisoners, now killed many of them. Of the English the Duke of York and the young Duke of Suffolk perished; beside them 'scarce thirty more'. On the other side there fell the Archbishop of Sens, 'who was little lamented, for that he was out of his place', as was true enough. Three dukes perished, Brabant, Alençon, Bar; six counts, the Constable of France, d'Albret; ninety-two barons; a thousand men-at-arms; five hundred nobles, and seven thousand³ of lesser note⁴. Nor

¹ Elmham (cap. 38). But Sismondi says the English lost 1600.

² J. Juvenal des Ursins (A. 1415), p. 521.

³ Sismondi says 10,000, of whom nearly 8000 were of gentle birth.

⁴ These figures, &c., are from Elmham's Metrical History of Henry V:

'Præsul, tresque Duces, Comites sex et—minus octo—
Centum Barones, mille ruunt equites;
Necnon quingenti procerum,* que* millia septem.
Tres capti Comites sunt, duo jure Duces,
Atque Marescallus Francorum, nobilis ille
Bucicaldus; ibi redditus ense datur:
Sunt capti plures in centenis generosi.'—Cap. 39.

were the prisoners less notable: the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, three counts, Boucicault, the Marshal of France, together with many hundreds more. Thus King Henry found his passage free to the North; and as his force was scarcely large enough to guard his prisoners, he burnt much of the booty, and marched direct to Guines, and thence to Calais. He crossed the Channel, and made a splendid entry into his good city of London in November.

Meanwhile, in France this great and crowning misfortune of the nobles was a heavy blow to the Armagnac party. At Paris many rejoiced; 'the Armagnacs being discomfited, now Burgundy would come to the top¹.' Still they struggled for the possession of the King and the government. The Duke of Berri brought the King into Paris, and hastily threw up defences; the Count of Armagnac with a good force of Gascons came up with speed from the South, was named Constable of France and Captain-general of the kingdom, with control over the finance. Burgundy judged it wiser not to attack the city, and drew back into Flanders. And now the Dauphin, a worn-out libertine, died, having killed himself by debauch. The King's next son, John, was a firm friend to Burgundy, and showed signs of determination which frightened the Armagnacs. He died suddenly, opportunely: men said, with show of reason, that he was poisoned. The next son, Charles, a lad of fourteen, was altogether Armagnac in feeling: he attacked the Queen for her scandalous life, and had her exiled to Tours. The Duke of Berri died; the Count of Armagnac was now sole head of his party, ruling vigorously and ill. Paris was held in a firm grasp, heavily taxed, suspiciously watched, rigorously punished.

The Duke of Burgundy once more declared himself head of the popular party; entered Picardy, threatened Paris, though in vain; he then went southwards, taking or receiving many cities into his allegiance; he found the Queen at Troyes, whither she had fled from Tours, and made alliance with her,

¹ Juvenal des Ursins (A. 1415), p. 519.

proclaiming her Regent. She declared the acts of the Armagnacs to be illegal; declared the Parliament at Paris to be dissolved, and established another at Poitiers: there were now two distinct governments in France. Paris was uneasy under the severe handling of her masters; and in 1418 a conspiracy against them was successful. One of the gates was opened to the Burgundians; the town was taken, the Armagnacs massacred. The Constable was captured; so too was the poor King, whom they led through the streets that he might seem to sanction the insurrection. The Cabochians reappeared,—those terrible butchers. Charles, the Dauphin, whom the Armagnac captain of Paris had carried into the Bastille for safety, hardly got away with his friends, and carried on a feeble war from Poitiers. The Burgundians, having no chief,—for the Duke was in the North,—worked their savage will on their opponents. The number of victims was over two thousand; among them the Count of Armagnac, the head of the Orleanist party, and their one man of ability. The Duke of Burgundy hastened up, and did his best to moderate the fury of his followers. But that indecision and want of energy which had marked his career of late, made his interference of little avail. Nor did he do anything to heal the sore wounds of France, or to defend her against her outer foe. For while the parties were locked in this deadly embrace, Henry of England (after long delay) had again descended (A.D. 1417) on the coast of Normandy. He marched inland. The Dukes of Anjou, Brittany, and Burgundy, signed treaties of neutrality with him, for their respective states, leaving France to perish as she might: the Armagnacs could not leave Paris for fear of that outbreak which so soon took place. When Paris had given herself over to the Burgundians, her chance of resistance to the English was still less: and Henry quietly sat down before Rouen. The strange feebleness, which turned the name of John the 'Fearless' into sarcasm, now showed itself again. The Duke dared nothing to relieve the town; and after near three months of siege and starving, Rouen fell into the hands of the English. The news

of this great blow seemed to scare the French factions to their senses. Burgundy was willing to give up his ambition to wear the crown of France; the Dauphin was desirous of coming to terms with his father the King, in order to secure his own succession to the throne. Negotiations followed: even then the old jealousies made them very slow. Meanwhile the danger pressed; Henry had reached and taken Pontoise, and was threatening Paris. The Dauphin, too lightly listening to his depraved and stupid courtiers (we must remember that he was still a boy), invited the Duke of Burgundy to an interview on the bridge of Montreuil. There the Duke was foully massacred by Tanneguy-Duchâtel, one of the chiefs of the Orleanist party, as he knelt at the Dauphin's feet (A.D. 1419). This was for the time a death-blow to France. The Duke had certainly been anxious to make peace, to resist the pretensions of Henry; but this scandalous and foolish crime made all reconciliation impossible; for it substituted a young and ambitious man for an old and wearied one. Paris was deeply moved; the young Duke Philip, then aged twenty-three, at once began a fierce and vigorous war against the Armagnacs. People began to say in Paris that Henry of England was far better than the Dauphin and his hated crew. They declared that if Henry sat on the French throne, England would naturally soon become an outlying province of France, and that their country would be more glorious than ever; and, also, it was thought that as Henry was about to marry Catherine of France, he would be almost as near in relation to the throne as any of the reigning family; while, if the Valois remained thereon, any peace with the English King must be bought by the dismemberment of France. Moreover, the folly of the Dauphin's friends at this critical moment, by betraying the Duke of Brittany into captivity, and treating him basely when in their power, also roused against him all the hot storm of which the Breton nature is capable. Everything seemed to show that the Dauphin was utterly incapable of reigning; and taught men to think that when the poor mad King was gone, even worse things

were in store for them. Negotiations were now opened. The Queen, whose breach with the Armagnacs was irreparable, joined the young Duke of Burgundy; they made a truce with Henry, as did also the city of Paris, carefully excluding the Dauphin; Henry found things very easily arranged for him by them; and the Treaty of Troyes was signed on the 21st of May, 1420.

Therein it was agreed—

1. That the English King should cease, for the while, to bear the title of King of France.
2. That the King of England should have, in lieu, the name of Regent and heir of France.
3. Also he promised to maintain the French Parliament in its privileges; the privileges of the peers, nobles, cities, communes, and individuals; and all the laws and customs of the realm of France.
4. Also he promised to do his best to restore to the French King all cities, castles, &c. that had revolted from him, 'being on the side called that of the Dauphin and of Armagnac.'
5. Also that Normandy and all parts and cities conquered by King Henry should be restored to France so soon as Henry succeeded to the throne of France.
6. That on the next vacancy to the throne of France, Henry of England should succeed; that the two crowns should be for ever united; and that each realm should be under its own laws and government; and that neither should be in any way subject to the other.
7. That Henry of England should forthwith espouse Catherine, daughter of the King of France.

The treaty was signed May 21, and Catherine was wedded to the King on June 2, at Troyes; the next day the Kings of France, England, Scotland¹, and the Duke of Burgundy, with many other men of note, rode forth to subdue such cities in the

¹ The Scottish King, James I, had been taken prisoner in 1406 by the English.

North as were still in the obedience of the Dauphin. And first they came to Sens, which at once opened its gates; then to Montereau, then to Melun, where stout resistance was made; for it held out four months, and then was only won by famine. The King of England got back early in Advent to Paris, and there kept Christmas, to the great joy of the citizens.

Thus was Northern France, for the while, subdued under the hand of the English and Burgundians; their power reached no farther than the Loire. All to the southward of that line, so often the limit of invasion, remained faithful to the Dauphin and the real French party: the Armagnacs won from their misfortunes the great advantage of being recognised as the true representatives of the national feeling. And now there were 'two Kings of France, the King of Paris, and the King of Bourges.' On the one side was the Northern half of France, headquarters of the old Burgundian party, and so far dis severed from the South that it seemed likely to become a separate kingdom; a success too dearly bought by the overshadowing help of the English: on the other side was the South of France, with the Dauphin at its head, supported by Scottish help, and by the Lombards. The Southerners, who hitherto had felt no love for the house of Valois, now became aware that that house was destined to lead them in their new part of national champions. Thus the very misfortunes of France helped to weld the two halves of the kingdom into one.

King Henry ruled in Paris with stern equity and justice; there was more order than had been known for years.

He returned to England at the end of the year, taking with him his bride, and laid the Treaty of Troyes, which had already been accepted by the Three Estates of France—or such shadow of them as could be got together—before the English Parliament. Great was the splendour and joy of his return; 'he rode from city to city throughout the land, expounding his great and gallant deeds, and adding that, to bring matters to an end, he needed two things, money and men¹.' Which was

¹ Monstrelet.

true; for while he was absent from France, things made little progress: the Duke of Clarence, his brother, whom he had left in command, was killed in the battle of Baugé, a serious check to the English:—there they encountered the impetuous haste of the French steadied by the coolness of a body of Scots, who had come over to help their old allies the French against their old foes the English. They then took the offensive, and laid siege to Chartres. There King Henry, who had crossed with all speed from England, coming on them, forced them to raise the siege. He drove the French before him, and pushed on as far as to the Loire, so as to threaten Orleans; there he was stayed by the camp-fever, inevitable scourge of medieval armies.

In the midst of all Henry V fell ill at Vincennes, and there died on the last day of August, 1422, at the age of thirty-four: he left behind him one little son, born the November before, and christened Henry. 'He had been of high and great courage, valiant in arms, prudent, sage, great in justice, who without respect of persons did right as readily for small as for great: he was feared and revered of all his relations, subjects, and neighbours;' so says Juvenal des Ursins¹, who felt no good will towards the English. His obsequies were performed in St. Denis; and afterwards his body was carried home, and buried in Westminster Abbey. The Duke of Bedford, his brother, escorted the coffin to England, then returned quickly to France, and took the title of 'Regent of the kingdom of France for his nephew Henry.' Some weeks later died the saddest of French Kings, the much afflicted Charles VI. He had reigned for forty-two years: long he had been but a name, a shadow. His voice, heard at rare intervals on some piteous occasion, was as if it came from the tomb: it usually had a plaintive gentleness, a touch of sad forgiveness in it. 'In his days,' says Juvenal des Ursins, 'he was pitiful, gentle, and benign to his people, serving and loving God, a great giver

¹ Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire de Charles VI* (A. 1422), p. 567.

of alms.' The people called him 'Charles the Well-beloved', clinging to him with a touching helplessness. Their attachment to the crazy King shows how oppressive the princes were:—he at least did them no harm. The manner of his burying was forlorn: no Prince of the blood walked behind; even the Duke of Burgundy, who could have come, took no trouble to be there. Only the Parisians seem to have lamented him. That same Duke of Bedford, who but seven weeks before had closed the eyes of his brother, King Henry V, attended his funeral in the great church of St. Denis. There, after due service sung 'the Anglo-French cried out, Long live King Henry of France and England! and shouted Noel, as though God Himself had come down from heaven?' And the Dauphin, far away when he heard of his father's death, made such lamentation as he could; and when he reached Mehun in Berri, was proclaimed King in the chapel there.

There was a grand work before him: he was no longer a partisan chief, no longer a secondary character, in the midst of a knot of turbulent nobles, any one of whom, like the Count of Armagnac, could overshadow him: he was no longer in the uncertain position of a son opposed to his mother, and, in appearance at least, to the crown: he had suddenly been raised to be the head of the national cause, and was the legitimate and true King of France. He had a fair prospect of being able to rally all Frenchmen round him: even in the North there were crowds who would welcome him; the South was all at his feet. But there was on him some of the gloom of his father's life: he was listless, quiet, fond of hunting; he let others fight for him, little caring how they fared: pushed on by them with no effort of his own he triumphed and secured his throne. In this he was perhaps fortunate: others could do for him what he could scarcely have done for himself. A lazy, kindly, good-looking prince, 'he never took up arms with heart, and had no fancy for war, if he

¹ Mémoires de Pierre de Fenin (A. 1422): 'Mout fut le roy Charles amé de son peuple toute sa vie, et pour ce on le nommoit Charles-le-Bien-Amé.'

² Juvenal des Ursins, Histoire de Charles VI (A. 1422), p. 569.

could do without it¹. The reaction round him; the freedom of action which he allowed to all; the uprising of popular sentiment; the play of superstition round the strange and noble figure of Jeanne Darc;—these things, and the feebleness of the English in France, all worked in his favour, and brought the long English wars into a new and more hopeful phase. The English hold on France was feeble indeed; it really depended entirely on the Burgundian alliance. No sooner was that withdrawn than their power melted away. Not the triumphs of Jeanne Darc, but the alienation of Burgundy brought to a close the unnatural domination of the English. They had altogether lost the South: their power to the east and north of Paris was very limited. Make a triangle whose apex shall be Paris, one side the river Seine, another side a line from Paris to the coast at Calais, and its base the sea;—and you will have the whole of the district which was really under the English. For a strong power doubtless it would have been a formidable wedge, driven into the very heart of the kingdom; but England at this time was not a strong power, and was in reality standing on the defensive in France. That Paris should have been the point of the English wedge was a proof, if any were needed, how bad is its position as capital of France².

¹ Pierre de Fenin (A. 1422): 'Etoit de sa personne mout bel prince et biau parleur à toutes personnes, et estoit piteux envers povres gens, mais il ne s'arroit mie vollentiers et n'avoit point chier la guerre, s'il s'en eust peu passer.' But he was ill-shapen of body, being very short in the legs; and is said to have resumed the long robe worn by Philip VI, in order to conceal this deformity.

² French geographers struggle hard to prove that Paris is the true centre point of France.

CHAPTER VI.

The 'Hundred Years War.' Period IV. A.D. 1422-1431.

THE AGE OF JEANNE DARC.

I. TO THE SIEGE OF ORLEANS. A.D. 1422-1429.

THE reign of Charles VII had opened gloomily for the national party, whose fortunes were low, and hopes almost extinct. The help of the Scots, such as the Douglas, or Buchan Constable of France, with their wild gillies, was but a small set-off against the close alliance between Bedford and the Duke of Burgundy; and the young King himself had none of that heroism which creates success out of failure, and is greatest in evil days. That quality was to be found for France in a dreamy country girl of Champagne. She alone had the genius of perfect simplicity; for hers was perfect unity of aim united with high courage and self-sacrifice. There are moments in history when unreasoning courage, moving straight forward, is irresistible: it pierces through the show and array of strength opposed to it, and proves, as is so often true, that there is no real force behind: the walls and towers looked strong and imposing, but there was no stout heart within; the breach once made, the conquest was assured. Such was the condition of the English power in Northern France. And yet at the outset Charles made no effort, and went aimlessly on, as though doomed to ruin. Two defeats, one at Crevant, near Auxerre, in 1423, the other at Verneuil, not far from Evreux, in 1424, seemed to seal the fate of Northern France. At Verneuil the slaughter of the King's nobles was very great: the Scots perished almost to a

A.D. 1424.

THE MISERY IN FRANCE.

517

man; Douglas and Buchan fell, the Duke of Alençon was taken. Charles seemed utterly careless: with their characteristic love of nicknames the French called him 'the King of Bourges.' Still, even now, things were beginning to mend: the King, by marrying Mary of Anjou, won over that great house, and with it also Lorraine; the Count of Foix recognised him as his sovereign. Brittany was gained by the gift of the Constable's sword to Arthur de Richemont, who 'made himself French': moreover, Richemont's wife was sister to the Duke of Burgundy, and her influence went in the direction of a reconciliation between the Orleanists and the Burgundians: lastly, Charles, by banishing the Armagnac party from Court, made that reconciliation possible.

And on the other side there were signs that the northern league with England was giving way. While Bedford, Regent of France, was very careful to satisfy the Burgundians, and to avoid every risk of arousing their jealousies, Gloucester, Regent of England, whose position as leader of the not'esse party made him indifferent as to what became of Bedford, the representative of royalty, showed no such desire for conciliation. He had unlawfully married the Countess of Hainault, who brought him the lands on the low seaboard, Holland, Zealand, Friesland, together with some claims on Brabant. So formidable a neighbour at once roused the ill-will of the Lord of Burgundy and Flanders. A private war broke out between them, which augured ill for the harmony between English and Burgundians.

Yet the state of France was fearful. From King to peasant all were alike miserable. The open land from the Loire to the Somme was a desert overgrown with wood and thickets; wolves fought over the corpses in the burial-grounds of Paris; towns were distracted by parties, villages destroyed; the highways ceased; churches were polluted and sacked; castles burnt; commerce at a stand; tillage unknown. In the midst of all this ruin and despair—as a strange commentary on the age—

¹ 'Se fist François,' that is, he paid homage to the King.

which had been burnt by the citizens as being too wide and too much exposed for defence. Thence he attacked the boulevard, and took it; the French retiring to the Tournelles, a work defending the bridge, of which they broke down some arches, and lifted the drawbridge. The English next assaulted the Tournelles, taking them in flank from the river-bed, the water being unusually low; and on a Sunday they captured that fortress. There they established Sir William Glansdale, who repaired its breaches, and for safety broke down the southernmost arch of the bridge; so that no assault could come from the other side. Also he planted his artillery so as to command the city and the bridge. The time was come for a regular siege of the city itself: the English held the river above and below; the country to the north was all theirs. Glansdale was strongly entrenched to the south, the main army lay in the forts to the north of the town. Salisbury, in order to get a view of the place and neighbourhood, climbed with Glansdale to the top of the Tournelles;—while there he was mortally wounded by a shot from the city. They carried him to Meung, on the Loire, as secretly as they could, and there he died: he had been a brave soldier and valiant; no better in all England, said his sorrowing friends. This great mishap changed the siege from a series of assaults to a blockade. The Tournelles were the key to the English position: the outer bulwark at St. Augustine's commanded the water-way; and thirteen 'bastides,' or forts, built by the besiegers, encircled the city. In February 1429 an attempt to stop the English supplies was defeated at Bouvray, in the famous 'Day of the Herrings.' The English at first had stood on the defensive, inside a park of wagons, laden with herrings and other provender. Though much galled by the fire of the French culverins, they were not tempted to venture out. But the Scots in the French army were too eager to fight, and attacked the encampment: in the confusion the English sallied forth and routed them: the French fled back to Orleans; Dunois, the Bastard of Orleans, was badly wounded; the Constable of Scotland was killed, as were also some two

or three hundred men-at-arms. So ended this great effort. Next, the citizens, being hard pressed and deserted by the leading nobles, the Count of Clermont, the Archbishop of Rheims, and others, turned towards the Duke of Burgundy. They offered to yield to him. The temptation was too strong for the Duke, who was already not hearty in the cause: he went to Bedford, and begged him to raise the siege. But Bedford would not 'beat the bush that others might catch the birds,' and refused. Thereon the Duke of Burgundy withdrew all his forces, Burgundians, Picards, and men of Champagne, 'whereby the English power was much weakened.' It was at this moment of discouragement that there came rumours of a virgin, a prophetess, who had promised the French King to raise the siege: and the besiegers' courage, already tried by a winter in camp, and by the defection of the Burgundians, gave place to gloomy forebodings. They knew too that they had not men enough to take the city, though they might have enough to hold the garrison in check, and to keep up the blockade.

The peril to France, the danger to her last bulwark, was nearly past. For now appeared Jeanne Darc, one of the noblest figures of history; who had no private ambitions or aims, knew nothing of courts, and desired only to save her country.

II. JEANNE DARC. A.D. 1429-1431.

Domremy, birthplace of Jeanne Darc¹, is a village lying in a tongue of land which, belonging to Champagne, runs between Bar, Toul, and Lorraine. It had always been 'French,' and opposed to the Burgundians, always 'Armagnac'; it had all the warm feelings of a frontier place; it had lately been sacked by the Burgundians (A.D. 1428); and Jeanne herself no doubt had seen with the acute feelings of a sensitive girl her ravaged home, and the desecration of the village church she so much

¹ This appears, on the whole, to be the right spelling. There is no sense in Jeanne 'of Arc,' there being no such village near her birthplace, and Joan's family being peasants. On her trial, being asked her name, she replied, 'de mon surnom je ne sais rien.'

loved. Here she had grown up, actively engaged in tending her father's cattle, able to ride and use a weapon at need. Left much alone, she brooded with an imaginative temper and religious warmth over the sorrows of her country, the wrongs of her King. These things, under the peculiar conditions of her young life, projected themselves into actual visions, voices, portents¹. She became a dreamer, an enthusiast. The St. Michael she had seen painted on the church wall showed himself to her enraptured gaze. St. Catherine and St. Marguerite, objects of her simple devotion, appeared and spoke with her: she embraced them, she wept when they receded from her gaze. And all pointed the same way: she must go forth and deliver Charles, and lead him to be crowned and recognised as undoubted King of France. At last she could bear it no longer, and, though but seventeen years old², persuaded her uncle to go to Vaucouleurs, the neighbouring town, which held for the King, and to ask Robert of Baudricourt, who commanded there, to help her to get to Court. The uncle's mission failed. The rough soldier told him to slap³ the silly girl, and send her back to her rustic duties. But Jeanne, undaunted, set out to plead her own cause; she was of a rather short figure, strongly built, dressed in rough red stuff, peasant-fashion. The Lord of Baudricourt at first treated her with scorn: but so gentle was she, so simple of manners, so decorous, so full of noble unworldly ideas; and her replies were so quick and yet so modest, so graphic, so persuasive; that the belief of all the country side was fixed on her, till Baudricourt was fain at last to give way, and to forward her to the Dauphin at Chinon.

¹ There can be no doubt that Jeanne Darc was under the influence of one of the forms of hysteria, which has so often produced strange theological results in young French girls. But the specialty of her case is that this hysterical condition, which so commonly leads to torpor, to long trances and fasts, in her case was combined with an amazing power of vigorous exertion,—results of a strong constitution, and of her active life as a shepherdess at Domremy.

² Before her judges, in the spring of 1431, she said she was nearly nineteen, so that she must now have been under eighteen.

³ 'Da illi colaphos,' he said.

One person found her a horse, another a suit of man's clothes: she cut short her long black hair, and so set forth. The road was perilous; bands of robbers and free-lances infested it: but Jeanne's exalted spirit feared no hindrance by the way; 'my brothers of paradise,' she said, 'tell me to go.'

And so she arrived unscathed at Chinon. There, in that corrupt Court, two opposite powers were struggling for the mastery. On the one side were the King's unworthy favourites, La Tremouille and the rest, who were jealous of the Princes of the blood, despised the French people, and kept up relations with the Duke of Burgundy: they represented, in fact, the anti-national party. On the other hand was Yolande of Aragon, the King's mother-in-law, whose one thought was how to gather together the fragments of French power around the King, and to resist the English. She represented the old Armagnac, now the national, party. Yolande, politic and sagacious, seems at once to have divined the importance of this strange appearance — of this enthusiast of the people, behind whom lay all the forces of devotion and superstition, and who was already arousing the popular hopes. She thought it well to miss no chance of awakening this feeling, and of using it, if possible, as a help in this time of need. For need there was, with Orleans almost strangled and fainting; with the young monarch steeped in careless ease; with Northern France entirely in the grip of the English.

Jeanne met with nothing but ill-will and incredulity from the favourites, who are said even to have tried to carry her off by ambush; and when she had reached Chinon, still they kept her from the young King's presence, accusing her of madness or of sorcery. But Yolande supported her: envoys too from Orleans, calling for help, came opportunely to the Court. After long delays, Jeanne's simple persistence prevailed: she was admitted to the King's presence. It is said that he disguised himself, and stood among the courtiers; and that she went straight to him, and, in spite of his denials, saluted him, 'In God's name, it is you and none other!' There she stood, as the chronicler

tells us, 'a poor little shepherdess,' 'the most simple shepherd-lass one ever could see'¹, who could neither read nor write. We have two descriptions of her from eye-witnesses; one as she appeared at this moment; the other a little later. She was 'of moderate stature, of a rustic countenance'; not beautiful at all, but honest-faced, as one accustomed to simple living in the open air: she was very strongly built; her hair was black, now cut short; her voice had the great charm of soft low music; her manners were pleasant². Above all, she carried conviction with her. So firmly she believed, so nearly she trod on the verge of the prophetic and miraculous, that in that uncritical age she was irresistible: friend and foe alike bowed before her. Her noble sentiments, pure and exalted, were like a revelation to distracted France, and even awed the corrupt and hostile Court into respect. The popular feeling rose very fast. In every trial her replies were triumphant. Having singled out the 'gentle Dauphin,' she whispered that in his ear which at once brought conviction to his heart: before hostile churchmen her replies were so simple, so direct, so overwhelming, that they were glad to abandon all resistance: with the matrons, who were sent to enquire into her character, she won her way by gentle simplicity and unity of purpose. All, ere long, were of one mind, or seemed so: her good sense, her fearlessness before prince or priest, her instinct of truth, her forward-moving energy, overbore all opposition. 'There is no need of more words,' she said to the wearisome theologians of Poitiers, 'this is not the hour to talk but to act.' And so at last she was commissioned to relieve Orleans.

One might have thought the King would have hastened thither himself: that seems never to have occurred to him. He

¹ 'Une pauvre petite bergerette,' and 'la plus simple bergère qu'on voit onques.'

² So says Philip de Bergamo, who lived in the latter half of the century, in his book *De claris mulieribus*. He got his information from an Italian who had been eye-witness of this scene. The phrase 'facie rusticana,' coupled with the absolute silence of the chronicles on the point, disposes at once of the French descriptions of her beauty: the French historians could not refrain from such heightening of the picture, as might be got from painting their heroine with all the conventional charms.

remained at Chinon, amusing himself, after his idle luxurious sort, and left Jeanne Darc and Orleans to settle the affair with the English as they could.

Forth she rode, 'as a warrior on a great black horse, dressed all in white armour save her head, which was bare, and with an axe in hand.' Prophecy, second-sight, marvels, attended her. She sent messengers to the church at Fierbois for a sword which lay behind the altar, on the blade of which were five crosses. The messengers looked, found it, and brought it with them.

The relieving force was headed by the Duke of Alençon, one of the 'nationalist' party, as became a Prince of the blood: he was one of her firmest friends. Her march was like a triumph: wherever she came she was saluted as a deliverer. In the van went a company of priests, who chanted the *Veni Creator*: the soldiers marched behind, re-echoing the strain. On their wild natures the religious fervour acted vehemently. They drove out all unclean persons; they confessed themselves; they set themselves right with God: they did no violence by the way. It was an army of enthusiasts, with that strange irresistible power such movements have at the outset. Cromwell's men were never more Godfearing.

From near Orleans she dictated a letter to the English, strange, imperious, full of a singular confidence and simplicity. She bids them begone: or she will come and make them go. And when they did not obey, she came. As her little army drew near, the English, already panic-stricken, abandoned one of their forts; and, withdrawing to right and left, let her pass through quite unmolested. They probably knew they were not strong enough to resist her. Thus, as she said, 'God, at the request of St. Louis and St. Charles the Great,' the two popular royal saints, 'had pity on the city of Orleans.' All the citizens came forth to meet her: great was their joy, great the revival of their courage. She rode straight to the cathedral, and there returned thanks to God. (April 29, 1429.)

And the English were as much disheartened. They oscillated between coarse abuse and cowardly flight: the worst qualities of

the race came out. The Duke of Bedford himself, writing to England, acknowledged the discouragement. 'Alle thing there prospered for you til the tyme of the siege of Orleans, taken in hand, God knoweth by what advis. At the which tyme after the adventure fallen to the person of my Cousin of Salysbury, whom God assoille, there felle, by the Hand of God, as it seemeth, a greet strook upon your Peuple that was assembled there in grete nombre, caused in grete partie, as I trowe, of lakke of sad beleve [want of firm faith] and of an unlevefulle [unbelieving] doubtte that thei hadde of a Disciple and lyme [limb] of the Feende called the Pucelle, that used fals enchauntements and sorcerie¹.' And this feeling spread even into England. We find two Royal Proclamations on the occasion of the young King's starting for Paris from London to be crowned. From both of these documents we learn that men-at-arms and even captains had hid themselves and remained in London, for fear of her, 'terrified at the incantations of the Pucelle².'

Here then lay the secret of her success. It was no magic, no special intervention, no prophetic foresight; but the irresistible forward movement of a perfectly fearless spirit, which calculated no chances, felt no doubts, knew what it desired, and firmly believing in a divine mission moved on serenely towards its aim. He who has unwavering belief will never lack followers: and Jeanne Darc was fortunate not only in inspiring confidence, but also in striking terror. This sudden accession of energy to the one side, and diminution of the power of resistance on the other, came at a time when the forces of attack had spent themselves, when assault had given place to blockade, when the besiegers were growing weary of the tedious winter, and when they had just seen the Burgundians march away in anger. The outer ring of blockade was weakened, just at the time when

¹ Rymer, *Foedera*, tom. 10, p. 408; ed. 1727.

² May 3, 1431, and Dec. 12, 1431. Singularly enough, the latter of these documents was issued some months after the death of the Maid of Orleans. Dunois in his deposition says that 'before the Pucelle arrived two hundred English would put to flight eight hundred or a thousand of the King's men; but after her coming four or five hundred Frenchmen drove back the whole power of the English and shut them up in their own works.'

the inner circle, the besieged city, received a new impulse, and began to act on the offensive. Add to this the superstitious confidence in the one army, and the superstitious terrors in the other; and we have an easy solution of the wonderful way in which the English power crumbled to dust before the sacred banner of the Maid of Orleans.

Yet all was not easy for her. Those who had so long and so bravely defended the city were not willing to yield the command at once to a maiden of eighteen years. Something of the same dislike to her, which showed itself at Court, showed itself in the council of the chiefs within the beleaguered city. They hid their plans from her; or they refused to listen to her advice and her prayers. The first thing we read of her at Orleans is that on the night after her entry shouts and sounds of war roused her from sleep, and told her that a sortie was going on; she hastily called for her horse; dressed, armed, mounted, and then 'galloped down the paved way so fiercely that the sparks sprang from her charger's hoofs; and she went as straight for the fighting-ground as if she had known the way before.' From that moment to the raising of the siege she was always in the van: many might follow her or few; wounded, once and again, her high heart carried her back into the battle; she never looked behind, always forwards; and her spirit entered into her men-at-arms. At first she shuddered at the sight of blood; at least of French blood: and at a later time she told her judges that she loved her banner forty times more than her sword; for the banner bore on it the forms of the two saints whom she had talked with, and the sacred words 'Jhesus Maria,' and was to her the symbol of her divine mission and power; whereas her sword was nothing but a bloodthirsty weapon. 'I ever carried that standard myself,' she says, 'when attacking the enemy, for fear lest I should slay any man.' And yet she had some goodwill towards the blade: 'it was a good sword,' she said, 'fit to give good blows and good clouts'.¹ It is a touching

¹ Trial of Jeanne Darc, 27 Feb. 1430: 'Étoit une bonne épée de guerre propre à donner de bonnes buffes et de bons torchons.'

element in her character, this contrast of her purity in the midst of the gross soldiery; of her straightforward simplicity among insincere courtiers and churchmen; of her tenderness and reluctance to shed blood, among the cruel deeds of war.

The enthusiasm of soldiers and citizens soon proved too strong for the unwilling chiefs. On the 2nd of May she rode out to see all the English fortifications; on the 4th she brought in plentiful supplies sent by Bourges, Angers, Tours, and other cities, while the English looked sullenly on from their forts; the same day she assaulted and took, after a stout resistance, the Bastille of St. Loup, burnt and rased it, and carried its spoil into the city. Next day was Ascension Day, and the chief captains, the Bastard of Orleans, the Marshal de Rays, the rough knight La Hire, a Scot named Kennedy, and others, took counsel with Jeanne; she was for instant action, exhorting them to strike while the panic lasted, and to assault the Bastille St. Laurence¹ at once. It was agreed, however, to attack the lines to the south of the river, where the English were weakest, and where, if the blockade were raised, communication would at once be opened with those districts which were most favourable to the French side.

The whole of Ascension Day was given up to busy preparations. Next morning betimes they crossed the river near St. Loup (the taking of which had opened their way), being about four thousand strong: they took by assault St. Jean le Blanc, the garrison of which retired to a little island in the Loire. Before the main body of French had got over the river, Jeanne pushed on up to the Augustinians' works; the scanty troop with her, finding itself unsupported, was seized with panic and fled; even she slowly withdrew. Out came the English soldiers to press their advantage, mocking her and using scurrilous and filthy speech after their low way. Hearing

¹ The Bastille St. Laurence answered to that of St. Loup, being at the other end of the chain of northern forts: it was close to the river below the city, and defended a bridge which the English had thrown across the Loire, as a link between their northern and southern positions. See map on p. 519.

this, she grew angry and turned about, and with La Hire, her best and roughest captain¹, fell on them. Panic-stricken, they fled headlong to their works; the sight of her noble rage was enough. Seizing the happy moment, she stormed the Augustinians' fort, delivered a number of prisoners she found there, and burnt it to the ground. In the assault she had been wounded by a caltrop; but she took no heed to her pain.

The English were fain to evacuate the bastide St. Privé, which still remained to them, and to carry all their force, except the garrison in the Tournelles, across to the north bank of the Loire. They broke their bridge behind them, concentrated themselves on the strong position of the Tournelles, which lay in the river, forming the tête-du-pont to Orleans on the south: it had been enlarged and fortified by Glansdale with a bulwark and other works. Here they stood on the defensive; and presented still a formidable front.

On the Saturday at dawn the whole force of the French crossed the river above the city, and vigorously attacked the bulwark before the bridge. Here was a fierce struggle, and Jeanne was sorely wounded in the neck and shoulder by an arrow. The captain and chief men drew her away, and advised that the assault should be stayed till next day. But Jeanne 'encouraged them with many and fair words,' and after no little difficulty, they were persuaded to renew the attack. Then she turned aside, and prayed; and after that she bade him who carried her banner move forward till it touched the English works. After a little while he turned and said to her, 'Jeanne, it touches now,' to which she replied, 'All is yours, now enter in,' and they pushed forward bravely to the assault. Meanwhile those within the city, seeing that the attack was renewed, laid planks unobserved from pier to pier of the broken bridge, and so came over and joined in the assault. So fierce it was that the English were forced to yield. Then there was a great carnage; they

¹ He had great trouble with his tongue, for Jeanne would allow no oaths, and he could hardly speak without one. He got over the difficulty by inventing a new oath, and swearing innocently by his staff; this satisfied both him and her.

tried to escape from the bulwark into the Tournelles, but few succeeded, the rest perished: for the bridge suddenly broke, as Glansdale and several of the chief men were passing over it; and all were thrown into the stream and swept away¹. As many as five hundred men-at-arms were killed or drowned. The Tournelles were now hotly assaulted and, after a sharp struggle, taken by the Pucelle: many English captains and knights of name were slain. The utter ruin of their blockade was now apparent to the besiegers: and on the Sunday morning they abandoned their bastilles on the north side, and drew out all their force in order of battle. The French did the same; and so they stood over against one another a full hour. But neither army struck the first blow; and at the end of that time the English quietly defiled off the ground and marched in good order, with banners flying, up-stream to Meung-sur-Loire, and thence to Jargeau.

The French chiefs very properly wished to press and harass the retreating force; but Jeanne, who saw her great object, the relief of Orleans, accomplished, and who had little of the instinct of real generalship, did not care to push on, and told them they would have the English another time; and therewith she led the French back to rest in Orleans, leaving her dispirited and broken foe to retire at his leisure.

And thus the siege, which had lasted since the October before (Oct. 12, 1428), was raised only eight days after Jeanne had made her entry into the town. She came in by night on Friday the 29th of April: on the 8th of May, the Sunday week after, she saw the English turn their backs for ever on the rescued city.

Though she would not pursue the English, still she did not linger over her triumph; next day she rode out of the city, amid the tears of joy and humble gratitude of the devoted citizens, and set herself to the other half of her destined task, the coronation of the King at Rheims.

¹ An eye-witness says it was a great discouragement to the English, and equal loss to the valiant French, who might have had large profit for their ransom.

The King sent the Duke of Alençon with a strong force to meet and join her: numbers of men-at-arms flocked to his banner, eager to see the said Pucelle, who, they held, was come from God, and to fight with her against the enemy¹. The combined forces laid siege to Jargeau, whither the English had retired, and within eight days took it, and in it the Earl of Suffolk and others, many English being slain. Then came news that Talbot was marching speedily to succour his countrymen; and Jeanne, who now was eagerly consulted, advised that he should be attacked at once. This was done at Patay, where the English were utterly overthrown, and Talbot himself taken. The country all round at once declared for the French side. Jeanne hastened on to Sully on the Loire, La Tremouille's castle, where the idle King was dreaming away these critical and stirring days. Perhaps of all men in France he was the least eager for the coronation. The favourite, hating Jeanne, and desiring only his own indolent amusement with the King, succeeded in defeating one of the objects Jeanne had greatly at heart, the reconciliation between the King and the Constable de Richemont, who had won for him the battle of Patay: Richemont retired to the west of France, and there loyally served his country by making independent war on the national foe.

The Court also wished to stay quietly where they were till the men-at-arms had cleared the valley of the Loire of the English, holding it not prudent to leave so many enemies behind them, especially as their way through Champagne was also likely to be beset. But Jeanne, supported by the whole people and the army, prevailed. The King set forth, first to Gien, where he gathered force; thence eastward and northward by Auxerre and St. Florentin to Troyes, which was held by the English. Here they lay six days besieging the place; and lacking food they held a council of war, without summoning Jeanne, and all but agreed to retire: she however, being called in at the last, induced them to wait two days. Then she got

¹ Histoire abrégée, Buchon, tom. 34.

on horseback, and called together men-at-arms, with fagots, ladders, and all things for an assault. And the citizens, seeing this, before the actual attack, came out in terror and opened their gates. Thus the last difficulty was over; and the King came safe to Rheims, where he was crowned with great pomp by the Archbishop; Jeanne standing by, holding the royal standard;—and she, right joyous that at her exhortation, by her counsel and diligence, she had led her lord to be anointed and consecrated, now admonished him to render thanks to God for the blessing of his coronation and for the fair victories He had granted him¹.

So far then her mission was fulfilled. It is said² that a little later she told the Count of Dunois that she would be glad were they to carry her back to her father and mother, that she might tend their sheep and oxen, and do as she had been wont to do. Weary of the false world of courts, the fierce life of camps, she may have felt that yearning for peace and peaceful works which comes at times to every noble character. Now that she had established her King as King, now that she had checked the advance of the English, she may not improbably have longed to lay down arms and turn her back on greatness and glory. But it was not so to be. Her name was all powerful, her influence at its highest. The English still were masters of Northern France almost up to the gates of Rheims. And, indeed, it is doubtful whether she ever seriously desired to be dismissed. Her constant prophecy had been that the English would be driven utterly out of the land; she thought herself destined to cast them forth; she must have become aware of her great importance for France. She may have had misgivings, and may have felt that her strength, as she said, 'was not given her for long'; she may have dimly foreseen the end; but she never flinched from her task or dreamed of saving herself; went serenely on in her great mission, till it was cut

¹ Histoire abrégée, Buchon, tom. 34.

² Chronique de la Pucelle, c. 59. Deposition of the Count de Dunois. Procès, 3, p. 101.

short by treachery and the unforgiving foe. For the present all was bright before her. The fear of her had fallen on all; we have seen how English captains and men hid themselves in London rather than accompany their little King to his crowning over sea; we learn from all sides how she had attracted all men's eyes. The 'Sibyl of France' was a miracle to them all. They sent to France to inquire; one of the Visconti begged her to restore him to his lordship in Milan; she was appealed to to say 'which was the true Pope'; it was believed that she would first eject the English, then restore the faith; that she would reunite the Hussites to the Church; crush the Saracen, and save the menaced capital of Eastern Christendom. The thought of this great enterprise gleams through her strange letters to the Dukes of Bedford and Burgundy. Her influence grew day by day: noble knights laid down their own devices and adopted hers; medals were struck bearing her effigy, and were worn on every neck; portraits and roughly-made statues of her were solemnly placed in churches: she is the Judith of the time; God has saved his people by the hand of a woman¹. In her lifetime, a simple maiden of eighteen, she becomes a popular saint of the Church, second to none, ranking below the Holy Virgin alone.

And why then did she not at once move on to finish her great work?

The sad answer is that the Court which she had saved already hated her, and was in conspiracy against her. Without this, even the high ability, firmness and sagacity of Bedford would scarcely have availed. Bedford had urged the Cardinal of Winchester, his uncle, to bring over a body of troops, destined nominally for the Crusade, and with them Henry VI, in order that Paris might be secured, and the little English King be shown, a child of nine, as the rival of the careless Charles. He had also again drawn closer to the Burgundians, and already meditated placing Paris in their hands. The Court gave him time enough to recover the blows dealt him at Orleans and

¹ See the Collect introduced in her honour into the offices. *Procès*, 5, p. 104.

Rheims. La Tremouille, the King's evil spirit, and others his familiars, especially Regnault, the scandalous Archbishop of Chartres, entered into a conspiracy, in which the King himself joined, to neutralise, if possible, all the force of the national movement. It is a strange sight, this King conspiring against himself! The unworthy trio interfered with the forward movement of the army; above all things, they dreaded the prospect of any success against Paris; the favourable moments were lost; the English soldiery were allowed to recover courage; a short truce was agreed on. Bedford next sent a defiance to Charles, and came out to meet him. The French were eager to fight; but the wary Regent would not risk all on a battle. He withdrew, after having encouraged his men to look on the Maid of Orleans face to face; and Charles, instead of following him up, also drew back to Compiègne. Many cities declared for the King; among them Beauvais, which ejected its unworthy bishop, Peter Cauchon, who was destined soon to make for himself a name of eternal infamy.

Jeanne, after five days wasted at Compiègne, could bear it no longer. She mounted horse, and, followed by all who would, disregarding the King and his crew of minions, rode through Senlis to St. Denis, which at once threw open its gates. Life came back to the army, now that the King was left behind. Partisans sprang up on every side. Four chief fortresses of Normandy were surprised, among them Château Gaillard. Richemont, whom the King had scorned, loyally seconded the forward movement, threatening Evreux; the English communications were in the greatest danger. The Normans welcomed the French: Bedford was compelled to fall back to Rouen, leaving in Paris only a weak garrison. The King, instead of striking, busied himself with treaties with Philip of Burgundy. The Duke was to get Compiègne, a truce for the cities north of the Seine was to be signed; the Duke in return vaguely promising to open the gates of Paris to the King. Thus Charles and La Tremouille hoped to recover the capital, without having to thank the heroine of France for it. Alençon, who was still

friendly to Jeanne, urged the King to come on. He came as far as Senlis, and there stayed;—at last he very reluctantly entered St. Denis. The assault of Paris was fixed for the very next day; but in spite of the Pucelle's utmost endeavour the attack failed; not without some suspicion of treachery. She was but ill-supported throughout by the chiefs; the King never left St. Denis. Checked by the second ditch, which was deep with water, she held firmly to such advantage as she had gained, and, in spite of a ceaseless shower of missiles, was not dislodged till night: at last, not long before midnight, she was led away by her friends. For the first time she had failed. 'That night,' says Martin¹, 'there was joy in the Council of the King of France at St. Denis, as much as in that of the English Regent in Paris.' The next day she would have renewed the assault; not without good hopes of success. But her King forbade it, and actually broke down the bridge of St. Denis, lest she could cross the Seine and attack from the other side.

Thus the King's treason against himself succeeded. The army withdrew; Alençon was sent into Normandy to be away from the Pucelle's influence. Do what she would, her power was neutralised; every opportunity lost, every success abandoned. At last, wearied out, she left the camp, and returned to Compiègne. There, in a great sortie, she was cut off by the Burgundians. Her flag was taken, she was dragged from her horse, and captured by an archer and the Bastard of Wandomme, an Artesian. There is no ground for supposing that she was betrayed by the commandant of the city, or that the gates were closed against her. Her fearless confidence alone was fatal to her.

But now that she is in the hands of the Burgundians—will she be delivered over to the English?

No man had pity on her. The King and his crew of favourites made no sign; the Archbishop of Rheims denounced her; the clergy of the English party followed his leading;

¹ *Histoire des Français*, tom. 6. 214.

the University of Paris, utterly incapable of discerning her heroism, clamoured that she should be handed over to the Holy Office; the Inquisition claimed her as its victim. Political needs were seconded by theological hatred. If they had murdered her as a political captive, the act would have been so gross and abhorrent to all men, that it would have aroused against them the indignation of Europe. They decided therefore to raise the cry of heresy and sorcery. The Cardinal of Winchester employed the ejected Bishop of Beauvais, Cauchon, as his instrument. He had had much practice in Canon Law; had supported the Burgundian interests at Constance against Gerson¹; had sat in judgment on Armagnac priests; and was known to be an ambitious, unscrupulous partisan. The congenial task, the hope of revenge on those who had caused his ejection from Beauvais, and the promise of the Archbishopric of Rouen then vacant, were quite enough to make him a safe and eager tool of English vengeance.

It was chiefly through Cauchon's activity that the Duke of Burgundy at last delivered up Jeanne to her English foes. He sold her to them, in fact, for ten thousand francs of gold. Hitherto she had been in honourable captivity at a castle near Cambrai, in the hands of the wife and aunt of John of Luxemburg. They yielded her up with tears and vain protests. She was sent first to Arras, in Burgundian territory; thence to Crotoi, where the English received her. Meanwhile the national party had relieved Compiègne, and had all but driven the Burgundians out of Champagne. The English, hearing this, conceived that so long as Jeanne lived, her influence, her will, would thwart and defeat them. Her death was more and more desired. In December 1430 she was taken to Rouen; where she was imprisoned in irons, with grievous indignities. She was kept there as a prisoner of war, guarded by rough soldiers throughout her trial, although she was accused of ecclesiastical crimes, and ought to have been placed in the hands of the

¹ It is worthy of notice that this great doctor of the Orleanist or national party was devoted to Jeanne.

Church. As it was, she underwent the torments of both Church and State.

It would be vain to give the details of the trial. The proper forms were carefully attended to¹; no haste appeared. The President Cauchon might show heat at times; but generally he let the trial follow its course. The conclusion was foregone. Among the judges there was but one Englishman. Though Bedford and Winchester might pull the strings, Englishmen were not the instruments of the great crime. The trial lingered on three months,—months of exquisite torture². At last she was handed over to the secular arm for punishment. No actual sentence was passed on her; but all knew what the end must be. At first she lamented, 'Rouen, Rouen, shall I then die here?' In the heart of the young maid—she was scarcely nineteen—life was so strong, and yet to be so soon and so painfully stifled on the pile. There, in the street of Rouen, she made her martyr-end; piously, simply, and right bravely to the very last. Her persecutors were brutal also to the end. Her ashes were scattered in the Seine, lest her body should work miracles in behalf of France, and rouse the dejected energies of the people.

How shall we divide the shame of this worst act of a dark age? The chief blame shall fall on Charles VII, King of France, who made all her efforts vain, and who, in fact, betrayed her: while she was so long a prisoner he never lifted a finger to save her. Next come the fanatical churchmen, the Frenchmen of the English side, the willing instruments; then the Burgundians, who had not chivalry enough to refuse to sell her for a paltry sum, though they knew she was passing from their hands to all indignity and to a fearful death; then the English leaders, who, out of sight, directed all, because their hard-hearted policy seemed to them to demand her as a victim. Nor can we altogether acquit from blame the

¹ A Dominican friar, who stood stoutly by the victim to the end, declares 'satis observabant iudices ordinem juris.'

² February 21 to May 28, 1431.

French people, who looked on without a voice. Nothing is so striking as the utter silence with which all France watched the long dreary trial, the cruel examinations, the shameful imprisonment, the bitter death. In front of all this darkness the noble figure of the heroine of France stands out in amazing beauty against the background of treachery, meanness, cruelty, and smoke of devouring fire. In all she is lifted far above her countrymen and her age; in all she is perfect in her simplicity, piety, self-devotion. She stands alone on the page of history.

CHAPTER VII.

The Fifth Period of the 'Hundred Years War.' *Expulsion of the English. A.D. 1431-1453.*

ENGLAND showed herself determined to accept the shame of this outrage on mankind. Two letters were written, one (8th June) to the Pope and Princes of Christendom; the other (28th June) to the Bishops, Dukes, Counts, Barons, and Communes of France. They both declare the death of the Pucelle to have been intended as a blow to Charles VII, the capital foe of the King of England; and that her heroism had been flat rebellion against Holy Church, and had been punished accordingly. France would not listen to such pale justification. The popular feeling soon expressed itself clearly. Shadowy persons arose, declaring themselves to be the Maid of Orleans, miraculously saved from the burning pile; they received considerable credit from the people. The reaction against the English calumnies was universal and strong. If to them Jeanne was an impostor, a 'limb of Satan,' a witch, a sorceress; to the French people she was a true prophetess, a 'daughter of God,' a heroine, a saint, a martyr. Her judges were pointed out in the streets with the finger of scorn, and cursed by the passers-by: the popular hatred supplied what the Bishop of Beauvais had long lost, or never had, the stings of conscience. He prospered, and got the wages of his crime, the Archbishopric of Rouen. And then, as the people expected, his end came soon. He died suddenly under the hands—if not by the hands—of his

barber. The people welcomed with joy his speedy death, and that of several other chief agents in the trial, as the vengeance of God. They saw God's hand, too, in the death of the Regent Bedford, four years later (A.D. 1435). Whatever might have been the value of such indications in troublesome times, when sudden and violent deaths were rife, certainly nothing ever prospered afterwards with the English in France.

And yet the Regent did what he could to get advantage out of the death of Jeanne Darc. He had the little King of England crowned and consecrated in Notre Dame (December 17, 1431) as King of France. Already it was too late. Philip of Burgundy became weary of an alliance, to which he had agreed only for his own ends. He came to think he could secure his aims better by coming to terms with the young French King: active negotiations went on between them. Bedford felt that if he left him, all was lost. Even at the crowning of Henry VI in Paris the citizens looked on gloomily: the English occupation had lost the goodwill even of its own partisans. The death of the sister of the Duke of Burgundy, Bedford's wife, in 1432, still farther severed the English and Burgundians.

The war dragged on its weary indecisive course; but one good omen for the French cause occurred. The great noblesse had perished in the war: there remained only three parties, the lesser and newer nobles, captains, knights; the royal princes; and the King and his favourites. The struggle lay between this newer noblesse and the Court; and we have seen how obstinately Charles VII refused to be reconciled with its representative the Constable Richemont, in the days when that brave and loyal soldier would have been of the utmost value to him. Now Richemont avenged himself. With help of the Count of Clermont (soon after Duke of Bourbon¹), and some other warlike chiefs, he surprised and carried off La Tremouille. The King, with characteristic indolence, made no effort to save his favourite; perhaps he was even rather weary of his supremacy. Richemont now took the chief command, and swept the English

¹ Grandfather of Francis I.

out of Maine. An obscure party-war went on between the Dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, ending in a conference, to which Richemont was admitted. Burgundy agreed (A.D. 1434) that if Henry VI refused the offers of Charles VII, he would abandon him entirely; his price was to be the cession of Amiens, Ponthieu, and some other small places in the North.

Next year (5th August, 1435) a Congress met at Arras. Not for many years had so great an assembly been gathered together. The Church presided, in the persons of two cardinals. The Cardinal Bishop of Winchester headed the representatives of England; the Duke of Bourbon those of France. Burgundy was there, Richemont, and other men of name. The Emperor sent ambassadors, as also did many European states. The Council of Basel, then sitting, sent the Cardinal of Santa Croce, who had with him in his train Aeneas Silvius, afterwards Pope Pius II. Crowds of lesser personages thronged the city. All Europe took profound interest in a Congress which, men hoped, would end the great scandals of Christendom.

The discussions were long and intricate. The French at last offered to cede Normandy and Aquitaine as fiefs of the English crown, if the English sovereign in his turn would cease to claim the crown of France. The English refused; the Congress was broken up. Then Burgundy remembered his promise to Charles; and, after some hesitation—for he was bound by solemn oaths to England—he signed the treaty of Arras (21st Sept. 1435), and came over to the French side. On condition that Auxerre, Macon, Peronne, Montdidier, and the towns on the Somme (the last might be bought back by France) should be ceded to him, and that he should be released from all feudal homage (in his own person, not in his successors), he recognised Charles VII as King of France. Philip sold his alliance dearly; at such a moment it was worth any price.

Yet more disastrous to the English than this defection of their ally, this healing of the great breach between Burgundian and Armagnac, was the death of the great Duke of Bedford, the Regent of France. He expired at Rouen a few days after

receiving tidings of the treaty of Arras (14th Sept. 1435). He was the only man capable of stemming the rising tide of the fortunes of France; a man of many high virtues and great sagacity; the one man who could rise above the petty party strife of England. At a most critical moment the English in France found themselves without a chief.

Paris, seeing the Burgundian standards side by side with the royal, and having no love for the English occupation,—except so far as it meant for her the supremacy of the Burgundian party,—opened her gates to the Constable. In April 1436 the royal army marched into the city. A full amnesty was granted; a wise clemency ruled in the King's counsels. The English, who had retired to the Bastille, capitulated, on condition that they and their partisans might go away free. They turned their backs on Paris, leaving the two parties in the city united in transports of joy. Charles VII after a while made his entry into the capital; he did but look coldly on the miseries of the city; no ordinance, no measure of relief signalised his visit; he went as he had come.

The indolence of the French monarch, and his deep repugnance for war and men of war, was seconded by an equal want of ability in the English King. Henry VI as he grew up showed no capacity: an easy temper and simple manners made him a quiet tool in the hands of whatever party might obtain possession of him; he was utterly unfit to prosecute a war in France: the English people too were heartily weary of it. Consequently, for some years (from 1436 to 1449) the long war languished.

During this period the great Council of Basle was sitting (A.D. 1431-1449), in which the claim of Councils to be supreme was loudly asserted. The bishops of the national side in France flocked in great numbers; the Council took a warm interest in the Treaty of Arras. The fathers won the uncertain allegiance of Philip the Good, by ruling that the Burgundian ambassadors should take precedence of those of the electors of Germany, and of all princes who were not of royal dignity. Thus the Duke of Burgundy was formally declared to be greater

than any feudal lord: not a king, but more powerful than many a crowned head.

In 1438 Charles VII summoned a national Council at Bourges. There they drew up what is called the 'Pragmatic Sanction,' a document composed of a number of the decrees of the Council, re-echoing its views as to the quarrel with the Papacy, and asserting the liberties of the Gallican clergy, and their close alliance with the crown. It limited the power of the Papacy over Church preferments; forbade appeals to Rome; stopped the annates. The significance of the document was increased by the promulgation of it under royal authority as an Ordinance: it seemed as if the Gallican Church would regard the King as her head to the detriment of the Pope.

And now the lazy King seemed to shake off his indolence: he appeared at last to take some interest in his own kingdom. There was an obscure struggle at Court between the favourites and the great lords on one side, and the noble Constable of France and the men of burgher origin in the Council on the other side. At the head of their war power was Richemont; at the head of their domestic power was that upright and wealthy merchant Jacques Cœur. No worthier representative of the merchant class has ever lived. To him is due whatever of financial prosperity now began to dawn on France. He found means to hire troops of adventurers, still far too numerous and handy for war or pillage, and forwarded them to the Constable. The King no longer resisted; and, after the taking of Meaux by the war-party, Richemont was well received at Paris by the Court, and took a great share in arranging a most important movement. This was nothing less than the convocation of the States-General of the Langue d'Oil at Orleans. The place of meeting was significant and the time. The assembly was one of high dignity and worth: great numbers of the best men of the realm were there.

Then was fully discussed the great plague of the realm—the 'petty war' of adventurers, 'écorcheurs,' or brigands, who

preyed on France; and all agreed that this must be suppressed. Nothing had inflicted so much misery on France, so long, so wearing, and so persistent. It was agreed also that finance should be remodelled; and a permanent tax was established, to be employed in the payment of a Standing Army. The year 1439 gives us, in fact, the beginning of that great system of regular armies which have gone on growing in size from that day to this, till at last they threaten to devour the vitals of society. These two things, the Standing Army and the fixed taxation, form an epoch in French history.

A royal edict (2nd Nov.), levelled against the ruffians who disgraced and ruined France, followed at once. The Ordinance, which decreed a *levée en masse* and struck at once at the noble and lawless adventurer, is worthy of note as a step towards that consolidation of the royal power on the ruins of all liberty which marked the next reign, the reign of Louis XI. The appointment of officers was centred in the King; he alone could fix the number of soldiers to be on foot; he took to himself the right of levying taxes without the consent of the Estates. Here were the chief ingredients of French absolutism. The revolution promised to be complete.

And the great noblesse saw it so: they at once began to move; they now discovered that the King was corrupt, debauched, careless, incompetent; they declared that the young Dauphin, Louis, now nearly seventeen years old, ought to be invested with the government. The great lords and the leaders of the independent soldiery, threatened alike, formed a general conspiracy: they left the Court, and all retired into Poitou. The young Dauphin, who already showed some signs of capacity and vigour, was carried off by them, and willingly became their tool and head. He was supported by Dunois, the Dukes of Bourbon and Alençon, and many others of note. But now Charles VII showed himself a new man. Against this 'Praguerie'¹ he displayed courage, resources, coolness. He gathered together what force he could. Richemont and the Count of

¹ So called by allusion to the Hussite struggles in Prague.

Maine stood firmly by him; many bands of free-lances took regular service and pay under him. With a few hundred men he at once marched against the insurgents: as he went, the cities and country declared in his favour: the Praguerie found itself powerless. The nobles appealed for asylum to the Duke of Burgundy; and he, though head of the feudal nobles of the age, refused to shelter them. They were fain to make their peace with the King. The Dauphin submitted; he was graciously received, pardoned, and sent, that he might be far off and occupied, to govern Dauphiny.

The Duke of Orleans, prisoner in England since Azincourt, was now set free, and roused for a moment the flagging hopes of the nobles; for he allied himself closely with Burgundy, and retired gloomily to his territories. A meeting of the princes and high nobles under his presidency at Nevers issued a manifesto attacking the King's government, his heavy taxes, his continued war. King Charles replied with so sound a state-paper, that all France was satisfied that the nobles were in the wrong, and declared in favour of the royal power. The nobles yielded, and submitted to the King; the Praguerie was at an end.

Charles now displayed a similar activity in war. He crushed the lawless adventurers in Champagne, not without some side-blows at the noblesse, many of whom, in fact, were nothing but noble free-lances. Then he pushed westward from Paris and attacked Pontoise. Here the English were in force, and it was not till after a most critical struggle that the King carried that important place (A.D. 1441). All through the next year he waged pitiless war against the freebooters: he was in Gascony, down to the feet of the Pyrenees, then back to Northern France, where the English were attempting Dieppe. The Dauphin now did good service to France; first at Dieppe, where he forced the English to raise their siege; next in the Rouergue, where the Count of Armagnac, reversing the policy of his name, had allied himself with Henry VI of England, and was troubling all the South. He was captured by a characteristic

piece of treachery—the Dauphin was already showing signs of his future craft—and Armagnac was occupied by French troops. A truce with England for two years followed (A.D. 1444–1446). In England the war-party, headed by Gloucester, had been losing ground. The Cardinal of Winchester, who led the peace-party, won the confidence of the feeble King, and succeeded in arranging a marriage for him with Margaret of Anjou, daughter of the famed René, the witty, artistic prince, the adventurer in many lands, lively, liberal, dear to all who fell under his influence. His daughter was in some respects like him, though of a far stronger build of character; she was lovely and learned; and, in 1445, she became Queen of England.

The King and the Dauphin employed this two years' time in drawing off the free-lances, the wandering marauders. The King led an army into Lorraine, to conquer the 'three Bishoprics,' as they afterwards were called, Metz, Toul, and Verdun; the Dauphin set out for Switzerland. It was a great thing to relieve the country of these unruly adventurers; for while they remained no prosperity could return. The Dauphin was delighted to command them: he was as restless, as fond of war and adventure, as his father was of peace. In all, they led out of the land some fifty thousand men.

The Dauphin directed his steps to Basel, where the relics of the great Council were still sitting. They dispersed at his approach. Not so the Swiss. A body of about sixteen hundred men came out to meet him. At first they drove back the French horse in confusion; but afterwards, in rashly attempting to cross the river Birse in face of the enemy, they were overwhelmed and crushed. Five hundred of them, who had made good their retreat as far as to the cemetery just outside the walls of Basel, were there besieged, and, resisting with terrible bravery, perished to a man.

So great was the astonishment and even the terror that his victory roused in the Dauphin's breast, that he thought well to treat at once with the men of Basel: he was too sagacious to commit himself to the wild and difficult land beyond: if the

Swiss could do such things in the low country near Basel, what would they not achieve among their mountains and passes? And so he made peace with them, and turned aside into Alsatia; where there was much more booty, and far less resistance. War was threatened by the Emperor Frederick III. Charles, who had taken Verdun, and was besieging Metz with the other army, thought it not advisable to press matters to a rupture: Metz retained its independence, as did also Verdun and Toul, on payment of considerable fines: the French adventurers withdrew into France. Their numbers, it was noted with satisfaction, had been reduced by half.

The great Ordinance of Orleans was now carried out; the army was placed on a permanent footing, though in reduced numbers; fifteen hundred lances in fifteen companies formed the nucleus of the French army of the future. Each 'lance' signified six men: the man-at-arms himself, three bowmen, a page, and a light-armed soldier, all mounted. So that each of these fifteen companies formed a cavalry regiment of six hundred men. The King carefully appointed fifteen captains, 'men not too young, nor of the great noblesse'; their districts were appointed them; they chose the best equipped and properest men out of the free companies,—and there was great ambition to be chosen; and when this was done the remainder, the non-elect, were bidden go home to their own countries, and return to honest work, to abstain from pillage and oppression, or it would be the worse for them. And we find that within a fortnight the whole of these turbulent members of society had been absorbed and were gone. Thus ended the old lawless warfare of baronial days; thus began the new and organised warfare of the great monarchies of Europe. These companies mark also the beginning of those periods of history, rightly called modern, in which the idea of a balance of power has been central. The power of each state was naturally much dependent on, and calculated by, the drilled and armed force it could bring into the field.

The companies, thus spread over all the face of France, proved of great service in the restoration of prosperity. Their

discipline was severe, their conduct admirable. They formed a powerful police, themselves withdrawn from the side of disorder, and transferred to that of good government; they protected the people, made agriculture possible, encouraged the revival of commerce. France was amazed and grateful: it seemed a time of enchantment and blessing.

Nor did the King rest here: other Ordinances, bearing on the military organisation of France, followed. Each parish of fifty hearths was ordered to keep a 'free archer,' one of its inhabitants, who should be ready to join the King's army, as a paid soldier, at need. Another Ordinance settled the manner of the military service of the noblesse, and provided for their regular payment by the State. Round his own person Charles grouped those trusty Scottish fighting-men who, under John Stewart d'Aubigné, had served the crown so well, and who now formed the nucleus of this new standing army¹. It was reckoned that these men, the free archers, and the fifteen companies, would form an army of at least eighty thousand men. No complaint or resistance arose. Here was the framework of absolute monarchy; but the actual King was too fond of ease and luxury to be an oppressor: he lived quietly among his favourites, and let the land recover as it would. Perhaps the most fortunate part of the character of Charles, as far as France was concerned, was his acquiescence (not always a willing one) in the victories won for him by others. Never was monarch 'better served': never did any less deserve his proud title of 'the Victorious.'

The Dauphin's discontent had not been satisfied by his little inroad into Switzerland; he again intrigued against his father, and tried to revive the extinct embers of the Praguerie. Above all, he hated the King's mistress, the well-known Agnes Sorel, to whom has been attributed the change in Charles from indolent neglect of his country to vigorous action and beneficent legislation. Though her influence probably was good, so far as it went, what really worked the change was the overthrow of

¹ See vol. ii. p. 9.

the old favourites and the substitution in their room of upright soldiers like Richemont, and prudent statesmen like Jacques Cœur. It is their hand that we see in field and council. The King detected the dealings of the Dauphin with the noblesse, and the young Prince withdrew to his government in Dauphiny, where he ruled with intelligence and success. All the elements of the character which afterwards had so great influence on France were already showing themselves, on a smaller scale indeed, but with unmistakeable clearness and capacity for good and evil. He took part in the affairs of Italy and of the Church. Partly through his influence, more through the ability of the new Pope, Nicholas V, the Council of Basel was at last finally dissolved. The antipope Felix withdrew and the great Schism was at an end (A.D. 1449). The Church seemed to have recovered her unity; the cry for reform which had echoed through the halls of Basel died away without effect: yet two generations must come and go ere the need of that reform becomes clear to the great monk of Wittenberg, and through him to all the world.

And now the last scene of the long war begins. The old forces are worn out, the old quarrels come to an end; a great change impends over Europe. In 1449 some English adventurers had descended on the Breton coasts. The Duke of Brittany appealed to the French King for help, and many barons went in answer to the call. Henry VI, alarmed, called on the French to observe the truce, to prolong it; Charles on the other hand, saw that his time was come; he refused, and ordered Dunois to march into Normandy.

Talbot and the Duke of Somerset who commanded there had been left almost without men or supplies or money. The French carried all before them. In Brittany and Normandy alike, city after city opened its gates, and welcomed the French as deliverers. Even in Rouen, whither Talbot and Somerset had gathered in all their forces, the citizens were not to be denied. They let in the French, and the English were powerless to resist. They yielded, and were allowed to retreat to England

on payment of a fine. Charles made triumphal entry into the town. Thence onwards to the seaboard. Harfleur and Honfleur were taken; Somerset fell back to Caen. A strong reinforcement from Cherbourg, which marched to join him, was out-generaled and brought to bay at Formigny. There the Count of Clermont attacked them: he was beaten off, but he had given Richemont time to come up; and a second battle took place, ending in the absolute defeat of the English forces. They had been about six thousand strong, and are said to have lost more than half their men.

Now Normandy was altogether lost. The united French army besieged and took Caen: Falaise and Cherbourg were the last English strongholds; they too fell. And thus the thirty-one years of occupation ended.

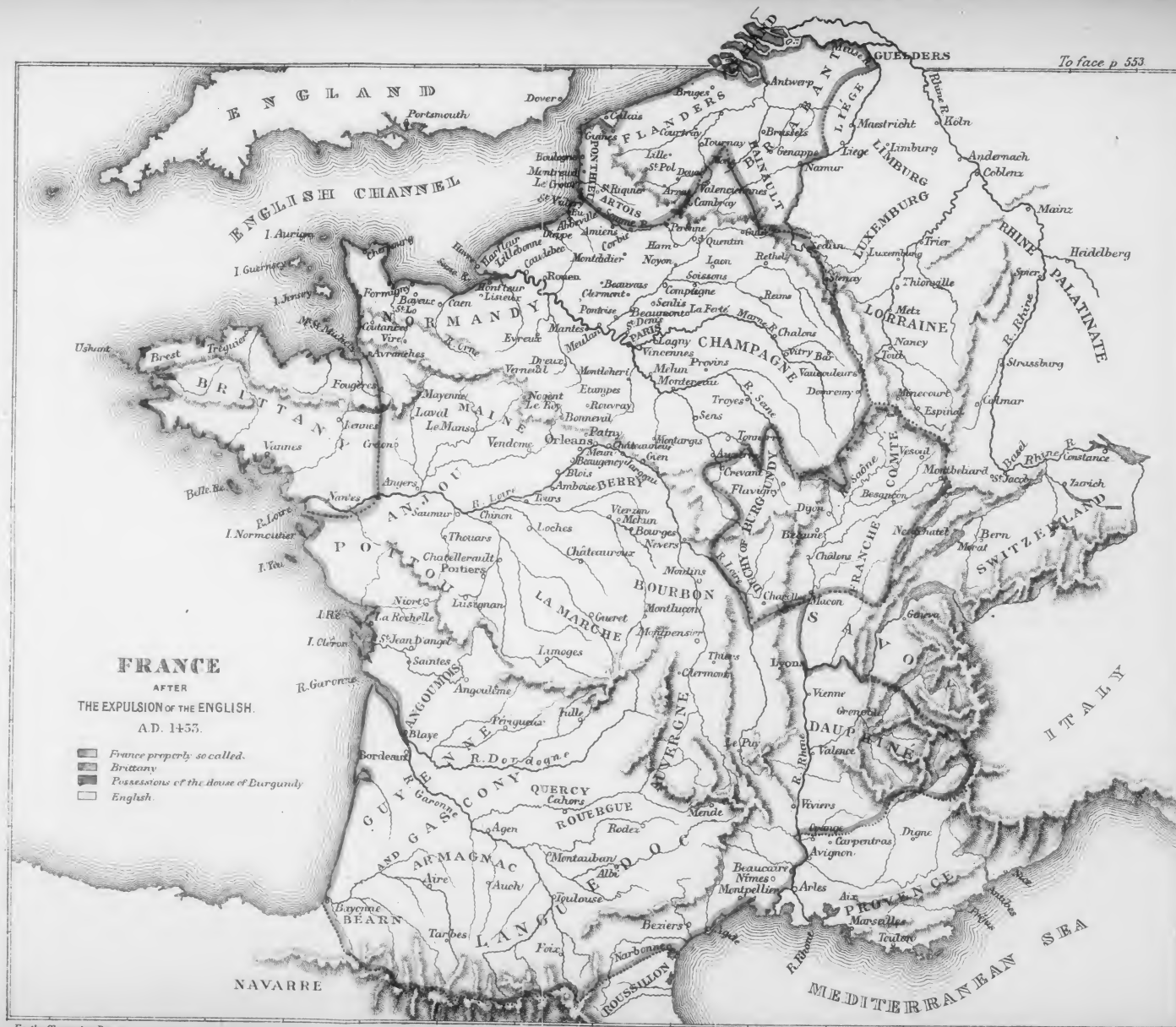
Borne on the rising tide of power and popularity Charles wisely determined to finish the work. The English government had been as remiss as the French had been active. Margaret of Anjou, unpopular in England, and opposed by the Duke of York, was powerless to help the garrisons of Normandy and Guienne.

The French army was organised, and, flushed with success, marched under Dunois into Guienne from the North, while the Counts of Armagnac and Albret entered it from the South. No serious resistance was possible: place after place threw open its gates; and after a march, which was little but a military parade, Dunois entered Bordeaux in triumph. Bayonne resisted and was besieged; after a couple of months the last stronghold of the English power in the South fell (August, 1451).

The end, however, had not yet quite come. Two strong interests bound Guienne to England: first, the feudal nobles dreaded the centralising influences of France, and were connected by old ties to the Court and noblesse of England; and secondly, the commercial relations between the two countries were close and profitable. England was a great consumer of the 'Bordeaux' wines: that city owed all its

prosperity to England: the taxation was less severe, the interference of government less serious, than it would be under the French kingdom. And to all this may be added the old blood-jealousy between Southern and Northern France, between the Euskarian and the Gallic tribes. So when the aged Talbot was sent over with five thousand men to recover Guienne, his success, for the moment, was complete. He was welcomed at Bordeaux as a saviour: the whole territory declared at once and warmly for England.

Charles VII was alarmed; he made terms with his troublesome son (who had offered to reconquer Guienne for him), and with the Duke of Savoy, that son's father-in-law, and marched with all his force towards Guienne; wintering in the country just to the north of it. The river Dordogne, an affluent of the Garonne, for a short distance separates Guienne from Périgord; and on this short piece stands the town and stronghold of Castillon, commanding the river's course. The army sat down in form before the place in July, 1453, throwing up entrenchments to defend the artillery. Thither came Talbot with a strong force, to dislodge them. He stormed an old abbey in which a body of eight hundred free-archers lay; and soon after, hearing a rumour that the French were abandoning their fortified camp, he hastened up; only to find his enemy tranquilly awaiting him. The old soldier's blood was up; he would listen to no prudent counsel; he did not remember the French blunder on the 'Day of the Herrings,' but pushed his men straight at the works. They came on with the coolest bravery, even planting Talbot's banner at the foot of the palisades: after an hour's struggle, they found their efforts vain, and fell into disorder; the French sallied out at the right moment; a ball struck Talbot's horse, and brought him and his rider down; his trusted friends, his two sons, some sturdy barons and knights, made stand over his prostrate body, till all perished together. So ended the long and stormy career of the man who had lived through three quarters of the 'Hundred Years War,' and had taken part in it since first he bore arms. He was eighty years old. His death





For the Clarendon Press.

W & Blades, London

was in truth the last end of the war. Castillon fell at once; the South returned to the French side; Bordeaux speedily capitulated; for it was not only blockaded by land, but cut off from all hope of help at sea by a strong fleet from La Rochelle. The city lost its privileges, and had to pay a heavy fine: the South passed for ever into the hands of the King of France (October 17, 1453). Normandy and Guienne were assimilated to France in the matter of taxes and army organisation; otherwise they retained their local government for centuries. The Parliament of Bordeaux was established in 1462; the old and famous Exchequer Court of Rouen was made a sovereign Court under Louis XII. And now there remained to England nothing across the Channel except the town and district of Calais, together with Ham, and the castle of Guines. These Charles VII left unmolested; partly because he had other work on hand; still more because to have wrested them from England might have added to his complications with Philip the Good of Burgundy. They lay on the skirt of that ambitious Prince's domains; and in fact the Duke at this moment held the town of Guines underneath the castle. Had the French reduced these places, they would either have come into collision with the Burgundians, or must have allowed them to pass into their hands. And therefore Charles, who displayed remarkable prudence throughout this period, left them untouched. Nor did he think it well, as some did, to press the English home; though it was a tempting opportunity. They were weak at sea, weaker still at home, under the unhappy and afflicted Henry VI, torn by faction, full of discontent and distrust; with their military glory tarnished by the late war, their military spirit low, the old feudal war-organisation still struggling feebly against the standing-army organisation of the coming age. Charles however withstood the temptation, and, fortunately for France, left England alone. England now consumed herself in those terrible wars of the Roses, which were in large part the direct consequences and results of the great Hundred Years War; at least of the events of the later years of that struggle.

And who was the better for that war? Not France, which was reduced to misery and starvation, while feudal anarchy was being commuted for the beginnings of a monarchical absolutism, the curse of France for centuries; not England, for while she won much barren glory on the fields of Crécy, Poitiers, Azincourt, she learnt no ennobling lesson from the struggle, nor added to her material prosperity. On the other hand, the civil war, its partial result, though terrible in immediate character and effects, enabled the commonalty of England to grow into its more modern form. The best thing for England was the fact that the war ended as it did: for it compelled the English to regard their home-affairs as all-important, and enabled them to compete on favourable terms with their own nobles, who no longer enjoyed the double support of foreign war and half-foreign baronial friends. On the other side, France likewise owes the war some gratitude; for it enabled her to become one nation, to have common interests from North to South, to grow compact, to take her place as a strong instead of a weak power at the council-board of Europe. We must not forget that this was purchased at the price of centralised government, absence of public opinion, uniformity of absolutism.

Two state trials form a fitting close to this period. The first was that of the King's faithful servant Jacques Cœur, the merchant-prince, whose wise counsels, ready expedients, and well-filled purse had largely helped to bring things to a successful issue: he was too rich and too powerful. In him the nobles saw the burgher-prince of the days to come. They hated his wealth, his artistic splendour, his enlightened ideas, even his readiness to help, his generous spirit. They felt that shame which springs up in aristocratic souls, when they receive favours from one who is really their superior, but whom they insist on regarding as below them. And therefore, after a scandalous trial, he was abandoned to their vengeance by the heartless King, whose indifference did not here coincide with his own interests. After many and romantic adventures he succeeded in escaping from their hands. His friends were many and they rescued him. He reached

Rome, where all his foreign wealth, which faithful agents had protected, still remained to him: soon after, commanding a papal expedition by sea against the Turks, he fell ill and died at Chio.

The other trial was that of the rehabilitation of the Maid of Orleans. The King, who had treated her so ill while she lived, now made her tardy amends. Her devotion for France was recognised, her martyrdom acknowledged, and she took worthy place among those who had contributed most towards the glory and building-up of the French nation.

Two things outside France require notice.

First, the final subjection of the powerful and turbulent cities of Flanders to the authority of the Duke of Burgundy, a marked stage in the onward march of that ambitious house; and, in the more peaceful development of wealth and intelligence, a preparation for the part these cities would have to play in European history a century later. This subjection took place when in 1452 Philip the Good beat down the whole forces of their representative city Ghent on the bloody field of Gavre.

And secondly, this was the time of the ever-famous conquest of Constantinople by the Turks; an event which by itself alone marks the middle of the fifteenth century as a great era in European history. In 1453 Mahomet II, after a siege of forty-nine days, planted the Crescent over the Cross on the pinnacles of the ancient city, which had for years almost alone represented the last relics of the Eastern Empire. Then fell, with a crash, the last successor of the Eastern Cæsars. Then broke asunder that hollow union of Churches with which the East had vainly tried to buy the succour of the West. Then came westwards in crowds the learned men, the priceless manuscripts, the taste for classical lore, which had so long been protected and neglected in the Eastern capital. Borne like ripe seeds on the winds of heaven, they fell into a soil prepared by years of silent and unconscious culture; and there they took root, and shot up, and bore fruit, in the learning, the speculation, the artistic glories of the Renaissance.

In the period we have just passed through, there is nothing

on which the eye can rest with pleasure. Europe is restless; the old forms of thought are fading away, old institutions crumbling; we are already in transition between the middle ages and modern times. History is a record of monstrous horrors; the feudal man-at-arms has become a robber, a common highwayman, on his way into his later condition, the modern soldier. The peasant, never of much account in France, is mentioned only when famine, pestilence, or disturbance sprung of despair, arrests the contemptuous and unwilling regard of the chronicler. Agriculture goes backwards; commerce fails; for cities and country are alike too weary either to produce or to consume much. Cities stagnant, fields matted with brambles, attest the material exhaustion of the age. It is a time too of moral decadence: no good example in the King's Court; a subservient and worldly clergy in high places; feudal lords without honour or chivalry. Learning cannot lift her head; the literary annals of the time are almost a blank, so far as France is concerned. We find translations of earlier romances and tales, the dregs of feudalism; part also of the interminable *Roman de la Rose* belongs to this period, together with the still more wearisome imitations of it. A few poems there are of a higher cast; two prince-poets have left us their thoughts in verse; the Duke of Orleans, whose long captivity in England gives to his poems a very pleasant tinge of real character, while at the same time they are remarkable for finish of style; and the other, far below his cousin in power and poetical genius, René the adventurer, the King of Sicily. Among the arts, architecture alone shows some life; some of those lofty choirs the fragile beauty of which still astonishes us, while their flamboyant decorations fret rather than satisfy the eye, date from this period. The windows are still being filled with the wonderful combinations of colour which are the envy of those who in our day try to rival them. Domestic architecture rises with the beautiful home which the great citizen Jacques Cœur built in the largeness of his heart at Bourges, where it still stands complete: in painting, France has no artist in this period to compete with the great Flemish painters, the Van Eycks,

who did so much to improve oil-painting, or with Hemling and others, whose works illustrate the splendour of the Burgundian Court. The roll of great names in France is brief and meagre. When there is a noble character, a Jeanne Darc, a Jacques Cœur, a Constable of Richemont, France shows herself unworthy to possess so great a treasure: in all we discern the feeble endings of an age. And not in France only. All Europe stands still expecting change, desiring the new order, vaguely looking forwards towards the great discoveries, and the great men, destined to make the next century so different from this, and to impel society far on in the path of change, by the growth of new ideas, the progress of material comfort, the security of domestic life, the outburst of power in many directions. Thus we stand at the end of many things. This half-century saw the power of the Teutonic knights destroyed (1410) on the field of Tannenberg. It saw the end of the older feudal-royalty in England, and of the older nobility with it; it saw in the person of the Duke of Burgundy the last struggle of feudalism begun, though not ended. It saw the dark sea of Islam closing over the last ruins of the Greek Empire. It saw the failure of great councils; the discredit of a schism-vexed Papacy, the vain attempts at reform. All these things crowd our pages during this period; and under the surface we are aware of strong currents flowing in new directions; of changes, religious and political, rapidly approaching. France begins to concentrate power in the hands of a dissolute and heartless King, a process which she continues for many a day; she builds up an army, she catches and crystallises the native Gallic love of war and glory. At the moment of which we are speaking, she waits for a sovereign of whom she has already caught a glimpse; he will be a hard master over her, as cold as Charles VII, more false, if possible, to friend and foe; of restless untiring energy and subtle skill, who will crush down the independence of her great nobles, and at last form her into a compact and coherent monarchy.

INDEX.

A.

- Aachen, *see* Aix-la-Chapelle.
 'Aaron,' King of Persia, 130.
 Abbeville, the French cross the Somme at, 412.
 Abd-el-Rahman defeated at Poitiers, 102.
 Abélard, his philosophy, 260.
 Absolutism, French, its foundation laid, 545, 549.
 Acre, taken from the Christians, 357.
 Adalberon of Laon crowns Hugh Capet, 178; betrays Charles of Lorraine to Hugh, 193.
 Adalhard spoke the 'Lingua Romana Rustica,' 161.
 Adhemar, Bp. of Puy, organises the First Crusade, 215; does not live to see its success, 222.
 Adrian, Emperor, 44.
 Adrian I, Pope, calls in Charles the Great, 125.
 Aduatici, enslaved by Caesar, 30.
 Aeduans, Gallic tribe, 23; attacked by Germans and Sequanians, 25; resist Helvetians, 28; recover supremacy, 29; attack Belgae, *ib.*; revolt from Rome, 30; revolt under Sacrovir, 40.
 Aegidius, defends the Empire in Gaul, 62; assassinated, *ib.*
 Aëtius, a Scythian, 60; resists Etzel, 61; at battle of Châlons, *ib.*; assassinated, 62.
 Agriculture, very rude, 187.
 Aigues Mortes, St. Louis sails from, 330.
 Aix-la-Chapelle, seat of Austrasian Court, 97; Charles the Great's palace at, 116; Charles hunts near, 132; is buried there, *ib.*
 Akbar compared with Charles the Great, 142.
 Alan of Brittany, a leader in the First Crusade, 211.
 Alaric II, the Goth, 64, 68.
 'Alauda,' the Gallic legion, why so called, 34.
 Albigenes, the, 298; their tenets, 299; a new Crusade against them, 314; headed by Louis VIII, 317; falls, *ib.*; their end, 327.
 Albert of Austria, under Papal ban, 366.
 Albertus Magnus, at Paris, 341.
 Albret, D', Constable of France, 503; perished at Azincourt, 507.
 Alcuin, friend of Charles the Great, 119.
 Alençon, William the Bastard at, 203.
 Alençon, Count of, at Crécy, 414.
 Alençon, Duke of, falls at Azincourt, 504, 507.
 Alençon, Duke of, taken at Verneuil, 517; one of the 'nationalist' party, 526; escorts Jeanne Darc to Orleans, *ib.*; sent to help her after the siege, 532; her firm friend, 535, 536; sent away by the Court, *ib.*; supports the Praguerie, 545.

- Alesia, early centre of Gallic worship, 14; described, 33; last standpoint of Vercingetorix, *ib.*
 Alexander V, Pope, 494; dies, 498.
 Alexius, the Emperor, alarmed at the Crusades, 220; gets the Crusaders over the Bosphorus, 222; attacked by Bohemond, 227.
 Alfonso, King of Galicia, does homage to Charles the Great, 130.
 Alfred, King, compared with Charles the Great, 142; his resistance to the Norsemen, 172.
 Al Hakim, Khalif of Egypt, 217.
 Alice, Queen of Louis VII, 271, 278.
 Alix, daughter of Louis VII, 280.
 Allemans, 46, 50; driven back by Julian, 54; attack Gaul, 69; defeated at Zülpich, *ib.*; attacked by Austrasian Franks, 82.
 Allemannia, a new kingdom for Charles the Bald, 154.
 Allobroges, their district, 23.
 Alodial lands, 76, 134; origin of term, *ib.* note; tendency to convert them into benefices, 144; their importance ceases, 165.
 Alphonse, brother of St. Louis, 325.
 Alphonse of Toulouse, last of the house of Saint Gilles, 346; his territory falls to France, 347.
 Amaury of Jerusalem, 240.
 Amaury of Montfort, 306.
 Ambiorix, chief of Eburones, 31.
 Ambrose, St., a Gaul, 53; protests against persecution, 56; fosters monasticism, 65.
 Ambrosian chant supplanted by Gregorian, 119.
 Amiens falls to Philip Augustus, 278.
 Ammianus Marcellinus serves under Julian, 54; quoted, *ib.*
 Anagni, Boniface VIII taken at, 373.
 Anastasius, Byzantine Emperor, makes Hlodowig Consul, 72.
 Andelot, treaty of (A.D. 587), 88.
 Anjou, house of, declines, 281.
 Anjou, Louis, Duke of, enters Guienne, 465; mismanages Languedoc, 468; not summoned to Charles' death-bed, 469; claims the Regency, 478; steals the money, 479; is bribed out of the Regency, *ib.*; styles himself King of Sicily, 482; his wretched failure and end, 483.
 Anne of Russia, 203.
 Ansgar, first missionary to Sweden, Abp. of Hamburg, 171.
 Antioch, taken by the Crusaders, 223; battle of, *ib.*
 Antonines, the, 44.
 Antrusions, 49, 83.
 Apanages, the time of, past, 353.
 Aquae Sextiae (Aix in Provence), founded, 23.
 Aquileia, battle of, 56.
 Aquinas, St. Thomas, at Paris, 341.
 Aquitaine, Theodorik has possessions in, 81; Hlotair also, *ib.*; hates the Franks, 114; kingdom of, 125; its higher civilisation, *ib.*; under Hlodwig 'the Pious,' *ib.*, 134, 151; its limits, to the Ebro, 127; under Charles the Great, 134; Gallo-Romans in, 145; formed into a separate kingdom by Hlodwig the Pious, 153; under Pippin II, 163; in Hugh Capet's days, 186; loses its formal independence, 258.
 Aquitania, province of, 38; the Second, ceded to Visigoths, 60.
 Aquitanians, the, 9, 10, 26; war of Charles the Great with, 124; at the Court of Paris in Robert's days, 198; regarded as effeminate, *ib.*; suspected by the Black Prince, 462.
 Arabs, their Empire, 102; fill Southern France, *ib.*; sack Bordeaux, 103; crushed at Poitiers, *ib.*
 Arar (Saone), Caesar defeats Helvetians on, 28.
 Arbogast, Frankish Prince, is virtual Emperor, 55; assassinates Valentinian, *ib.*
 'Arch-Priest,' the, a leader of free-lances, 444.
 Arch-Druid, the, 16.
 Architecture, advances under Dagobert, 93; loved by Charles the Great, 121; is developed from Norman to French style, 259; advanced by Charles V, 472; flourishes under Charles VII, 556.

- Ardennes, the, 30.
 Arianism, the day of, 52; thrust back by Gallican Church, *ib.*; held by Goths, 64.
 Aristocracy, struggles with Monarchy, 85; in France, discredited, 433.
 Aristotle, comes into Europe through Provence, 300; his writings translated under Charles V, 472.
 Ariovistus, brings Germans over the Rhine, 25; attacked by Caesar, 28.
 Arles recolonised, 37; southern capital, 62; kingdom of, founded, 166.
 Armagnac, the Count of, a great leader, 495; is made Constable of France, 508; sole head of his party, *ib.*; killed by the Burgundians, 509.
 Armagnac, Count of, reverses his family policy, 546; joins Henry VI, *ib.*
 Armagnacs and Burgundians, first symptom of, 486; the parties contrasted, 489; Armagnacs grow into a national party, 495; make no impression on Paris, 496; much weakened by Azincourt, 508; the national or southern party, 512; their breach with the Burgundians at last healed, 542.
 Armorica, 9; overrun by Romans, 30; recolonised with Britons, 55; is called Brittany, *ib.*; a land apart, 62; under Hildebert, 81.
 Armoric Republic, the, 58.
 Army, the, under the Austrasian Princes, becomes all-important, 98; how kept up by Charles Martel, 101; under Charles the Great, 135, 136; a rude form of standing army, 273; standing, established by Charles VII, 545, 549.
 Arnold of Amaury, head of the Albigensian Crusade, 300; abbot of Cîteaux, *ib.*; makes the famous reply at Beziers, 'Kill them all,' &c., 302; is Abp. of Narbonne, 304.
 Arnulf, Bp. of Metz, 89.
 Arnulf, King of Germany, 169; supports Charles the Simple, *ib.*
 Arnulf, nephew of Karl of Lorraine, Abp. of Rheims, 191; betrays Hugh, 192; deposed, 193.
 Arques, Henry V at, 503.
 Arras, Congress of, 542; comes to nothing, *ib.*; Treaty of, *ib.*; subject of discussion at the Council of Basle, 543.
 Arras, Treaty of, 498.
 Arteveld, Jacquemart van, 396; appeals to Edward III, 400; loses his life by his English sympathies, 402; murdered by the men of Ghent, 408.
 Arteveld, Philip van, raises Ghent against Louis de Male, 479; slain at Roosebek, 480, 481.
 Arthur of Brittany, 278; his birth, 280; declared Geoffrey's heir by Richard of England, 282; taken up by Philip, 285; deserted by him, *ib.*; taken by John, and disappears, 288.
 Arvernians, Gallic tribe, 23; revolt from Rome under Vercingetorix, 32.
 Ascalon, battle of, 224.
 Assassination, rife in the Empire, 61, 62.
 Assemblies, National, under Charles the Great, 135, 136.
 Assises of Jerusalem, 237; of the High Court, 239; of the Burgher Court, *ib.*; du coup apparent, 240; de Basse Cour, 241.
 Astronomy studied by Charles the Great, 119.
 Ataulf the Visigoth, 59; his high dreams, *ib.*
 Ataulf, King of Lombards, attacks Rome, 112; a second time, 114.
 Athelstan, King of England, 176.
 Athens, Duke of, Constable of France, 430.
 Attila, see Etzel.
 Aubin, St., de Cormier, treaty of, 320.
 Audenham, Marshal of King John II, 429.
 Audoen, St., (St. Ouen), 93.
 Augustine, St., of Hippo, fosters monasticism, 65; his works read by Charles the Great, 117.

Augustine, St., of Canterbury, helped by Brunhild, 89.
 Augustodunum, (Autun), 38; school of Latin learning, 39.
 Augustonemetum, 38.
 Augustoritum, (Limoges), a centre of Christianity, 46.
 Augustus, organises Gaul, 38; his cities, *ib.*; founds Lyons, *ib.*; his four provinces, *ib.*; his roads, 39.
 Auray, battle of, 457; Du Guesclin, a prisoner at, 458.
 Aurelian reunites Gaul to Rome, 46.
 Auscultia fili, the Bull, 367, 368.
 Austrasia, 72; its princes, 76; struggles with Neustria, 79; wild and pagan, 80; its triumph, *ib.*; separated from Gaul, 81; its conquests, 82; a distinct kingdom, 84; has a Mayor, 85; prepares to conquer Neustria, 95; its princes become more German, 97; never French, *ib.*; its clergy become lay-lords, 98; remains of it in Hugh Capet's days, 185.
 Autricum, (Chartres), later centre of Druid worship, 13.
 Autun, 38.
 Auvergne, Theodorik has possessions in, 81.
 Auxerre, peace of, 496.
 Avaricum, (Bourges), taken by Caesar, 32; changes its name, 38.
 Avignon, the new seat of the Papacy, 379; visited by Du Guesclin, 459; home of all crimes and immoralities, 475.
 Ayoubites, the, in Egypt, 334.
 Azincourt, battle of, 503-508.

B.

Bacon, Roger, at Paris, 341.
 Bagaudes, or peasant insurgents, 58.
 Bahucet, the Treasurer, hung after Sluys, 405.
 Bajazet, Ottoman Sultan, defeats the Burgundians at Nicopolis, 490.
 Baldwin, Count of Edessa, 224.
 Baldwin I of Jerusalem, altered the Codes, 240.
 Barbarian incursions, the, 48 sqq.
 Barbanera, Genoese, sea-captain in

French service, 403; slain at Sluys, 405.
 Bards, the second order of Druids, 15; are parasites to Chiefs, *ib.*; their degradation, 19, 20.
 Basilicas are turned into Churches, 52.
 Basle, the Council of, 543; disperses at the approach of Louis the Dauphin, 547; finally dissolved, 550.
 Batavian island, the, 30; population, 42; rises against Roman legions, *ib.*
 Baudricourt, Robert of, captain of Vancouleurs, 523; treats Jeanne Darc with scorn, *ib.*; afterwards helps her, *ib.*
 Baguë, battle of, 512.
 Bavarians, attacked by Austrasians, 82; a separate kingdom under Hludwig, son of Hludwig the Pious, 153.
 Beauvais, Bp. of, with his mace, 309.
 Becket, his fortunes and fate, 270, 272; Henry II at his shrine, 273.
 Bedford, the Duke of, Regent of France, 513; attends funeral of Charles VI, 514; prudent in dealing with the Burgundians, 517; orders the Earl of Salisbury to besiege Orleans, 518; refuses to raise the siege for Philip of Burgundy, 522; his account of Jeanne Darc, 527; his steps to counteract her influence, 534; forced to leave Paris, 535; pulled the strings of the trial of Jeanne, 538; got what advantage he could from her death, 541; his death, 542; character, 543.
 Belen, spoils of Delphi in his temple, 24.
 Bayonne, last English city in Guienne, 551.
 Belfort, the key to Burgundy, 2, 26.
 Belg, the name, 9.
 Belgae, the, 9, 10; resist Caesar, 29.
 Belgica, Augustus' Province, 38.
 Benedetto Gaetani, or Boniface VIII, 360.
 Benedict of Nursia, 86; his order, *ib.*; its beneficent action, *ib.*

Benedict XIII, elected Avignon Pope, 488; clings to his seat, *ib.*; deposed by Council of Constance, 499.
 Beneficia, 46, 77, 134; alodial lands converted into, 144; hereditary possession of, 165.
 Bernard, King of Italy, 150, 153.
 Bernard, Duke of Gothia, 154, 156; and Septimania, 163.
 Bernard, St., last of the Fathers, 260; preaches the Second Crusade, 263; refuses to lead it, 264.
 Berri, ceded to Philip Augustus, 281.
 Berri, Duke of, brother to Charles V, 469; at his death-bed, 477; takes South France, *ib.*; is deposed by Charles VI, 485; seizes the government with Burgundy, 486; is appointed Captain of Paris, 493; tries to mediate between the parties, *ib.*; joins league against Burgundy, 495; attacked by Charles VI, 496; gives in, *ib.*; again Captain of Paris, 497; anxious about the battle of Azincourt, 504; brings the King into Paris, 508; dies, *ib.*
 Bertha, mother of Charles the Great, 115.
 Bertha, Queen of Robert of France, 197; divorced, *ib.*
 Berthar, Neustrian Mayor, 95.
 Bertrade, wife of Fulk of Anjou, 212; a troubled spirit, 252; her plans fail, she takes the veil, and dies, *ib.*
 Bertram de Born, his *Sirventes*, 274.
 Bertulf of Bruges, 257.
 Bertrand de Goth, nominee of Philip IV for the Papacy, 375; becomes Clement V, *ib.*; his consecration, *ib.*; a 'prisoner at large' in France, 376; does Philip le Bel's bidding, *ib.*; flees from Poitiers, to avoid condemning the Templars, 378; declares Philip to have had excellent motives, 379.
 Beziers, city of, sacked, and inhabitants all massacred in the name of God, 302.
 Beziers, the Viscount of, resists the Crusaders, 302; dies, 303.
 Bicêtre, treaty of, 495.

Birse, battle of the, 547.
 'Bishoprics, the three,' 547.
 Bishops in Gaul become chief magistrates, 51, 52; in room of Defensores, 53; mediate with the Franks, 64, 65; sole rulers in towns, 75; counsellors of kings, *ib.*; subservient to kings, 86; great alodial lords, *ib.*, 92; despoiled by Charles Martel, 101; befriended by Pippin the Short, 112; needed to organise his kingdom, *ib.*; under Charles the Great, 138; in a low moral state, 145; the Age of the, *ib.*
 Bituit the Arvernian, 23.
 Biturigan cities burnt by the Gauls, 32.
 Black Death, the, 421.
 Black Prince, the, see Edward.
 Blanche-Taque, Edward III fords the Somme at, 411; Henry V tries in vain to cross at, 503.
 Blanche of Navarre, second wife of Philip VI, 422.
 Blanche of Castille, wife of Louis VIII, 312; has vigour, 313; rules for her husband, 316; defends her son Louis IX, 319; moulds his character, *ib.*; detaches Theobald of Champagne for the league, 320; calls on Paris for help, *ib.*; is victorious, *ib.*; teaches her son, 323; finds him a wife, *ib.*; her rule in France, 335; her death, 336.
 Blandina, a martyr, 45.
 Blankenberg, battle near, 404.
 Boccaccio celebrates the Black Death in the *Decamerone*, 421.
 Bohemia, John the blind King of, at Crécy, 417.
 Bohemond the Norman, on Crusade, 222; becomes Prince of Antioch, 224; returns to Europe for help, 227.
 Boii settle in Gaul, 28.
 Boileau, Stephen, compiles a Book of Trades, 344.
 Boniface, St., 'Apostle of Germany,' 100; helps Carloman to reform abuses, 104; is Abp. of Mainz, *ib.*; crowns Pippin, 109; dies A.D. 755, 112.

- Boniface VIII, how elected Pope, 360; his character, *ib.*, 361; unfortunately pitted against Philip le Bel, 361; tries to mediate between him and Edward I, 362; his struggle with Philip, *ib.*, 363, 367-372; issues the Decretal 'Unam Sanctam,' 371; Nogaret's charges against him, 372; seized at Anagni, 373; rescued, *ib.*; dies, *ib.*; his character, 374; Philip tries to make Clement V condemn his memory, 376; Philip abandons the attempt, 379.
- Book of Trades, of Stephen Boileau, 344.
- Bordeaux, sacked by the Arabs, 103; by the Norsemen, 172; capitulates to the French, 553.
- Border-line of France, 1.
- Boson, founds the kingdom of Arles, 166.
- Boucicault, Marshal of France, 503; taken at Azincourt, 508.
- Boulogne, seat of one of the Malls of Charles the Great, 118; a French army under Philip Augustus gathered there, 307.
- Bourbon, Duke of, brother-in-law of Charles V, 469; at his death-bed, 477; his character, *ib.*; at Azincourt, 504; a prisoner, 508.
- Bourbon, Duke of, helps Richemont to carry off La Tremouille, 541; at the Congress of Arras, 542; supports the Praguerie, 545.
- Bourges, 38; the archbishopric of, a source of quarrel between Louis VII and Innocent II, 262; Council of, 544.
- Bouvines, battle of, 309; its influence on French national feeling, 311; and on royalty, 312.
- 'Brabançons,' the, 273.
- Brenneville, battle of, 255.
- Brenos, (Brennus), sacks Rome, 22.
- Bretigny, treaty of, 448-451.
- Breton war of Charles the Great, 127.
- Brignais, battle of, 453.
- Brittany, under Nomenoë, 163; ceases to be isolated, 269; succession to its Duchy, 407; pedigree of Ducal family, *ib.*; war in, *ib.*, 408; lords of, beheaded by Philip VI, 409; flies to arms, *ib.*; John of Montfort enters, *ib.*; war continues in, 425; Charles V proposes to confiscate it, 467; revolt in, *ib.*; one of the three great fiefs left, 473; attacked by the English, 550; who are driven out, *ib.*
- Brittany, Duke of, holding the rein of Clement V, is killed by the falling of a wall at Lyons, 376.
- Brittany, John of, dies childless, 407.
- Brittany, Duke of, lands at Calais, and passes through France, 465.
- Brittany, Duke of, refuses to give up Peter Craon, 485.
- Bruges, Louis VI at, 257; the French massacred at, 370; battle of, 480.
- Brunhild, daughter of Athanagild, wife of Sigebert, 85; her feud with Fredegond, 87; a prisoner at Rouen, *ib.*; escapes, *ib.*; her greatness, 88, 89; her miserable end, 91; her aims, and failure in them, *ib.*
- Bruno, as Pope Leo IX, 205.
- Buchan, Constable of France, 516; perishes at Verneuil, 517.
- Buchard, at Bruges, 257.
- Bull, the, 'Clericis laicos,' 362, 363; 'Ineffabilis amoris,' 362; another, 364; 'Ausculta, fili,' 367; the Little Bull and its Answer, 368; of Excommunication of Philip le Bel, 372.
- Burgber Court of Jerusalem, the, 239, 241.
- Burgber life, in middle ages not strong enough to govern, 447.
- Burgundians, 49; in Saône valley, 58, 59; Arians, *ib.*; a friendly race, *ib.*; their peaceable settlement in Gaul, 60; their law system, 66; defeated by Hlodowig, 71.
- Burgundians and Armagnacs, first symptoms of, 486; Burgundians have North-French sympathies, 488; are for the 'way of cession,' *ib.*; contrasted with Armagnacs, 489; suffer a terrible blow at Nicopolis, 490; not allowed to

- be present at Azincourt, 502; in the ascendant after that battle, 508, 509; their breach with the national party healed, 542.
- Burgundy, attacked by the sons of Hlodowig, 82; a separate kingdom, 84; has a Mayor, 85; attacked by Philip Augustus, 279; Duchy and Kingdom of, *ib.* note; falls to Philip, brother of Charles the Wise, 453, 473; foundations of the great Dukedom laid, 482.
- Burgundy, Duchy of, makes separate terms with Edward III, 449; given to King John's fourth son, Philip 'le Hardi,' 453, 473.
- Burgundy, House of, overcomes the Flemish cities, 555.
- Burgundy, John of, 'the Fearless,' routed and taken at Nicopolis, 490; succeeds his father, 492; rescues his children from the Orleanists, *ib.*; issues a manifesto to the Parisians, *ib.*; in high favour with the Burgbers, 493; calls up his German allies, *ib.*; makes peace with the Orleanists, *ib.*; takes on himself the murder of the Duke of Orleans, 494; returns in triumph to Paris, *ib.*; called to quell revolt at Liège, *ib.*; is met by a league of Princes, 495; bows before them, treaty of Bicêtre, *ib.*; is much helped by Paris, *ib.*; the King and Dauphin side with him, *ib.*; a patched up peace at Auxerre, 496; seems to lose all nerve, 497; loses ground, and agrees to the treaty of Arras, 498; his ambassadors at Paris, 501; threatens Paris, 508; declares himself head of the popular party, *ib.*; allies himself with Queen Isabelle, *ib.*; proclaims her Regent, 509; tries to moderate the fury of his men, *ib.*; his 'fearlessness' gone, *ib.*; assassinated, 510.
- Burgundy, Philip of, wages fierce war on the Armagnacs, 510; joined by the Queen of France, 511; makes the Treaty of Troyes, *ib.*; the English really depend on him, 515; offended by Gloucester, 517; draws towards the French, *ib.*; receives embassy from Orleans, 522; withdraws from the siege, *ib.*; is in connexion with the King's favourites, 524; receives letters from Jeanne Darc, 534; negotiates with Charles VII, 535; has Jeanne Darc in his hands, 536; sells her to the English, 537; makes party-war with the Duke of Bourbon, 542; declared head of feudalism, 543, 544; has Guines in his hands, 553; beats down the Flemish cities, 555.
- Burkhard of Würzburg, Pippin's envoy to Rome, 109.
- Byzantium, Emperors of, friendly with Charles the Great, 130.
- C.
- Caballarii, or cavaliers, 244.
- Cabochians, the, 495; their Ordinance, 496, 497; their overthrow, 497; reappear in Paris, 509.
- Caecina wore the Gallic dress, 42.
- Caen, Edward III takes, 409, 410.
- Caepio takes Toulouse, 24.
- Caesar born, 25; Proconsul of Gaul, 26; succeeds Marius, 27; his provinces, *ib.*; at Geneva, 28; his measures, *ib.*; defeats Helvetians, *ib.*; defeats Ariovistus, 29; marches north, *ib.*; takes Noviodunum, 30; hard pressed by Nervii, *ib.*; attacks Aduatici, *ib.*; destroys fleet of Veneti, *ib.*; in England, *ib.*; ravages Nervian country, 31; his assembly at Samarobriua, *ib.*; at Lutetia, *ib.*; quiets Gaul, 32; is resisted by Arvernians and Vercingetorix, *ib.*; beats them at Divio, 33; besieges them in Alesia, *ib.*; defeats relieving army, *ib.*; receives submission of Vercingetorix, 34; pacifies Gaul, *ib.*; treats it kindly, *ib.*; founds Fréjus, 37; takes Marselles, *ib.*; is murdered, 38.
- Caesarodunum, (Tours), a centre of Christianity, 46.
- Calais, besieged by Edward III, 419; taken, 420; the tale of

- Eustache de S. Pierre, *ib.*; a great English mart, *ib.*; its fall closes the first period of the war, *ib.*; English land at, in 1360, 449; Henry V makes for it, 503; reaches it after Azincourt, 508; left to the English, 553; why not attacked by Charles VIII, *ib.*
- Calendar, the, reformed by Charles the Great, 119.
- Caligula, governs Gaul mildly, 40; his half-crazy actions, *ib.*; his competitive examinations, *ib.*
- Calixtus II, Pope, at Rheims, 255.
- Callet, W., leader of the Jacquerie, 445.
- Calverley, Sir Hugh, a good soldier, 482.
- Cannibalism in France, 201.
- Cannon on the walls of Le Quesnoy, 403; not used at Crécy, 417.
- Canon Law conquered by Civil Law, 361.
- Capetian line, its early Kings feeble, 184; the end of it, 388.
- Capitularies of Charles the Great, 119, 137, 143, 144; shew the degradation of the Clergy, 145; on slavery, 147.
- Captal de Buch, the, commands free lances, 457; is defeated at Cocherel, *ib.*
- Cards, game of, brought into vogue, 490.
- Carloman, elder son of Charles Martel, has the German part, 104; resigns it to Pippin, *ib.*; becomes a monk, at Soracte, and at Monte Casino, *ib.*
- Carloman, younger son of Pippin the Short, 115; dies, *ib.*
- Carloman, son of Hludwig the German, defeats Charles the Bald, 165.
- Carloman, son of Hludwig II, King in South France, 166.
- Camutes, territory of, centre of Druid worship, 13, 31.
- Caroling Princes, rise of, 96, 97; beaten by the feudal lords, 168; end of their line, 178.
- 'Carroccio,' the, of Otho at Bouvines, 309.
- Cassel, battle of, 392.
- Cassivellanus submits, 30.
- Castellum Francicum, 124.
- Castillon, battle of, 552.
- Catalaunici Campi, battle of, 61.
- Catherine, daughter of Charles VI, 501.
- Catherine, St., of Siena, 475.
- Catherine of France is to marry Henry V, 510, 511.
- Catti, German tribe, 42; formed imperial body-guard, *ib.*; decided the battle of Pharsalia, *ib.*
- Cauchon, Peter, of Beauvais, ejected, 535; chief instrument in the trial of Jeanne Darc, 537; his conduct, 538; his wages and end, 540, 541.
- Cavares, a Rhone tribe, 23.
- Celestin III, Pope, refuses to abet Philip Augustus, 282.
- Celestin V, Pope, 360.
- Celts, the, 8.
- Centeniers, under Charles the Great, 138.
- Cerealis defeats Civilis, 43.
- Châlons, battle of, 61.
- Chalus, siege of, causes Richard's death, 283.
- Chandos, Sir John, knighted, 402; at Poitiers, 420; defeats Du Guesclin at Auray, 457.
- Charles the Bald, born, 153; is lord of North Gaul, 155; has all France after Verdun, 157, 158; enters on his share, 163; his difficulties, *ib.*; scholasticism rises under him, 164; desires to restore the Empire, 165; holds a diet at Chiersi, *ib.*; defeated in Italy, *ib.*; dies on Mount Cenis, *ib.*
- Charles (eldest son of Charles the Great), destined for the Imperial crown, 132; dies, *ib.*
- Charles, youngest son of Hludwig II, 166.
- Charles the Fat, Emperor, 166; fails to relieve Paris, 167; buys off the Northmen, *ib.*; returns to Germany, and dies, *ib.*
- Charles the Great, not a French King, 97; sole King of Franks, 115; his reign an epoch in European history, *ib.*; a thorough German, 116; his personal appearance, habits, dress, 116-118; is careless

- of the marriage-tie, 117; his mental gifts, acquirements, love of building, 118-122; his many wars, 123; Saxons, *ib.*; Aquitanians, 124; Lombards, 125; confirms the Donation of Pippin, *ib.*; at war with Spanish Saracens, 126; Leo III flies to him, 128; at Rome, 129; anointed Emperor and proclaimed, *ib.*; greatness of his Empire, 130; his later wars, *ib.*, 131; is a great sovereign, 131; exacts a new oath from his leudes, *ib.*; fights against the territorial tendencies, 132; settles the succession, *ib.*; causes the Franks to salute Hlodowig as Emperor, *ib.*; dies A.D. 814, *ib.*; Hallam and Guizot on him, 133; his administration of Gaul, 134; tenure of land, 134, 143; his authority personal, 135; his war-power, *ib.*; his assemblies, 136; his officers, 138; his authority over his nobles, *ib.*; his Missi Dominici, 140; the Church under him, 141; compared with other great princes, 142; state of society under him, 143; his chieftains, 144; free Franks, *ib.*; Gallo-Romans, 145; clergy, *ib.*; slaves, 146; tries to do justice, 148; superstitions flourish in his day, *ib.*; his Empire breaks asunder, 155; France a dying branch of his Empire, 162; resisted the Northmen, 171; said to have originated chivalry, 243.
- Charles IV, 'the Fair,' 387; his death, *ib.*
- Charles V, the Dauphin, won away from his father, 423; at Poitiers, 429; flees headlong, 430; returns to Paris, 434; convokes the States-General, *ib.*; his character, health, 435; goes to Metz after dismissing the States-General, 436; Paris rises against him, *ib.*; ratifies the decrees of the Estates, 437; is waited on by Marcel, 441; who tries to reconcile him with Charles of Navarre, *ib.*; the murder of his Marshals, 442, 443; wears the civic cap, 443; is reconciled with
- Navarre, *ib.*; is named Regent, *ib.*; convokes the States-General at Compiègne, 444; cuts off the supplies from Paris, *ib.*; besieges that city, 445; negotiates with Charles of Navarre, 446; enters Paris after death of Marcel, 447; learns more cunning, *ib.*; his Days of Terror, *ib.*; at peace with Charles of Navarre, 448; calls in the States-General, *ib.*; refuses terms with England, *ib.*; at war with Edward III, 449; his policy of waiting, *ib.*; the treaty of Bretigny, 450; Regent again on King John's return to England, 453; his quiet character, its effects, 454, 455; his favourite is Du Guesclin, *ib.*; thought to be a magician, 456; severity at Paris, 457; pays Du Guesclin's ransom, 458; sees where he may weaken the English, *ib.*; works steadily to overthrow the Treaty of Bretigny, 459; prepares for war, 461; declares war with England, 462; makes war, *ib.*; makes Du Guesclin Constable of France, 463; sends him to Brittany and Poitou, *ib.*, 464; Edward III's opinion of him, *ib.*; punishes Montfort in Brittany, *ib.*; refuses to fight, and wears out his foes, 465; his success, *ib.*; his reforms, *ib.*; ravages English coasts, 466; overbears the English, *ib.*; too eager to concentrate power, *ib.*; causes revolt of Brittany, 467; suspects Du Guesclin, *ib.*; buries him worthily in his own tomb, 468; refuses to help Louis, Count of Flanders, *ib.*; appeases the discontent in Languedoc, 469; his heavy taxes, *ib.*; his last illness, *ib.*; death, 470; character and habits, 470-473; creates the Great Schism just before his death, 474; loses his hold over Urban V, 475; supports the Urbanist party, 476; his last injunction to the royal uncles, 477; his secreted wealth, 479.
- Charles VI, comes to the throne, 470, 477; his character, *ib.*, 478; at Roosebek, 480, 481; enters

Paris, 481; rides to the North against the English, 482; marries Isabelle of Bavaria, 483; declares war on England, *ib.*; the preparations miscarry, 484; dismisses his uncles, and takes up with the 'Marmousets,' *ib.*; an attempt at good government, 485; visits Clisson after the attempt on his life, *ib.*; sets out to punish Craon, *ib.*; his madness comes on, 486; the uncles seize the government, *ib.*; his popularity, *ib.*, 487, 490; tries in lucid periods to heal the Great Schism, 487; fails, 488; dissolute and mad again, 489; games invented for him, 490; the Duke of Burgundy issues a manifesto in his name, 492; declares himself content with the murder of the Duke of Orleans, 494; is obliged to side with the Cabochians, 495; takes the field against the Princes, 496; falls to the Armagnacs, 498; negotiates with Henry V, 500, 501; takes the Oriflamme against Henry V, 501; is brought to Paris by the Duke of Berri, 508; led through the streets by the Burgundians, 509; goes out, after treaty of Troyes, with Henry V, 511; his death, and character, 513; is buried at St. Denis, 514.

Charles VII, Dauphin, 508; altogether Armagnac, *ib.*; escapes hardly from Paris, 509; allows his followers to murder John of Burgundy, 510; is excluded from the treaty of Troyes, 511; falls to the South of France, 512; heads the national party, *ib.*; his character, 513, 514; is proclaimed King at Mehun in Berri, 514; his reign opens gloomily, 516; utterly careless for France, 517; partly reconciled with the Burgundians, *ib.*; the crisis of his fortunes, 518; lies idly at Chinon, 523, 524; admits Jeanne Darc to his presence, *ib.*; who convinces him, 525; sends her to Orleans, 526; sends Alençon to meet her after the siege is raised, 531; lies at

Sulli, is urged to move by Jeanne, 532; sets forth, *ib.*; reaches Rheims, and is crowned, 533; under influence of La Tremouille, 535; conspires against his own interests, *ib.*; tries to get Paris without help of Jeanne, *ib.*; comes on to Senlis, then to St. Denis, 536; rejoices at the failure of Jeanne, 536; makes no effort to save her, *ib.*; the heavy blame on him, 538; negotiates with Burgundy, 541; acquiesces in the fall of La Tremouille, *ib.*; makes terms with Burgundy, 542; signs treaty of Arras with him, *ib.*; hates war, 543; summons a Council at Bourges, 544; issues the Pragmatic Sanction, *ib.*; shakes off his indolence, *ib.*; joins the war party, *ib.*; convokes the States-General, *ib.*; issues an edict against the free companies, 545; Ordinance decreeing a *levée en masse*, *ib.*; the noblesse alarmed, *ib.*; they put forward the Dauphin Louis, *ib.*; the King's energy, *ib.*; sends the Dauphin to Dauphiné, 546; overcomes the nobles, *ib.*; shews activity in war, thrusting back the English, *ib.*; makes truce with England, 547; leads an army into Lorraine, *ib.*; returns, 548; the Ordinances as to a standing army, *ib.*; his success, and names, 549; his mistress, Agnes Sorel, *ib.*; refuses to prolong his truce with England, 550; takes Rouen, *ib.*; recovers Normandy and Guienne, 551; marches against Talbot, and conquers and kills him at Castillon, 542; finally incorporates Normandy and Guienne, 553; does not think well to attack Calais and Guines, *ib.*; suffers Jacques Cœur to perish, 554; makes tardy amends to the memory of Jeanne Darc, *ib.*

Charles VIII, on St. Louis, 345.

Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, 327; marries Beatrix, heiress of Provence, 328; takes the cross, *ib.*; returns to Europe, 335; seizes Provence, *ib.*; thought to have persuaded St. Louis to

attack Tunis, 339; makes terms with the Paynim, 346; has designs on Constantinople, *ib.*; his restlessness, 347; his character, *ib.*; threatens Constantinople, 348; the Sicilian Vespers, 351; loses Sicily, *ib.*; dies, 352.

Charles of Blois claims Breton Duchy, 407; 'the terrible saint,' 407; falls at Auray, 458; sainted by popular esteem, *ib.*

Charles of Durazzo, Angevin claimant of Naples, 476.

Charles IV, the Emperor, holds stirrup of Urban V, 475.

Charles, Duke of Lorraine, not suffered to succeed to the throne, 178; asserts the Caroling claim to the throne against Hugh Capet, 191-193; his death, 193; is called 'King of Laon,' *ib.*

Charles of Luxemburg, the priests' King, 410.

Charles Martel, friend of the monks, 99; natural son of Pippin of Heristal, 100; defeats Neustrians, *ib.*; rewards his soldiers with Church-lands, 101; is thereby able to beat back the Saxons, 102; and the Arabs at Poitiers, 103; his title 'the Hammer,' *ib.*; dies A.D. 741, 104; had been offered title of 'Patrician' by Gregory III, 105; legend as to his fate after death, 113, note.

Charles of Naples outgenerals Louis of Anjou, 482, 483.

Charles of Navarre, 'the Bad,' 423; at Cherbourg, 425; a prisoner at Arleux, 434; supports the cities against the royal party, 435; the Estates demand his release, 436; is delivered by the Baron of Picquigni, 437; goes to Paris, 438; preaches in the Pré aux Clercs, *ib.*; nominally reconciled with Charles the Dauphin, 441; returns to Paris after the murder of the Marshals, 443; appealed to for help by Marcel, 444; attacks the Jacquerie, 445; aims at the Crown, 446; lies waiting at St. Denis, *ib.*; overtures from Marcel, *ib.*; disappointed by Marcel's

death, and falls back into Normandy, 447; makes peace with Charles the Regent, 448; gives his advice to Charles as to the States-General, *ib.*; fails to get Burgundy, 452; makes peace with Charles the Wise, 457.

Charles the Simple, King, 169; elected sole King on the death of Eudes, *ib.*; reigns long, a puppet king, 170; offers his daughter and a lordship to Hrolf, 173, 174; receives his oath of fealty, *ib.*; is shut up in Laon, 175.

Charles of Valois, friend of Boniface VIII, 361; is dazzled by hopes of Constantinople, 362; brother of Philip le Bel, 365.

Chartres, building of Cathedral towers, 263; the Armagnacs besiege it, 513.

Château Gaillard built, 283; described, 291; its siege, 292; capture, 296.

Château Randon, Du Guesclin dies at siege of, 468.

Cherbourg, last English stronghold in Normandy, 551.

Chevaliers *à* lois, 349.

Chichele, Abp., renews the war with France, 500.

Chiersi, (or Quiersy), Diet held at, 165.

Childeric, Salian King, 68.

Chinon, Jeanne Darc comes to the Court at, 523.

Chivalry, Hallam on, 243; its theory and practice, *ib.*; its origins, *ib.*; its true knights, 244; flourished most under the Crusades, *ib.*; the chivalrous training, 245; the ceremonies of institution, *ib.*; parallel of priesthood, 246; raised in dignity by the Crusades, *ib.*; the Military Orders, 247; its bad side, *ib.*; its decay, 248; passes away, 422.

Chlodion, a Salian, settles near Cambrai, 68.

Chrism, the, used as a charm, 148.

Christendom, sundered by the Crusades, 230.

Christianity, prepared for by Roman Law, 44; introduced into Gaul,

45; its spirit modified, 65; bridges gulf between Roman and German, *ib.*
 Christine of Pisan, wrote on Charles V, 455.
 Christopher, the, a great ship, 404, 405.
 Church of Rome, its growth, 106; its dream of a spiritual empire, 107.
 Church of the Holy Sepulchre destroyed, 217.
 Church, the, in Gaul, 45, 46; organised under Constantine, 51; growth in influence in Gaul, 64; turns to the Franks, 69; its war tendencies, 70; recovers territory under Hlodowig, 74; loses spiritually, *ib.*; gains by transfer to Frank King, 75; advises royalty, *ib.*; administers Roman Law, *ib.*; subservient 85; its lands confiscated by Charles Martel, 101; restored in great part by Pippin the Short, 113; the Precaria, *ib.*; under Charles the Great, 141; her law, *ib.*; her influences for good, *ib.*; mediates between French and Northmen, 173; revives and rises, 259; under St. Louis, 343.
 Cicero, attacked by Gauls, 31.
 Cimbri, from Jutland, 24.
 Citeaux, Innocent IV and St. Louis at, 329.
 Cities, names of, changed by Augustus, 38; the Gallic, under Charles the Great, 139; gained by the Crusades, 233.
 Civil Law, triumphs over Canon Law, 361.
 Civilis leads the Batavians, 42.
 Civilisation, advanced by the Crusades, 231.
 Claire-sur-Epte, St., Hrolf swears allegiance to Charles at, 174.
 Clarence, Duke of, defeated and killed at Baugé, 513.
 Claudius, born at Lyons, 40; speech on Gallic claims, 41; governs Gaul well, *ib.*
 Claus Dennequin leads the Flemish at Cassel, 392.
 Clemangis, Nicolas de, Orator of the University of Paris, 488.

Clement V, nominee of Philip le Bel, 375; see Bertrand de Goth.
 Clement VI, Avignon Pope, his degradation, 421, 422.
 Clement VII, Avignon Pope, 469; first Pope of the Great Schism, 474; gives his name to one party, *ib.*; elected Pope, 476; his character, *ib.*; takes refuge at Avignon, *ib.*
 Clementines, the, 474.
 Clergy, in Gaul, 53; honoured by Franks, 75; weregild for, *ib.*; Guizot on, *ib.*; protected Gallo-Romans, 78; subservient to Franks, 85; wink at royal vices, 93; become less Gallo-Roman, 98; become territorial chiefs, *ib.*; wear armour, *ib.*; at a low level under Charles the Great, 134; he raises them much, 141; their influence for good, *ib.*; not in a satisfactory state, 145; influence of great, 168; wealth of, increased by the Crusades, 231; resisted by league of Barons under Louis IX, 330; low condition under Philip VI, 422.
 'Clericis laicos,' the Bull, 362, 363.
 Clermont, defended by Sidonius, 62; Council of, 214.
 Clermont, Marshal of John II, 429.
 Climate of France, 3.
 Clisson, Oliver, murdered by Philip VI, 409.
 Clisson, Oliver, a true freebooting captain, 467; made Constable of France, 469; in high honour with Charles VI, 484; Craon tries to murder him, 485; Charles VI determines to avenge him, *ib.*
 Clotilde, see Hlothild.
 Clovis, see Hlodowig.
 Cocherel, battle of, 457.
 Codes of Law, in use in the Empire of Charles the Great, 119.
 Cœur, Jacques, the wealthy merchant, 544; his trial and fall, 554; his character, *ib.*
 Coin of the realm, reformed by St. Louis, 344; debased by Philip VI, 394; reformed by Charles V, 455.

Columbanus, St., rebukes Brunhild, 89.
 Commendation, the custom of, 168.
 Commerce, stimulated by the Crusades, 231.
 Committee of Thirty-six, at Paris, 437.
 Communes, the, help to win battle of Bouvines, 311.
 Compiègne, Jeanne Darc captured at, 536.
 Congress of Arras, the, 542.
 Conrad III, the Emperor, goes on Crusade, 264; worsted by the Turks, *ib.*
 Conrad the Peaceful, 195.
 Constance of Aquitaine, Queen of Robert, 197, 198; dies, 200.
 Constance, Queen of Louis VII, dies, 271.
 Constance, Council of, 498; shews growth of national feeling, *ib.*
 Constantine, in Gaul, 51; his conversion rallies Gaul to him, *ib.*
 Constantinople, imperial emblems sent to, 63; the Crusaders at, 220, 222; attacked by Bohemond, 227; taken by the Turks, 555.
 Constitutions of Clarendon, 270.
 'Cottreaux,' the, 273.
 Council of Basle, 543; breaks up at approach of Louis the Dauphin, 547; its close, 550.
 Council of Bourges, 544; draws up the Pragmatic Sanction, *ib.*
 Council of Lateran, 304.
 Council of Pisa, to heal the Great Schism, 494.
 Council of Tours, enjoins the 'Romana Rustica' on the Clergy, 161.
 Council of Vienne, condemns the Templars, 379, 380.
 Counts, or Reeves, 83; under Charles the Great, 138.
 Courtrai, battle of, 370, 371; sacked after battle of Roosebek, 481.
 Craon, Peter, tries to murder Clisson, 485.
 Crassus conquers Aquitaine, 30.
 Crau, district of the, 25.
 Crécy, battle of, 412-418.
 Crevant, battle of, 516.

Crown of Thorns, sent to St. Louis, 324.
 Crusade, age of the first, 210; how the idea began, 212; led by the Papacy, 213; the First organised by Adhemar of Puy, 215; joined by Raymond of Toulouse, *ib.*; the crowd under Peter, 219; the second army, of French and Normans, 221; the third, of Southerners, 222; Antioch taken, 223; battle of Antioch, *ib.*; Jerusalem taken, 224; four Latin Principalities, 225; the conquest organised, *ib.*; many Crusaders return home, 226; a new wave, headed by William of Aquitaine, 227; general effects of the movement, 228; the name used for any persecution, 229; the soil of Chivalry, 244; the Second, its origin, 262, 263; marked by a religious revival, *ib.*; its miserable results, 264; still it shews the French that they are a nation, 265; ruined utterly in A.D. 1187, 280; a new Crusade under Frederick Barbarossa, 281; Richard and Philip join, 282; first of St. Louis, 328; of the Pastoureaux, 335; second, of St. Louis, 338; end of them, 347; again attempted in vain, 357.
 Curia, in Gallic cities, 47.
 Curials, their office and decay, 52, 53.
 Custom Law, of Franks, 75; much curtailed by St. Louis, 343.
 Cyprus, seized by Richard Lionheart, 282; rendezvous of St. Louis' Crusade, 330.

D.

Dagobert, King of Neustria, 92; and of Austrasia, 93; a great King, *ib.*; dies, A.D. 638, 94; with him the Meroving monarchy sinks to dust, *ib.*
 Damiatta, battle of, 331; is taken by St. Louis, *ib.*
 Damme, taken by French fleet, 307.
 Danawerk, or Dannewerk, the, 171.

- Danes, their early incursions, 131; reach Tours, take Rouen, 171.
 Danse Macabre, at Paris, 518.
 Darc, see Jeanne.
 Dauphin, the title sold with the district, to Philip VI, who grants it to his grandson Charles, 422.
 Dauphin, eldest son of Charles VI, insults Henry V, 500; dies of debauchery, 508.
 David, King of Scots, taken prisoner at Nevile's Cross, 419; a prisoner in England, 432.
 'Day of the Spurs, the,' 370, 371.
 'Day of the Herrings, the,' 521.
 Debonair, (Louis the), signification of title, 151, note; title also of King Robert, 195.
 Deceates, Ligurian tribe, 23.
 De Civitate Dei, the, a favourite work with Charles the Great, 117, 118.
 Defensores, the Gallic, in cities, 53; supplanted by the Bishops, 138.
 Denis, St., 46; Suger, Abbot of, 261; his care of it, 266; Charles VI, buried at, 514.
 Denis of Mortbeque, captures John II at Poitiers, 431.
 Derby, the Earl of, drives the Flemish knights out of Cadzand, 400; holds John of Normandy in check, 409; rides north to Poitiers, 419; joins Edward III at Calais, 420.
 Desiderata, daughter of Desiderius, married to Charles the Great, 115.
 Desiderius, Lombard King, 115; resists Charles the Great, 124, 125.
 Des Marests, the great lawyer, 479; his fall, and execution, 481.
 Dieppe, siege of, raised by the Dauphin, 546.
 Diet at Coblenz, names Edward III Imperial Vicar, 401.
 Dioceses in Gaul, civil and religious, 51.
 Diocletian, Gaul under, 50.
 Dionysius, settles at Lutetia, founder of the Church in North France, 46.
 Ivo, (Dijon), Caesar defeats Vercingetorix at, 33.
 Divitiacus the Druid, calls in Romans, 25.
 Domains of the Crown, under Louis VI, 249.
 Domenico, Canon of Osma, founder of the Dominican order, 301.
 Domfront, William the Bastard at, 203.
 Domitius defeats Bituit, 23; makes the Via Domitia, 24.
 Domremy, birth-place of Jeanne Darc, 522.
 'Donation of Pippin,' the, 114.
 D'Orgemont, Chancellor of France, 479.
 Dorylaeum, battle of, 222.
 Douglas, the, captures Edinburgh Castle, 406.
 Douglas, the, in France, 516; killed at Verneuil, *ib.*
 Druid, the, 13; his faith and philosophy, 14; highest class in the hierarchy, 15; his teaching, 16; his sacrifices, 17.
 Druidism, 11; an element in Gallic unity, 12; last risings of, 40, 41, 42.
 Du Guesclin, Charles V's instrument, 455; war in his hands, *ib.*, 456; his unchivalrous character, *ib.*; appearance, and ways, *ib.*; a freebooter, 457; a prisoner in English hands, 457, 458; freed by Charles the Wise, who pays his ransom, 458; marches to Avignon, 459; compels Urban V to give him indulgence and money, *ib.*; passes into Aragon, *ib.*; overthrows Peter the Cruel, *ib.*; is Constable of Spain, *ib.*; assists at the murder of Peter, 461; is Constable of France, 463; recovers Poitou, 464; presses Bordeaux hard, 466; suspected as a Breton by Charles, 467; resigns his sword as Constable, 468; perishes at Château Randon, *ib.*; buried in Charles' own tomb at St. Denis, *ib.*; the King's love for him, 470.
 Dukes, under Charles the Great, 138.
 Dunois, Bastard of Orleans, wounded, 521; describes the influence of Jeanne Darc, 527, note 2; takes counsel with her, 529; she tells him she would gladly go home after the coronation, 533; sup-

ports the Dauphin against Charles VII, 545; ordered to march into Normandy, 550; commands the French army in Guienne, 551; enters Bordeaux, *ib.*
 Durocortorum, (Rheims), accepts the Romans, 29.

E.

- Eagle, the German bird, 58.
 Ebroin, Neustrian Mayor, a man of mark, 94; rival to St. Leger, *ib.*; rules absolutely, 95.
 Edessa, made a 'County,' 224.
 Edward, King of England, 207; rules with foreigners, *ib.*; dies A.D. 1066, *ib.*
 Edward I, of England, comes to terms with Philip le Bel, 356; mediation of Boniface VIII with, 362; accepts Boniface's arbitration, 365; promises to marry Margaret of France, *ib.*; recovers Aquitaine, *ib.*; wreaks his vengeance on Wallace, *ib.*
 Edward II, of England, betrothed to Isabelle of France, 365.
 Edward III, of England, his claim to the French throne, 388; his relationship to the Capets, 389; pays homage 'such as he ought to do' to Philip VI, 393; contrasted with Philip, 395; marries Philippa of Hainault, 396; stops export of wool, *ib.*; is supported by the Flemings, *ib.*; forced to war by Philip VI, 397; his forces for war, *ib.*; the reasons for his success, 398; pushed into war, 400; goes to Flanders, *ib.*; to Germany, 401; enters North France, achieves nothing, 402; takes style and title of King of France, *ib.*; returns to England, *ib.*; sets sail for Flanders, 403; wins sea-fight of Sluys, 404; lands, and enters North France, 406; the opening in Brittany, 407; abortive at first, 408; goes back to England, but soon returns, 409; lands at La Hogue in Normandy, *ib.*; takes Caen, 410; threatens Rouen and Paris, *ib.*; marches north, 411; in great danger, *ib.*; crosses the Somme at Blanche-Taque, 412; fights battle of Crécy, 413-418; besieges Calais, 419; takes it, 420; returns in 1355 to it, 425; is recalled to resist the Scots, *ib.*; makes terms of peace with King John, his prisoner, 448; the terms refused by the Regent Charles, *ib.*; at war again with France, 449; comes over himself, *ib.*; his dreary march round France, *ib.*; makes the Peace of Bretigny, 450, 451; returns to England, 452; is reluctant to believe in fresh war, 460; receives the defiance of Charles V, 461; who declares war, 462; loses all his northern territories, 462-464; hindered from crossing by gales, 464; his last attempt to hold his ground fails, 465; dies, 466.
 Edward the Black Prince, at Crécy, 413; his valour, 417; not knighted after Crécy, *ib.* note 1; takes the field in Central France, 425; takes Vierzon, 426; finds his retreat cut off by King John, *ib.*; fights the battle of Poitiers, 426-432; withdraws to Bordeaux, 432; returns to England, *ib.*; in Aquitaine, 458; espouses the cause of Pedro the Cruel, *ib.*; dismisses and alienates his Gascon subjects, 459; wins the battle of Najara, *ib.*; warns his father against Charles V, 460; sees the coming storm, *ib.*; falls ill, *ib.*, 461; his mistake in supporting Pedro recoils on himself, 462; war begins again, *ib.*; the ghastly scene at Limoges, 463; returns to England, *ib.*; sails for France, but driven back by weather, 464; dies, 465; his character, 466.
 Eginhard, quoted, 96, 116, 117, 127, 130.
 Egypt, why did St. Louis go to? 330, 331.
 Elbe, forts built by Charles the Great on the, 131.
 Eleanor of Aquitaine, 258, 261, 262; abandons Louis VII, 265; divorced, 266; marries Henry of

- Anjou, *ib.*; and carries to him Poitou and Aquitaine, *ib.*; goes over from Henry II, 272, 273; her inheritance to descend intact to her descendants, 450.
- Eligius, Bp., builds St. Denis, 93.
- 'Elm of Conferences,' the, 279.
- Emmaus, the Crusaders see Jerusalem from, 224.
- Emperors of Byzantium, on friendly terms with Charles the Great, 130; call for help from the West, 218.
- Emperors of Germany, the supreme heads of the Caroling nobles, 177.
- Empire, from Roman to German, 59; the woes of the Roman culminate in assassination, 61; dying, 62; dead, 63; lay-empire, whose seat is on the Rhine, *ib.*; the western, revived in Charles the Great, 129; the extent of his, 130; its landed possessions, 144; strives against decentralising and territorial influences, 163; partition of, after Charles the Fat, 167; the 'Holy Roman,' then the 'German,' 348.
- Engeleneim, Charles the Great at, 118.
- England, under Interdict, 306; threatened by Philip Augustus, 307; crown of, offered to Louis of France, 312; invaded by Louis, 313; contrasted with France in 14th century, 395; her nobles, burghers, and yeomen, 398; accepts the shame of Jeanne Darc's death, 540; weakness of, under Henry VI, 553.
- English, fight well at Bouvines, 309; their doorways into France, 406; yeomen, at Crécy, 418; their national life, *ib.*; lose almost all France, 465; comes tardily to help Ghent, 480; limits of their hold on France, 515.
- Enguerrand, lord of Coucy, 318; head of the league against Louis IX, 320; his dealings with the King at law, 341.
- Episcopacy, high-water mark of, 164.
- Establishments, the royal, of St. Louis, 342.
- Estates of France, summoned by Philip le Bel, 368; after Poitiers, 434.
- Estates of the Langue d'Oïl, resist King John II, 425.
- Estates, Provincial, meet to hear the report of the States-General, 443.
- Estoutville, the Baron of, holds Harfleur against Henry V, 501.
- Etzel, (Attila), enters Gaul, 60; spreads ruin, *ib.*; his host, *ib.*; raises siege of Orleans, *ib.*; falls back to Châlons, 61; defeated, *ib.*; takes Bp. Lupus with him to the Rhine, 65; greater than Hlodowig, 73.
- Eudes, see Odo.
- Eugenius, Arbogast's Emperor, 56.
- Europe, general ferment in, in 14th century, 474; dark state of, 477.
- Euskarians, the, 6.
- Eustache de St. Pierre, and the burghers of Calais, 420.
- Ewarik, Visigothic King, attacks Arvernians, 62; has a grant of South Gaul, 63; seat of government at Toulouse, *ib.*; his Code of laws, 66.
- Exarchate of Ravenna, taken by Pippin, 113; granted to the Papacy, 114.
- Exchequer Court of Rouen, 357; made sovereign, 553.

F.

- Fabian, Bp. of Rome, sends seven Bishops to Gaul, 45.
- Famine destroys many slaves, 147; rife in France, 187; described, 201.
- Faro, St., life of, 161.
- Fastrada, one of the wives of Charles the Great, 118.
- Fatimites, the Egyptian, 223; defeated at Ascalon, 224.
- Felix, last Antipope, withdraws, 550.
- Ferrand of Flanders, summoned to Soissons, 307; stirs up war, 308; prisoner at Bouvines, 310; sent to Paris, 311.

- Feudalism, its bases laid, 82; under Charles the Great, 137; its advance under Charles the Bald, 165; its units, 167; the feudal lords, 168; cause of its victory over the Carolings, *ib.*; overshadows the early Capets, 185; state of society under, 187; its uses, 188; organised by the Crusaders, 225; undermined by the Crusades, 232; as displayed in Palestine and England, 235; benefices, *ib.*; subinfeudation, 236; arrière vassals, *ib.*; burghers, *ib.*; commendation, *ib.*; alodial lands, *ib.*; at time of Crusades few independent lords in France, 237; grotesque tenures, *ib.*; Custom Law, *ib.*; Pays du droit écrit, *ib.*; Assises of Jerusalem, *ib.*; Kingdom of Jerusalem, 238; holds of the Pope, *ib.*; the feudal Court, *ib.*; Assise of the High Court, 239; Assise of the Burgher Court, *ib.*; why hidden, *ib.*; how lost, 240; Assise du coup apparent, *ib.*; High Court, *ib.*; establishment in the South of France, 304; discredited at Courtrai, Crécy, and Poitiers, 432.
- 'Fideles,' or Antrustions, Frankish titles, 83.
- Fields of March, 77; revived under the Austrasian Princes, 97; restored, under leadership of the Bishops, 113.
- Finance, reformed by Charles V, 456.
- Flanders, war in, 211; war in, under Philip Augustus, 279; united to the Crown of France by Philip le Bel, 365, 366; attacked by Philip VI, 392; and subdued, *ib.*; the battle-field between England and France, 396; cities and lords of, persuade Edward III to take titles of King of France, 402; is laid under Interdict by Benedict XII, 403; Edward brings them 300 priests, 404; a doorway into France, 406; half-hearted in support of Edward III, 408; falls to Philip of Burgundy, 482.
- Flanders, Count of, loses Vermandois and Amiens, 279.
- Flanders, Count of, blockades the Flemish ports, 400; blockade raised by the Earl of Derby, *ib.*
- Flemings, take part in battle of Sluys, 405; besiege Béthune, 410; help at the siege of Calais, 419; more decidedly English, 421; English renounce their alliance at treaty of Bretigny, 451; their cities subjected to the House of Burgundy, 555.
- Florus leads Trevirans against Rome, 40.
- Foix, the Count of, 303; resists the Crusaders, *ib.*; attacked by De Montfort, 305.
- Folquet, (Fulk), Bp. of Toulouse, 301; stirs up strife, 303.
- Fontanet, the battle of, 156.
- Fontevault, the Convent of, 252.
- Formigny, battle of, 550.
- Fortunatus, Bp. of Poitiers, 98.
- Forum Julii founded, 37.
- Fossae Marianaë, (Foz), 25.
- France, extent of term, 109, 110; divided by Charles the Great, 134; Northmen settle in, 172; anarchy in, *ib.*; at accession of Hugh Capet, 185; divisions, *ib.*; sovereign states in it, 186; capital not yet fixed on the Seine, 192; miserable state of, 201, 210; oppressed by taxation, plague, and war, 421, 422; miseries after Poitiers, 432, 434; described by John le Bon, 451; suffers from the free companies, 456, 457; freed from them, and revives, 460; has only three great fiefs on her flanks, 473; fearful state of, 517; prospers under Charles VII, 546.
- Francia Occidentalis, 134.
- Francis of Assisi, St., at the Lateran Council, 304.
- Franciscans, preach a Gospel of the Holy Ghost, 386.
- Frankish dress, as worn by Charles the Great, 117.
- Frankish Princes still Germans, 162.
- Franks, the, 46, 49, 50; driven back by Julian, 54; irrepressible, *ib.*; sack Trèves, 59; their laws, 66;

smallest branch of Teutons, 67; last to settle in Gaul, *ib.*; their confederations, *ib.*; Salian, *ib.*; Ripuarian, 68; settle on left Rhine-bank, *ib.*; under Hlodowig, 68, sqq.; attack the Burgundians, 70; refuse to take Orders, 74; use Ordination as a penal settlement, *ib.*; dislike town-life, 75; honour the Church, *ib.*; territorial settlement in Gaul, *ib.*; long retain German character, 76; specially so the Austrasians, *ib.*; their old life perishes, *ib.*, 77, 78; become Clergy for the sake of rich bishoprics, &c., 85; impose on Hlotair II the 'Perpetual Constitution,' 92; their harsh voices, 119; under Charles the Great, 134; the free, driven downwards, 144; have disappeared, 145; their chiefs fortified strong places throughout France, 187; their castles, *ib.*; are the sword-arm of the Church, 229. Fredegond, Queen of Neustria, 85; assassinates Sigebert, 87; imprisons Brunhild, *ib.*; her life a catalogue of crimes, 88; dies in peace (A.D. 597), *ib.* Frederick Barbarossa perishes, 281. Frederick II employs the Inquisition for his own purposes, 322; his struggle with the Papacy, 324; treated by the Pope as deposed, 329, 330. Free-lances, the, ravage France, 444; companies, the curse of France, 453; their day coming to an end, 458, 460; still scourge France, 544; successful measures against them, 545; are crushed, 546; directed against Metz and Basle, 547; absorbed into the army, 548. Free population of France, in days of Hugh Capet, 186. French character, the, 4; history, when it really begins, 70; language, its pedigree, 159; kingship begins with Hugh Capet, 184; architecture, 259; language and literature advance under St. Louis, 341. Froissart, his writings, 397; on the

English forces at Crécy, 412; violently prejudiced, 433; on the causes of discontent, 475; sneers at Philip van Arteveld, 480. Fulcher of Chartres quoted, 213. Fulk, Abp. of Rheims, 169. Fulk Nerra of Anjou, 199, 200. Fulrad of St. Denis, Pippin's envoy to the Pope, 109.

G.

Gaelic Kerns, from Ireland and Wales, at Crécy, 417. Galeazzo Visconti pays King John's ransom, 452; gets Isabelle of France for his son John, *ib.* Gallia Braccata, 24; Togata, *ib.* Gallic character, the, 11, 12; form of government changes, 20; state of society, 21; society under Constantine, 53. Gallican Church, its orthodoxy, 45. Gallo-Roman Empire, 46; state of, 64; Bishops flatter the vices of Hlodowig, 74; fill all clerical posts under the Germans, *ib.*; their condition, 78; courtiers at the Neustrian Court, 84; their sorry plight, 145; a few rich ones at Court, *ib.*; in cities, *ib.*; their houses originally undefended, 186. Galswith, Queen of Hilperik, 87. Gascony, Charles VII in, 546. Gaul, the, 8, 10; his home, 17; family usages, 18; learns trade, 20; deals with Rome, *ib.*; his inventions, 21; sacks Rome, 22; threatens the Republic, *ib.*; helps Hannibal, *ib.*; takes Roman dress, 24; revolts against Caesar, 31; reduced by him, 33, 34; treated kindly, 34; under Roman influences, 35, sqq.; one-third of the race perishes fighting against Caesar, 36; prolific, *ib.*; under Augustus, 38, 39; rhetoricians, *ib.*; receive citizenship, 40; wear Roman dress, *ib.*; Claudius on their citizenship, 40, 41; the last Gallic war, *ib.*; last uprising under Civilis, 42; under the Empire, 44; their misery, *ib.*; Emperors friendly to, *ib.*; Christianity in, 45; under

Diocletian, 50; in two vicariates, 51; early Jacquerie in, *ib.*; under Constantine, *ib.*; field in which Christianity vanquished Paganism, *ib.*; Southern, happy under Visigoths, 60; desolated, 62; state on fall of Empire, 64; Frankish settlement in, 75, 76; inhabitants and divisions of, under Charles the Great, 134; elements of population in, 146. Geneva, Caesar at, 28. Genoese sailors in French service, 401; overborne at battle of Sluys, 404; archers at Blanche-Taque, 412; at Crécy, 414. Geoffrey Plantagenet, marries the Empress Maud, 258. Geoffrey, son of Henry II, made Duke of Brittany, 274; dies, leaving a posthumous son, Arthur, 278. Geoffrey Martel of Anjou, 203. Geography of France, the, 1, sqq. Gerbert (Pope Sylvester II) gets Hugh Capet made King, 190; wisest man in Christendom, 191; his history, character, acquirements, 193, 194; is Abp. of Rheims, 194; of Ravenna, *ib.*; Pope, *ib.* Gergovia, 17, 33. German colonists in North France, 46; dress, 48; character, *ib.*; had no slaves, 49; chief tribes of, in Gaul, *ib.*; will take up Imperial traditions, 63; their Law-codes, 66; their invasion destroys Gallo-Roman literature, *ib.* German Empire, establishment of a, 97; Neustria a limb of it, *ib.*; its seat of power on the Rhine, *ib.*; its re-creation with Rudolf of Habsburg, 348. German language, spoken by the Austrasians, 97. Germans support the Emperor Hlodwig, 154, 155; are carried away by the Second Crusade, 264; those of Saarbrück and Nassau at the battle of Poitiers, 429; in Edward III's army, are greedy of spoil, 449. Germanies, the Upper and Lower,

41; cities garrisoned by frontier-legions, *ib.*; recolonised with Franks, 46. Gerona taken by Philip III, 352. Gerson at Paris, 497; leads at Constance, 499; his controversy with the Burgundians, 501; always Armagnac, 537. Gervais, Archbishop, consecrates Philip I at Rheims, 203, 204. Gesellen, the, 49. Ghent, men of, murder Jacquemart van Arteveld, 408; revolts under Philip van Arteveld against feudalism, 479; beaten down by Philip the Good, A.D. 1452, 555. Gisela, daughter of Charles the Simple, marries Hrolf, 174. Gisla, daughter of Pippin the Short, 115. Glansdale, Sir Wm., commands at the Tourmelles, 521; fortifies them, 530; drowned in escaping from them, 531. Gloucester, Duke of, Regent in England, 517; offends the Burgundians, *ib.*; head of the war-party in England, 547. Godemars de Foy defends the ford of Blanche-Taque against the English, 412. Godescalc leads a rabble of German Crusaders, 220. Godfrey of Bouillon, a German, leads the first Crusading army, 221; elected King of Jerusalem, 224; refuses the title, *ib.* Gondebald and Gondegesil, Burgundian Kings, 70. Gontran, King of Burgundy, 84, 87; dies A.D. 543, 88. Goths, the, 49; in Aquitania, 58; under Ataulf, 59; seem likely to divide the Western Empire, 64; why they failed, *ib.* Gozlin, Bp. of Paris, 166. Gratian, Emperor, 55. Gravelines, taken by the French fleet, 307. Great Company, the, of free-lances, 453. Great Days, the, at Troyes, 357. Greek Church, ill-treated by the Latins, 220; breach with, widened

- by Crusades, 230; makes an interested and hollow peace with the Latins, 348.
 Gregorian chant introduced by Charles the Great, 119.
 Gregory of Tours quoted, 83, 84; boldly resists Fredegond, 87.
 Gregory the Great sends a letter to Brunhild, 89.
 Gregory III negotiates with the Carolings, 105, 108.
 Gregory IV blesses the sons of Hludwig the Pious, 154.
 Gregory V puts France under ban, 197.
 Gregory VII, *see* Hildebrand.
 Gregory IX threatens St. Louis with excommunication, 321; his struggle with Frederick II of Germany, 324, 325; dies, *ib.*
 Gregory X resists Charles of Anjou, 347, 348; his great schemes and death, 348, 349.
 Gregory XI, Pope, 475.
 Gregory XII, Anti-Pope, resigns, 499.
 Griffith, a Welsh free-lance, 445.
 Grimoald, son of Pippin, Austrasian Mayor, 94.
 Guerin, Bp. of Senlis, at Beauvais, 309.
 Guienne, English doorway into France, 406; submit to the French, 465; one of the three great fiefs left, 473; English driven out of it, 551; its ties to England, noblesse and commerce, *ib.*; Talbot raises it against Charles VII, 552; is quickly reduced, *ib.*; assimilated to France, 553.
 Guizot on Charles the Great, 133, 140.
 Gunpowder overthrows baronial castles and chivalry, 248; used by Edward III, 398; early instance of, *ib.* note 1.
 Guy of Burgundy attacks William the Bastard, 203.
 Guy of Dampierre abandoned by Edward I to Philip le Bel, 365.
 Guy of Namur at Courtrai, 370.

H.

- Habsburg origin of House of, 348.
 Haganon rules Charles the Simple, 175.
 Hainault, Edward III in, 401; takes Edward's side, 403; ravaged by French, *ib.*
 Hallam on Charles the Great, 119, 133, 141; on feudalism and chivalry, 243.
 Hannibal helped by the Gauls, 22.
 Harfleur, siege of, 501; is taken by Henry V, 502; recovered by Charles VII, 551.
 Haribert, King of Paris, 84; dies in A.D. 567, *ib.*
 Haribert II, King of Aquitania, 92.
 Harold the Dane, 171, 177.
 Harold Harfagr, 131.
 Harold, son of Earl Godwin, 207; his oath, *ib.*
 Haroun-al-Raschid, 130.
 Hasting the Dane takes Rouen, 171.
 Helgald, biographer of Robert 'le Debonair,' 196.
 Helvetians, migration of, 26; cross Sequania, 28; defeated by Caesar, *ib.*
 Henry I, youngest son of King Robert and Constance, crowned, 199; sole King, 200; attacked by his brother and mother, *ib.*; defended by Robert 'the Devil,' *ib.*; loses his wife, 203; marries Anne, a Russian, *ib.*; crowns her son Philip joint-king, *ib.*, 204.
 Henry Beauclerc seizes the English throne, 226; also Normandy, *ib.*
 Henry V of Germany threatens France, 255; but withdraws, 256; dies soon after, *ib.*
 Henry of Anjou (II of England) marries Eleanor, 266; his rights and claims, *ib.*; his strength, 267; ascends the English throne, *ib.*; does homage to Louis VII, *ib.*; contrasted with Louis, 268; attacks France, 269; strengthens himself in Normandy, *ib.*; conquers Brittany, *ib.*; his wide territories, 270; his strife with Becket, *ib.*; Becket's death, 272; the King's humiliation, *ib.*; calls up the Cottereaux, 273;
 gets over his difficulties, 274; turbulence of his sons, 278; his sad death, 281.
 Henry Courtmantel, son of Henry II, marries Margaret, daughter of Louis VII, 269; submits to his father, 274; opposes Philip Augustus, 278; dies, *ib.*
 Henry III of England, feeble, 320; comes to Poitou to help Hugh of Lusignan, 326; defeated at Taillebourg, *ib.*; returns home, *ib.*; receives back Périgord, &c., from St. Louis, 337; his relationship to St. Louis, *ib.* note; his death, 347.
 Henry V of England, succeeds in A.D. 1413, 500; the Red Rose triumphs, *ib.*; his overtures to France, *ib.*; war, 501; besieges Harfleur, *ib.*; takes it, 502; marches northwards, *ib.*; difficulties with the Somme, *ib.*, 503; his route, 503; at Azincourt, 503-508; returns to London, 508; returns into Normandy, 509; takes Rouen, *ib.*; takes l'ontoise and threatens Paris, 510; signs the Treaty of Troyes, 511; is to be Regent of France, is to marry Catherine of France, *ib.*; takes sundry towns which held for the Dauphin, *ib.*; at Paris, 512; is 'King of Paris' against the 'King of Bourges,' *ib.*; returns to England, *ib.*; back in France, 513; falls ill and dies, *ib.*; his character and burial, *ib.*
 Henry VI of England, brought over to Paris, 534; crowned at Notre Dame, 541; his incapacity, 543; allies himself with the Count of Armagnac, 547; loses all France, 550, 551.
 Henry of Lancaster, helped by Philip of Burgundy, 490; marries the Duchess of Brittany, 491.
 Henry of Navarre dies, 349; his daughter marries Philip le Bel, *ib.*
 Henry of Trastamare, bastard brother of Pedro the Cruel, 458; crowned King at Burgos, 459; loses his crown, 460; Charles V offers him open help, 461; murders Pedro the Cruel, *ib.*

- Herbert of Vermandois, 176; flies to Germany, *ib.*, 177.
 Hereditary succession, why firm in France, 275.
 Heristal, seat of Austrasian Court, 97.
 Hermingard, first wife of Hludwig the Pious, 153.
 Herpin of Bourges, sells his lordships to King Philip, 227.
 Herulians, the, 49.
 Hesus, Druid divinity, 13.
 High Court of Jerusalem, the, 239, 240.
 Hildebert, son of Hlodowig, King of Paris, 81; seizes Hlodimir's lands, 82.
 Hildebrand of Cluny, Pope Gregory VII, 205; goes with the Normans, 206; his letter to Henry IV of Germany, 219.
 Hilderik III, last Merwing King, 105; deposed by Pippin, 109.
 Hilperik, King of Soissons, then of Neustria, 84.
 Hincmar of Rheims, his high pretensions, 163, 164; resists Erigena, 105.
 History of France, true starting point of, 184.
 Hlodoald, (St. Cloud), 83.
 Hlodimir, King of Orleans, 81; killed in Burgundy, 82.
 Hlodowig, head of a petty Frankish tribe, 64; orthography of name, *ib.* note; influenced by S. Remigius, 65; his career, 68; defeats Syagrius, *ib.*; occupies North Gaul, 69; marries Hlotehild, *ib.*; wins battle of Züllich, *ib.*; is converted, *ib.*; baptized at Rheims, 70; defeats Burgundians, 71; Visigoths, *ib.*; is Consul Romanus, 72; gets his rivals assassinated, *ib.*; dies, 73; his character, *ib.*; he modified Christianity, 73, 74; had seen his task achieved, 80.
 Hlodowig II, King of Neustria, 94; a roi fainéant, *ib.*
 Hlotair, *see* Hludwig.
 Hlotair, King of Soissons, 81; joins Hildebert in seizing Hlodimir's lands, 83; is first King of Neustria, *ib.*; has trouble with his

- leaders, 84; is sole King, *ib.*; dies, *ib.*
- Hlotair II, sole King, 90, 92; murders Brunhild, 91.
- Hlotair III, King of Neustria, 94.
- Hlotechild, wife of Hlodowig, 69; her reply as to her grandchildren's fate, 82.
- Hlothar, King of Italy, 153; is Emperor, 155; is defeated at Fontanet, 156; has Italy and Lotharingia, 157; dies, 165.
- Hlothar, Caroling King, 177.
- Hludwig the Pious, learned like his father, 120; is King of Aquitaine, 125, 132; saluted Emperor, *ib.*; his reign, 150; his earlier life, 151; character, *ib.*; appearance, 152; wives, 153; troubles with his sons, 154; is deposed, 155; restored, *ib.*; dies, *ib.*
- Hludwig the German, 155; is lord of Germany after Verdun, 157.
- Hludwig II, the Stammerer, King, 165.
- Hludwig III, King in North France, 166; defeats Hastings, 173.
- Hludwig IV, 'Outremer,' King, 176; bravely resists Otto the Great, 177; has a hard struggle for existence, *ib.*
- Hludwig V, last Caroling King, 178.
- Holy Roman Empire, its germs in Church and State, 63, 95; is merged into a German Empire, 348.
- Honorius, Emperor, gives his daughter to Ataulf, 59; cedes South France to Visigoths, 60.
- Hôtel de Ville of Paris, founded by Marcel, 443.
- Hrolf the Northman besieges Paris, 166; settles on the Seine, 172, 173; becomes a Christian and marries the daughter of Charles the Simple, 174.
- Hubert de Burgh, 320.
- Hugh of Lorraine, joins Hrolf the Northman, 166.
- Hugh, 'first of Abbots,' 166.
- Hugh le Blanc, son of Robert the barons' King, 176; 'the Great,' becomes man to Otto, 177; dies, 178.
- Hugh of Beauvais, friend of Robert, King of France, 196.
- Hugh, son of Robert, crowned, 199; dies, *ib.*
- Hugh, Duke of Burgundy, submits to Philip Augustus, 279.
- Hugh Capet, son of Hugh the Great, is Duke of France, 178; is elected and crowned King of France, *ib.*; limits of his Kingdom, 188; is Abbot of St. Denis, *ib.*; his pedigree, 189; elected by influence of Gerbert, 190; had been strongest of the barons, *ib.*; lay head of the Church, 191; opposed by Karl of Lorraine, *ib.*; origin of his name Capet, *ib.* note; attacks William of Aquitaine, 192; has his son Robert crowned, *ib.*; is called the 'King of St. Denis,' *ib.*; takes Karl by treachery, 193; makes Gerbert Abp. of Rheims, *ib.*; dies, 194.
- Hugh 'the Great,' of Vermandois, heads the second Crusading army, 221.
- Hugh of Lusignan, becomes one of Louis IX's vassals, 320; opposes Alphonse at Poitiers, 326; is defeated by St. Louis, and yields, *ib.*
- 'Hundred Years' War,' periods of the, 399; end of the, 552, 553.
- Hunold of Aquitaine, resists Karl the Great, 124.
- Huns, enter Gaul, 58; cross Loire, *ib.*; in army of Aëtius, 60; make incursions under Etzel, *ib.*; defeated at Châlons, 61.
- Huss, John, burnt at Constance, 499.

I.

- Iconoclastic controversy, the, 107.
- Idacius, Spanish Bishop, 55.
- Ile de France, dialect of the, 161.
- Imperial dignity, the idea of, grows, 111, 112.
- Indutiomar, Treviran chief, 31.
- 'Ineffabilis amoris,' the Bull, 362.
- Ingeborg, Danish Princess, wife of Philip Augustus, 285; ill-used by him, *ib.*; restored, 286; brought into notice again, 307.
- Innocent II, quarrels with Louis

- VII over the Archbishopric of Bourges, 262.
- Innocent III, compels Philip and Richard to peace, 283; tries to stop siege of Château Gaillard, 295; preaches Albigensian Crusade, 300; excommunicates Raymond of Toulouse, 301; accepts his submission, 302; regrets the evils done, 304; holds the Lateran Council, *ib.*; declares the Great Charter null, 312; resisted by English barons, *ib.*
- Innocent IV, resists the Hohenstaufen, 325; his interview with St. Louis, 329; opposes the French barons, 330.
- Innocent VI, is invited to ratify Treaty of Bretigny, 451.
- Inquisition, established in south of France, 322; used even by Frederick II, *ib.*, 323; claims Jeanne Darc as its victim, 537.
- Irenaeus, second Bishop of Lyons, 45.
- Isabelle of France, returns to England in A.D. 1326, 395.
- Isabelle, daughter of John II, marries John Galeazzo of Milan, 452.
- Isabelle of Bavaria, married to Charles VI, 483; the scourge of France, *ib.*; goes with the Duke of Orleans, 489, 491; tries to carry off the Burgundian children, 492; comes to Paris, 493; is Regent, 494; is at Troyes, 508; comes to terms with John of Burgundy, *ib.*; is Regent, 508; establishes a Parliament at Poitiers, *ib.*; joins the new Duke of Burgundy, 511.
- Italian taxgatherers, 358.
- Italy under Charles the Great, 126.
- Ithacius, Spanish Bishop, 55.

J.

- Jacquemart van Arteveld, *see* Arteveld.
- Jacquerie, an early, under Diocletian, 51; the Great, under Charles the Dauphin, 444; suppressed, 445.
- Jacques Cœur, 544, 550; his fall, 554.
- James, King of Aragon, 337; last King of Majorca, sells Montpellier to Philip VI, 422.
- Jargeau besieged and taken by Jeanne Darc, 532.
- Jean de Meung, the satirist, 356.
- Jeanne of Burgundy, wife of Philip of Poitiers, proves faithless, 380.
- Jeanne Darc, 515; her origin, 522; spelling of name, *ib.* note 1; her mission 523; is forwarded to the Dauphin, *ib.*; opposition to her, 524; has a friend in Yolande of Aragon, *ib.*; admitted to the King's presence, *ib.*; her appearance, 525; rides forward towards Orleans, 526; enters it, *ib.*; the fear of her, 527; opposition in the city, 528; attacks the English lines, takes St. Loup Bastille, 529; the Augustinians, *ib.*; the Tournelles, 530; the English withdraw, 531; she sets out to find the King, *ib.*; takes Jargeau, 532; wins battle of Patay, *ib.*; finds the King at Sully, *ib.*; besieges Troyes and takes it, *ib.*; escorts the King to Rheims, 533; at the coronation, *ib.*; her mission fulfilled, *ib.*; her height of power, 534; the Court thwarts her, *ib.*; goes to St. Denis, 535; fails in the assault of Paris, 536; taken at Compiègne, *ib.*; sold to the English by the Burgundians, 537; her trial, 538; her death, *ib.*; who is most to blame? *ib.*; England accepts the shame, 540; the reaction in her favour, *ib.*; the rehabilitation-trial, 555.
- Jeanne, Queen of Naples, put to death, 476.
- Jerusalem, Crusaders reach, 224; is stormed, *ib.*; Godfrey of Bouillon 'King of Jerusalem,' *ib.*; Kingdom of, feudal, 238.
- Jews in France, persecuted, 218; attacked in the religious revival of the second Crusade, 264; protected by St. Bernard, *ib.*; and by Louis VII, 275; persecuted by Philip Augustus, 277; used and squeezed by Philip the Fair, 358; persecuted under Philip V, 386.

Joannes Scotus Erigena, 164.
 John of Brienne, titular. King of Jerusalem, 318.
 John, the blind King of Bohemia, at Crécy, 417.
 John of Hainault, forces Philip VI to retire at Crécy, 417.
 John, second son of Charles VI, his end, 508.
 John 'Lackland' joins Philip Augustus, 283; deserts him when Richard is free, *ib.*; feeblest of Henry's sons, 284; seizes Arthur, 288; indolent and cowardly at Rouen, *ib.*; does not relieve Château Gaillard, 292; summoned by Philip to answer for Arthur's death, 297; cedes his crown to the Pope, 307; receives it from him again; *ib.*; humiliated in his French campaign of A.D. 1214, 308, 311; signs the Great Charter, 312; breaks faith, *ib.*; is supported by Innocent III, *ib.*; attacked by Louis of France, 313; dies, *ib.*
 John of Procida, opposes Charles of Anjou, 351.
 John II, Duke of Normandy, carries on war in North France, 403; supports claims of Charles of Blois to the Duchy of Brittany, 407; hesitates to attack Edward III, 408; held in check by the Earl of Derby, 409; called in by Philip VI, 419; succeeds to the throne, 422; named 'le Bon,' *ib.*; his character, 423; compared with Charles 'the Bad,' *ib.*; ill-uses Charles of Navarre, *ib.*; opposed by the Estates of the Langue d'Oïl, 425; starts from Paris for the south, 426; passes the Black Prince, and awaits him at Poitiers, *ib.*; loses the battle of Poitiers, 427-432; is taken prisoner, 431; carried to Bordeaux, to London, 432; tries to make terms of peace, 448; which are refused by Charles the Dauphin, *ib.*; accedes to the treaty of Bretigny, 450; his ransom, *ib.*; his description of the woes of France, 451; is sent over to

Calais, and released, 452; tries to get rid of the free companies, but is defeated at Brignais, 453; returns a voluntary captive to England, *ib.*; there dies, 454.
 John XXIII, Pope, 498; at Constance, *ib.*; deposed, 499.
 Joinville, at Mansourah, 332; has to carry St. Louis in his arms, 338; refuses to go on the King's second Crusade, 339; his book, 341.
 Jubilee of A.D. 1300, 366.
 Judith, daughter of Welf, second wife of Hludwig the Pious, 153.
 Julian, Emperor, 54; resists Franks, *ib.*; makes Paris his capital in Gaul, *ib.*
 Julius Nepos, Emperor, 62.
 Jumièges, Abbey of, 198.
 Justice done by Charles the Great, 117; how administered, 129.
 Juvenal des Ursins, Provost of Paris, 484, 497.

K.

Kerboga, Sultan of Mosul, defeated at Antioch, 223.
 Kilidj Arslan, Sultan of Nicaea, 220; resists Crusaders, 222.
 'King of Bourges,' the, 517.
 'King of Franks,' the title not territorial, 111.
 Kings, Frankish, their way of life, 76; grant alodial possession to nobles, *ib.*; are personal, not territorial, sovereigns, 77; simple leaders in war, 81; the Carolings rise, 96.
 Knight, the Gallic, 12; he and the Druid the only free Gauls left, 21.
 Knighthood, its qualities, institution, &c., *see* Chivalry.
 Knolles, a free-lance in Normandy, 445; pushes up to Paris, 463.

L.

Labarum, the, 51.
 Labienus in Gaul, 33.
 Laeti or Leudes, 46.
 La Hire, Jeanne Darc's roughest captain, 529, 530.
 La Hogue, Edward III lands at, 409.

Lancaster, the Duke of, in France, 449; opposed to Philip of Burgundy in Normandy, 462; lands at Calais, and marches to Bordeaux, 465.
 Land in Gaul, how divided, 134.
 Landen, Pippin of, and his family, 79, 89, 90.
 Langobards, the, 49.
 Langue d'Oc, 162.
 Langue d'Oïl, 162.
 Laon, a Frankish centre, 162; the last stronghold of the Caroling Kings, 175; Charles the Simple there, *ib.*; it falls to Charles of Lorraine, 191; ceases to be great, 193; its dealings for a Commune with Louis VI, 254.
 Laon, Cardinal of, advises Charles VI to dismiss his uncles, 484; is poisoned accordingly, *ib.*
 'Lark,' Legion of the, 34; receives Roman citizenship, 37.
 Lateran Council, the great, 304.
 Latin influences begin in Gaul, 20, 21; language in Gaul, 54; how it passed into French, 159; of the Church, 161; classical, *ib.*
 Latin Church and Greek Church, much sundered by the Crusades, 230.
 La Tremouille, King Charles' favourite, 524; hostile to Jeanne Darc, *ib.*; his castle at Sully, 532; his conspiracy against his country, 534; his fall, 541.
 Law, age of development of, 66; Burgundian, *ib.*; Visigothic, *ib.*; Roman, and Custom, 75; Salic, 88, 119; Ripuarian, 119; Roman, *ib.*; is attached to the land, 175; Custom-, in Northern France, *ib.*; French, as administered by St. Louis, 338, 341, 342; Roman, extended in France, 342; its influence under Philip III, 346, 349; ennobled, *ib.*; Roman, adopted by Philip IV, 355; its spirit destroys medievalism, *ib.*; its great power under him, 357; Civil, triumphs over Canon, 361.
 Lawyers, the great, under Philip le Bel, 366; under Louis X, 383.
 Learning, fostered by Charles the

Great, 119; tale of the Scots' teachers, 120.
 Lecocq, Bp. of Laon, 436; supports Marcel, *ib.* 437, 438.
 Leger, St., opposed to Ebroin, 94; sainted, 95.
 Legions on the Rhine-frontier, 41.
 Leitrad, one of the Missi of Charles the Great, 141.
 Leo III, Pope, 128; visits Charles the Great, *ib.*; his ill-treatment, *ib.*; note: undertakes to crown Charles, *ib.*; declared innocent, 129.
 Leopold of Austria, holds Richard prisoner, 282.
 Lérins, Isle of, 65.
 Leudes of the Germanic tribes, 49; their independence, 81; lay the bases of feudalism, 82; are the King's 'fideles,' 83; under Charles the Great, 134; the King's, rank before all others, 135.
 Lewis, *see* Louis.
 Library, the, at Paris, founded by Charles V, 455.
 Limoges, the Black Prince at, 463.
 Lingua Romana Rustica, 161.
 Literature in the 5th century, 66; frozen by German invasion, *ib.*
 Liutprand, the Lombard, takes Ravenna, 108.
 Lombards, in Italy, 107, 108; support the Papacy, *ib.*; not trusted by it, *ib.*; kingdom of, held by Pippin, 126.
 Long-bow, the, in English hands, 400.
 Long-haired Kings, 83, 96.
 Loss of life in the Crusades, 228.
 Lotharingia or Lorraine, 158; Charles the Simple flees thither, 176.
 Louis I, *see* Hludwig the Pious.
 Louis VI, le Gros, joint-King with his father, 249; the crown-domain under him, *ib.*; his rights of suzerainty, 250; his vigour and character, *ib.*; royalty gains under him, 251; his wars with his neighbours, *ib.*; gets Montleheri, 252; his father dies, *ib.*; crowned at Orleans, why? *ib.*; peasants in his armies, 253; is fountain of justice, *ib.*; encourages the poor, the Church, 254; does very little for the Communes, *ib.*;

- at war with the Normans, 225; beaten by Brenneville, *ib.*; prepares to resist Henry of England, *ib.*; takes the Oriflamme, *ib.*; Henry V of Germany threatens him, 256; but dies, *ib.*; interferes in the South, 257; and in Flanders, *ib.*; crowns Philip his son, *ib.*; who dies, *ib.*; then crowns Louis 'the Young,' *ib.*; marries Louis to Eleanor of Aquitaine, 258; dies, *ib.*; his character and work, *ib.*
- Louis VII, 'the Young,' is crowned as joint-King by Louis VI, 257; marries Eleanor of Aquitaine, 258; retards the growth of French monarchy, 259; slave of the Church, 261; brought up by Suger at St. Denis, *ib.*; favourite with the chroniclers, *ib.*; crowned, 262; repulsed in the South, *ib.*; fails in Normandy, *ib.*; quarrels with Pope Innocent II, *ib.*; burns Vitry parish church, *ib.*, 263; takes the cross at Vézelay, 263; goes on crusade, 264; leaves his army and pushes on by sea, 265; does penance for Vitry at Jerusalem, *ib.*; is captured at sea, and rescued, returns home, *ib.*; Eleanor abandons him, *ib.*; consents to a divorce, 266; tries to check growth of Henry II of England, 267; receives his homage, *ib.*; contrasted with him, 268; supports Becket against him, 270; his influence south of the Loire, 271; his second Queen Constance dies, *ib.*; marries Alice of Blois, *ib.*; meanly tempts Henry's sons from him, 273; defeated by Henry, *ib.*; has his son Philip crowned, 274; dies, 275; his acts, *ib.*
- Louis VIII, sent by his father into the South, 306; has English crown offered him, 312; accepts, and goes across, *ib.*; his failure, 313; his short reign, 316; besieges Avignon, catches camp fever, dies, 317.
- Louis IX (Saint), comes to the throne in A.D. 1226, aged 12, 317; critical time for monarchy, 318; is crowned, *ib.*; defended by Queen Blanche, 319; his nobleness much due to her, *ib.*; resists the league of barons, 320; wears them out, *ib.*; time works for him, 321; makes peace with Raymond VII, *ib.*; gets Narbonne, and prospect of the rest of the South, 322; marries Margaret, daughter of Raymond Berenger, 323; behaves well to Frederick II, 324; tries to make his brother Alphonse Lord of Poitou and Auvergne, 325; defeats Henry III of England at Taillebourg, 326; reduces Raymond VII of Toulouse, 327; bids the nobles choose between him and Henry III, *ib.*; his first Crusade, 328; interview with Pope Innocent IV at Cîteaux, 329; sanctions the league of the Barons against the Papal ban, 330; sails from Aigues Mortes, *ib.*; at Cyprus, 331; Damietta, *ib.*; delays too long, 332; battle of Mansourah, *ib.*; second battle, 333; retires towards Damietta, is taken prisoner, *ib.*; purchases his freedom, 334; lands at Ptolemais, *ib.*; sends his brothers home, 335; the ferment in France at news of his mishaps, *ib.*; is four years in Palestine, 336; Queen Blanche dies, *ib.*; he returns to France, *ib.*; his good rule, 337; cedes much land to England, *ib.*; his ways and acts, 338; again takes the cross, *ib.*; lands near Tunis, 339; falls ill and dies, 340; his character, person, love of learning, *ib.*, 341; his great work as a lawyer, *ib.*, 342; enlarged the royal domain, *ib.*; ruled over the Church, 343; reformed the coin, 344; his additions to the monarchy, *ib.*; how regarded in his own day and afterwards, 345; long the patron Saint of France, *ib.*; canonised by Boniface VIII, 364.
- Louis X, le Hutin, succeeds, 382; condemns Enguerrand de Marigni, *ib.*, 383; his Ordinance 'that every

- man ought to be born free,' *ib.*; his foolish regulations, 384; campaign in Flanders, *ib.*; dies, *ib.*
- Louis XI as Dauphin, 545; shows signs of capacity, *ib.*; head of the discontented nobles, *ib.*; submits to the King, 546; does good service for France, *ib.*, 547; draws the free-lances to Switzerland, 547; wins the battle of the Birse, *ib.*; makes terms with Basle and ravages Alsace, 548; intrigues against the King, 549; hates Agnes Sorel, *ib.*; withdraws to Dauphiné, 550; offers to reconquer Guienne for the King, 552; France prepares herself for him, 557.
- Louis of Anjou, *see* Anjou.
- Louis, Duke of Bavaria, tries to carry off the Burgundian children, 492.
- Louis de Male, Count of Bruges, 480; his death, 482.
- Louis I of Flanders, cousin of Philip VI, 392.
- Louis II of Flanders, Charles V refuses to help, 468.
- Louis, Duke of Orleans, *see* Orleans.
- Ludwig (Louis) IV, Emperor, meets Edward III at Coblenz, 401.
- Luern, his splendour, 12, 20.
- Lugdunensis Gallia, the Province, 38.
- Lügnenfeld, 155.
- Lupus, Duke of Aquitaine, 124.
- Luxemburg, John of, has charge of Jeanne Darc, 537.
- Luxeuil, Monastery of, 94.
- Lyons, founded by Augustus, 38; centre of his system, *ib.*; its situation, 39; had an altar to Rome, 40; its population, 45; Church of, is Greek in origin, *ib.*; Gospel spreads from, *ib.*; the 'Poor men of,' 299, 300; Council of, 329; character and government of the city, *ib.*; second Council of, 348; scene of the consecration of Bertrand de Goth as Clement V, 375; absorbed into the kingdom of France in A.D. 1312, 381.
- M.
- Magic, fear of, in the 14th and 15th centuries, 394.
- Magna Charta, signed, 311.
- Magnentius, the Emperor, a Frank, 54.
- Mahaut, said to have been poisoned by Robert of Artois, 394.
- Mahometanism spreads over South France, 102; arrested by Charles Martel, *ib.*, 103; effects on the Papacy, 107; its divisions and movements, 218; checked awhile by the Crusades, 230; but not permanently, *ib.*
- Maillart slays Étienne Marcel, 446, 447.
- Mainz, Huns cross the Rhine at, 58; bridge over the Rhine at, 122; Charles the Great holds a national assembly at, 129.
- Maistre, John le, Marshal of France, taken at Azincourt, 508.
- Malls, Frankish, 77; under Charles the Great, 118.
- Mamelukes, the, revolt against the Ayyubites, 334; formidable to Europe, 348.
- Manfred, a physician, raises Europe against Charles of Anjou, 351.
- Manicheans of Orleans, persecuted, 199; their tenets affect the Albigenses, 299; Crusade against them, 300.
- Manuel Comnenus, does the Crusaders harm, 264.
- Marcel, Étienne, Provost of the merchants of Paris, 425; the one great man of his age in France, 433; historians prejudiced against him, *ib.*; his efforts for Paris, 435; his constitutional aims, 436; leans on Charles of Navarre, 437; tries to reconcile the two Charles, 441; the 'revolutionary cap,' 442; murder of the Marshal, *ib.*; becomes head of government, 443; reconciles the two Charles, *ib.*; his troubles begin, *ib.*; he fortifies Paris, 444; calls in Charles of Navarre, 446; is killed at the St. Antoine gate, 447; his work a failure, *ib.*

Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI, 547; unpopular in England, 551.
 Margaret marries Henry Court-mantel and carries Gisors and Vexin to him, 280.
 Margaret, daughter of Raymond Berenger, marries St. Louis, 323; at Damietta, 334; gives birth to a son, *ib.*
 Margaret, heiress of Flanders, married to Philip of Burgundy, 462, 478; dies, 493; is founder of a kingdom all but in name, *ib.*
 Margraves, under Charles the Great, 138.
 Maric, Druid leader, 41.
 Marigni, Enguerrand de, minister of Philip le Bel, 379; perishes, 382.
 Marius resists barbarians, 24; defeats them near Aix, 25; defeats Cimbri in North Italy, *ib.*
 'Marmousets,' the, 481, 484.
 Marriage-tie, weak among Franks, 117.
 Martin, Bishop of Tours, 54; opposes persecution, 56; fosters monasticism, 65; church of St., 72.
 Martin, Austrasian Mayor, 95; murdered, *ib.*
 Martin IV, Pope, supports Charles of Anjou, 351.
 Martin V, Pope, elected at the Council of Constance, 499.
 Mary of Anjou, married to Charles VII, 517.
 Matilda, the Empress, marries Geoffrey Plantagenet, 258.
 Massilia, entrepôt between Gaul and Rome, 20; when founded, 22; its importance, 23; falls before Caesar, 37; school of Greek learning, 39; a 'zealous worshipper of Roman devils,' 45.
 Matthew Paris on St. Louis, 345.
 Maupertuis, near Poitiers, 426.
 Maximus recolonises Armorica with Britons, 55; condemns Priscillian for heresy, *ib.*
 Mayors of the Palace, 81; in all Frankish kingdoms, 85; overshadow the royal power, 90;

nature and origin of, *ib.*; derivation of name, *ib.* note; the office fixed in family of Pippin, *ib.*; lords over the Merwing Kings, 96.
 Meaux, treaty of, 321.
 Medard, St., of Soissons, vassals of, at Bouvines, 310.
 Medicine comes to Europe through Provence, 300.
 Medio-lana, 14.
 Mediterranean, highway of civilisation, 37.
 Menapii, 30.
 Merewings or Merwings, 68; their faincant Kings, 96, 97; they disappear from history, 109.
 Merow marries Brunhild, 87.
 Merowig, Frankish chief, at Châlons, 61.
 Metz, fruitlessly besieged by Charles VII, 548.
 Michael Palaeologus, alarmed by Charles of Anjou, 348.
 Military orders, the, 247.
 Millennial year, the, 198; its influence, *ib.*; shifted to the 1000th year from the crucifixion, 200, 201.
 Milo, Legate of Innocent III, 302.
 Missi Dominici, the, of Charles the Great, 139, 140; re-established by St. Louis, 342.
 Molai, Jacques de, Grandmaster of the Templars, 380.
 Monarchy, its phases in France, 184, 185; strengthened by the Crusades, 233.
 Monasticism, developed in 5th century, 65; its western characteristics, *ib.*; a new religious element, 86; allied to Austrasians, *ib.*; restored honour to toil, *ib.*; friendly to the earlier Austrasians, 99; is sunk in apathy, 146.
 Monk of St. Gall, the, quoted, 120.
 Monks, the, 99; help Pippin of Heristal, *ib.*, 100; from England and Scotland, *ib.*; go between the Pope and Pippin, 109.
 Montanist opinions at Lyons, 45.
 Montfort, John of, claims Duchy of Brittany, 407; crosses to England for help, *ib.*; is taken and cast into prison by Philip VI, 408;

enters Brittany, 409; overthrows the French party and Charles of Blois, 458; expelled by weakness of the English party, 467; heads Breton revolt, *ib.*
 Montforts, the, at feud with Charles of Blois, 457; punished by Charles V, 464.
 Montleheri bars King Louis from the South, 250; falls to Louis VI, 251.
 Montmorenci resists King Louis VI to the North, 250.
 Moors, the, attack Aragon, 303; defeated by King Peter, 304.
 Morality suffers from the Crusades, 228.
 Morini, overcome by Caesar, 30.
 Mountains of France, 5.
 Municipal institutions in Gaul, 47.
 Mysteries, the, first acted in Paris, 421.

N.

Najara, battle of, 459.
 Nantes, pillaged by Norsemen, 172.
 Naples, the aim of the Duke of Anjou, 479.
 Napoleon's criticism on St. Louis in Egypt, 331.
 Narbo Martius, founded, 24; Latin missionaries land at, 46.
 Narbonensis, Augustus' Province, 38; the Second, ceded to Visigoths, 60.
 Narbonne, Arab capital, recovered by Pippin, 114.
 National life, growth of, 358.
 Neim-heidh, 8.
 Nero, fond of Provence, 41; rebuilt Lyons, *ib.*
 Nerobaldus, a Frankish 'King,' is Consul, 55.
 Nervians affected a Germanic origin, 26; a warlike tribe, attack Caesar, 30.
 Neustria, 72; opposed to Austrasia, 79; chief Frankish power first therein, 80; settles down into a kingdom, 83, 84; has a Mayor, 85; in Hugh Capet's days, 186.
 Neustrian Kings, the, 79 sqq.
 Nicaea, taken by Crusaders, 222.
 Nicknames, rife in France, 491.
 Nicolas III, Pope, 351.
 Nicolas V, Pope, closes Council of Basle, 550.
 Nicolas de Clemangis, 487.
 Nicopolis, battle of, 490.
 Nimwegen, Charles the Great at, 118.
 Ninth century, the age of the Bishops, 145.
 Nobility, Patents of, granted by Philip III, 349.
 Noblesse of France, dissolute, 433; Patents of, to civic persons, 472.
 Nogaret, William, a great lawyer, 366; appears in the Parliament of Paris, and attacks Boniface VIII, 372; in Italy, *ib.*; captures Boniface, 373; conducts the posthumous trial of the Pope, 379.
 Nomenoe, lord of Brittany, 163.
 Norman Conquest, the, 208; its effects, *ib.*, 209.
 Normandy, peasant-rising in, 199; troubles in, 200; Robert 'the Devil' becomes Duke of, *ib.*; pledged to William II of England, 225; restless against Louis VI, 255; in troubles, 257, 258; strengthened by Henry II, 269; attacked by Philip Augustus, 284; finally conquered by him, 296; cleared of the English, 550, 551.
 Northmen, attacked by Charles the Great, 130; their early landings on other shores, 131; attack even Paris, 163; settle on the Seine, *ib.*; ravage the Atlantic coasts, 166; again besiege Paris, *ib.*; their influence on feudalism, 168; their age, 170; manner of settling, *ib.*; on every shore, *ib.*, 171; many converted, *ib.*; under Hasting they take Rouen, *ib.*; first settlement in France, 172; pillage and spoil, *ib.*; settle permanently on the Seine and Loire, 173; become Christians, 174; make a compact state out of Normandy, *ib.*; learn the French tongue, *ib.*; their literature in it, *ib.*; influenced Custom-law, 175; their influence in Italy, 205, 206; their conquest of England, 208; and South Italy, 210; vigour, 211; independence, 212; go on

Crusade, 221; their architecture, 259; great castle-builders, 291.
 Novempopulania, the Huns in, 58; ceded partly to Visigoths, 60.
 Noviodunum (Nevers), taken by Caesar, 32.
 Noviodunum (Soissons), taken by Caesar, 30.
 Nuncios, the, of Boniface VIII, 363, 364.

O.

Oath, exacted by Charles the Great, 131; the Strasburg, 157, 159, 161.
 Odo, the vigorous King of Aquitaine, 100.
 Odo (Eudes), Count of Paris, defends the *cité* against Northmen, 166; elected King, 167; opposed by Carolings, 169; comes to terms with them, *ib.*; dies, *ib.*
 Odo of Chartres resists King Robert, 199.
 Odoacer the Herulean deposes Romulus, 63; is Patrician, King, *ib.*; gives Empire beyond the Alps to Ewarik, *ib.*; is defeated by Theodoric, 64.
 Olaf the Swede converted by Ansgar, 171.
 Oleron, Isle of, ceded to Louis IX, 321.
 Opmius subdues the Ligurians, 23.
 Oratory, natural to the Gaul, 12.
 Ordinances, royal, of Philip le Bel, 362; of John le Bon after Breigny, 451; of Charles V, 466, 472; fixing royal majority, 478; the Cabochian, 496, 497; for a standing army, 545, 548.
 Orgetorix, Helvetian leader, 26.
 Oriflamme, the, 51; described, 255; at Bouvines, 309; in hands of Philip III, 352; at Poitiers, 429; taken by Charles VI against Henry V, 501.
 Orleans, persecution of Manicheans at, 199; Louis VI crowned at, 252; besieged, 518; its position, *ib.*; plan of, 519; deserted by her chief men, 522; offers to yield to the Duke of Burgundy, *ib.*; relieved by Jeanne Darc, 526; her entry, *ib.*; siege of, raised, 531; the States-General of the Langue d'Oil meet there, 544; great Ordinance of, 548.
 Orleans, Duke of, excluded from the regency, 486; first symptom of the Armagnac-Burgundian troubles, *ib.*; his interests Southern and Clementine, 488; heads the aristocratic party, 489; acts very foolishly, 491; tries to carry off the children of John the Fearless, 492; murdered by Raoul d'Octonville, 494.
 Orleans, Duke of, a prisoner at Azincourt, 508; returns to France, 546; yields to the King, *ib.*; a poet, 556.
 Orosius, quoted, 59.
 Ossian's poems, Gallic in spirit, 11.
 Ostrogoths, the, 49; in Etzel's army, 61.
 Otho, King of Germany, in England, 306; is Emperor, *ib.*; excommunicated by the Pope, 307; joins the attack on Philip Augustus, 308; his host, *ib.*; loses the battle of Bouvines, 310; ruined thereby, 311.
 Otto the Great, 176.
 Ouadd, the, lowest order of Druids, 15; their degradation, 19.
 Oudenarde, besieged by the men of Ghent, 480; siege raised after Roosebek, 481.
 Oxybii, a Ligurian tribe, 23.

P.

Paganism falls before Christianity, 51, 52.
 Painting, not of much account in France, 556.
 Pandulf the Legate, 307; sets Philip Augustus on Flanders, *ib.*
 Papacy, friendly to the Austrasians, 99; discerns the value of the Franks, 108; strives against decentralisation, 163; resists simony, 211; its risks after Hildebrand's death, 212; reaps the fruits of the Crusades, 226; its power largely increased by them, 230; receives allegiance of the Crusad-

ing Principalities, 238; no longer the central figure of Christendom, 357; its struggle with Philip le Bel, 359-374.

Paris, school of the Schoolmen, 4; Caesar holds a conference at Lutetia, 31; becomes capital under German influences, 37; Julian's capital in Gaul, 54; its dialect the standard of speech, 161; is much befriended by Philip Augustus, 315; rises to defend Louis IX, 320; Parliament of, 342, 372, 472; threatened by Edward III, 410; States-General at, 434, 436, 437; fortified, 435; under Etienne Marcel, *ib.*; Charles of Navarre preaches at, 438; plan of, 439; Charles the Dauphin preaches at the Halles, 442; supported by a few towns only, *ib.*, 443; strengthened by Marcel, 444; threatened by the Dauphin, *ib.*; besieged by him, 445; the Royal Terror at, 447; the great library founded by Charles V, 455, 472; receives patent of nobility for Provost and Sheriffs, 472; punished by Charles VI, 481; the Mysteries acted at, 491; sides with John the Fearless, 492; his manifesto, *ib.*; defences restored, 493; the Cabochians in, 495, 496; besieged by Armagnacs, 496; threatened by John of Burgundy, 508; opens its gates to the Burgundians, 509; begins to wish for the English, 510; Henry V enters it, 512; its bad position as heart of France, 515; wolves in the cemeteries, 517; 'Danse Macabre' in the cemetery of the Innocents, 518; assaulted by Jeanne Darc, 535; goes over to the royal side, 543; the English evacuate it, *ib.*
 Parliament of Bordeaux established, 553.
 Parliament of Paris becomes a law-court under St. Louis, 342; a legal body, 357; called together by Philip le Bel, 372; made permanent, 472; has a rival at Poitiers, 509.

Parliament at Poitiers, 509.
 Parliament, the English, consulted as to the homage due from Edward III to Philip of Valois, 393; held at Leicester, 500.
 Parthenius, a Gallo-Roman, stoned in Trèves Cathedral, 83.
 Parties in France and their nicknames, 491.
 Partition of Frankish kingdom, 81; second, 84; five in thirty years, 162.
 Paschal, Pope, comes to France, 252.
 Pastoureaux, Crusade of the, 335.
 Patay, battle of, 532.
 Paterins, a harmless sect, persecuted by Philip Augustus, 277.
 Patrician, a Burgundian officer, 85.
 'Patrician of Rome,' a title offered to Philip the Short, 105, 111.
 'Peace of God,' the, 201.
 Peasant-rising in Normandy, 199.
 Pedro the Ceremonious of Aragon, 459.
 Pedro the Cruel of Castille, 458; his wretched end, 461.
 Peers, the Twelve, of France, 274.
 Pembroke, the Earl of, cannot land in Aquitaine, 463; made prisoner in sea-fight off La Rochelle, *ib.*
 Pentapolis, the, granted by Pippin to the Papacy, 114.
 Périgueux, ceded to the Visigoths, 60.
 'Perpetual Constitution,' the (A.D. 614, 615), 92.
 Persecution, begins within the Church, 55, 56; of the Manicheans of Orleans, 199.
 Peter II, King of Aragon, 302; resists the Moors, 303; defeats them, 304; perishes fighting against Simon of Montfort, *ib.*
 Peter III of Aragon opposes Charles of Anjou, 351; defeats Philip III's expedition, 352; dies, *ib.*
 Peter de la Brosse, his history and fate, 349, 350.
 Peter du Bois, a royalist pamphleteer, 355.
 Peter, Czar, compared with Karl the Great, 142.
 Peter of Dreux, Regent of Brittany, 318; named Mauclerc, 319;

afterwards devoted to Louis IX, 321.
 Peter Flotte, a great lawyer, 366; conducts trial of Saisset, 367; attacked by Boniface VII. 369.
 Peter the Hermit, 213; described, 215; revered, 219; at Antioch, 223; his quiet end, 226.
 Peter Morrone, elected Pope, 360; abdicates, *ib.*
 Peter of Pisa, instructed Karl the Great, 119.
 Peter of Vaux Cernay on the Provençal heretics, 298.
 Petit, John, defends the Duke of Burgundy's murder of Orleans, 501.
 Philip, the Emperor, 45.
 Philip I of France, born, and crowned, 203; his reign long and inglorious, 209; fails in Flanders, 211; shows some vigour in Normandy, *ib.*; submits to the Papacy, *ib.*; marries Bertrade, 212; gains by the Crusades, 227; crowns his son Louis as joint-King, 249; dies, *ib.*
 Philip, son of Louis VI, joint-King, 257; killed by an accident, *ib.*
 Philip (Augustus) born, 271; his destiny, *ib.*; crowned by his father, 274; his pride and ambition, 276; succeeds to all his father's territories, 277; his authority, *ib.*; persecutes Jews, *ib.*; had married Isabelle of Hainault, 278; gets Amiens, *ib.*; accepts homage of Henry II, *ib.*; his earlier wars, in Flanders and Burgundy, 279; his conferences with the English in Normandy, *ib.*; encourages Henry's undutiful sons, 280; grounds of dispute with Henry, *ib.*; takes the cross, 281; wins Berri from Henry, *ib.*; goes on Crusade with Richard of England, 282; winters in Sicily, *ib.*; reaches Ptolemais, *ib.*; soon back in France, *ib.*; his faithlessness and meanness, *ib.*; attacks Normandy, 283; is overmatched by Richard, *ib.*; makes peace with him, *ib.*; attacks Normandy again, 285; and Brittany,

ib.; his ill-treatment of his Danish wife, *ib.*; takes Agnes of Meran, *ib.*; France therefore under Interdict, 286; is reconciled with the Pope, *ib.*; establishes the University of Paris, *ib.*; allies himself with the Law, 287; takes up the cause of murdered Arthur, 288; attacks and takes Château Gaillard, 291-296; overruns Normandy, and takes Rouen, 296; augments royal power, 297; calls out the Twelve Peers, *ib.*; receives homage of Simon of Montfort for the South, 305; is in Flanders, 307; loses his fleet at Damme, *ib.*; his campaign of A.D. 1214 in Flanders, 309; battle of Bouvines, *ib.*, 310; its results, 311; allows his son Louis to go to England, 313; resists dictation of Innocent III, *ib.*; his sagacious rule, *ib.*; death, 314; his qualities and acts, 314-316.
 Philip III, at his father's deathbed, 340; 'le Hardi,' succeeds to the throne, 346; returns to France, *ib.*; character, *ib.*; gets, through his wife, a large part of Southern France, 347; marries the heiress of Navarre and Champagne to Philip his son, 349; why called 'the Rash,' *ib.*; encroaches on the barons, *ib.*; his favourite De la Brosse, *ib.*; his great tournament, 350; is lieutenant of his uncle Charles, 351; his attack on Peter of Aragon, 352; dies at Perpignan, *ib.*; his sons, 353.
 Philip IV, le Bel, marries the heiress of Navarre, 349; succeeds his father, 353; his person, looks, character, 354, 355; pupil of the lawyers, 355; bargains with Edward I, 356; not fond of war, 357; a monster of greediness, 358; quarrels with Pope Boniface VIII over clerical taxation, 359, 361; Boniface tries to mediate between him and Edward I, 362; issues an Ordinance in reply to the Bull 'Clericis laicos,' *ib.*; their contentions, 363; partial reconciliation, 364; makes a marriage-treaty with Edward I, 365;

crushes Guy of Dampierre, *ib.*; has lawyers round his throne, 366; arrests Saisset, 367; second struggle with Boniface, *ib.*; the answer to the 'Little Bull,' 368; Flanders revolts from him, 370; gains by the defeat of Courtrai, *ib.*; is threatened with excommunication, 372; appeals to a general Council, *ib.*; wins battle of Mons-en-Puelle, 374; chooses a Pope, 375; attends his consecration at Lyons, *ib.*; holds him captive in France, 376; wishes him to reverse the acts of Boniface, *ib.*; attacks the Templars, 377; persecutes and burns them, 379; gets the Order finally abolished, 380; gets most of their property, *ib.*; the protest of nobles and burghers against him, 381; dies, *ib.*; added somewhat to the French territory, specially Lyons, *ib.*; strong reaction against absolutism at his death, 382.
 Philip V, of Poitiers, the Tall, 384; comes to the throne, 385; establishes the 'Salic Law,' *ib.*; his wretched reign and death, 386.
 Philip VI, of Valois, guardian to the Queen of Charles IV, 387; his claim to the throne, *ib.*; is elected King, 388; his lineage, 389; position and character, 391; crowned at Rheims, 392; his Flemish campaign, *ib.*; battle of Cassel, *ib.*; receives homage of Edward III, 393; fair beginnings of his reign, *ib.*; smites down the old noblesse, 394; his foolish financial measures, *ib.*; compared with Edward III, 395; bent on war with England, 397; drives Edward to it, 400; his fleet takes Southampton, 401; marches to Peronne in Vermandois, *ib.*; dismisses his army, 403; receives the defiance of the Hainaulters, *ib.*; makes his Avignon Pope lay Flanders under Interdict, *ib.*; loses battle of Sluys, 404; how informed of it, 405; how he received the news, 406; supports claim of Charles of Blois to Brit-

tany, 407; his folly in alienating the Bretons, 409; war breaks out again with Edward III, *ib.*; is menaced at Paris by Edward, 410; pursues him northward, 411; nearly catches him at Blanche-Taque, 412; loses the battle of Crécy, 413-418; retreats by Amiens to Paris, 419; tries to relieve Calais, *ib.*; retreats to Amiens, 420; adds Dauphiné to the crown, 422; marries again, and dies, *ib.*

Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders, 278.

Philip, afterwards Duke of Burgundy, 'le Hardi,' at Poitiers, 431; becomes Duke, 453; commands in Normandy against Edward III, 462; at deathbed of Charles V, 469; busy in North France, 477; married to Margaret of Flanders, 478; gets Flanders, 482; receives the wooden town built for England, 484; seizes the government of France, 486; supports Henry of England in A.D. 1399, 490; his death, 492.

Philip Hurepel, uncle of Louis IX, 318.

Philip of Navarre, brother of Charles, 441.

Philip de Rouvre, Duke of Burgundy, 449; dies, 452.

Philip of Swabia, rival of Otto, 306.

Philippa of Hainault, her character, 396; bears the King a son, John of Ghent, 436; defeats the Scots, 419; the tale of her intercession for the burghers of Calais, 420.

Picquigni, the Baron of, friend to Marcel, 437; rescues Charles of Navarre, 438.

Pilgrimages to the Holy Land, a cause of the Crusades, 217.

Pippin, son of Charles the Great, to have Italy, 232; but dies, *ib.*

Pippin of Landen, House of, 79, 89, 91; heads the aristocracy against Brunhild, 90; why did it become so famous? 98.

Pippin of Heristal, Mayor, 95;

wins battle of Testry, *ib.*; uses the monks, 99.
 Pippin the Short, friend of the Bishops, 99, 112; son of Charles Martel, 104; has the Gallic part, *ib.*; has all, on Carloman's abdication, 105; deposes the last Meroving King, 109; described, *ib.*; King of Franks, *ib.*; is not easy as to his title, 111; attacks Lombards, 113; a second time, 114; his donations to the Papacy, *ib.*; his remaining deeds, *ib.*
 Pisa, Council of, tries to heal the Great Schism, 494.
 Placita majora, 78.
 Plaisian, lord of Vezennoble, attacks Boniface, 372.
 Plectrude, widow of Pippin of Heristal, 100.
 Plutarch quoted, 36.
 Poissy, Edward III crosses the Seine at, 410.
 Poitiers, ceded to Visigoths, 60; battle of, 103; battle of (or Maupertuis), 426-432; taken by Du Guesclin, 464; patent of nobility for, 472; Parliament of, 509.
 Poitou declares for France and Du Guesclin, 464.
 Pontoise, taken by Charles VII, 546.
 Popes take titles of Empire, 52.
 Pothinus, an Asiatic Priest, at Lyons, 45.
 Praetextatus, Abp. of Rouen, murdered by Fredegond, 88.
 'Pragmatic Sanction of St. Louis,' the, 343; of Charles VII, 544.
 Pragerie, the, 545; at an end, 546.
 Pré-aux-Clercs, at Paris, 438.
 Preaching of Charles of Navarre at Paris, 438; of Charles the Dauphin at the Halles, 442.
 Precaria, title of some Church lands, 113, note.
 Priesthood, the, attacked by Provençal heretics, 298.
 Printing, first hint of, 491.
 Priscillian, a Spanish heretic, 55; martyred, 56.
 Princes of the Lilies, they quarrel, 479.
 Principality of Jerusalem, the, 238.

Probus, drives barbarians over the Rhine, 46.
 Proprietors in Gaul, the small, 53.
 Provençals in the first Crusade, suffered less than others, 223.
 Provence, Crusade in, 298; its high civilisation, 300.
 Province, the, 25; its early civilisation, 36, 37; more Italian than Italy, 39; its learning, *ib.*
 Provost of the Traders, the, at Paris, 433.
 Puiset, Le, besieged by Louis VI, 253.
 Pullani, the, 229.

Q.

Queen-Regents, the, of France, 386.
 Querci, revolts from Edward III, 462.
 Quesnoy, Le, cannon on the walls of, 403.
 Quières, Sir Hugh, French sea-captain, 403; beheaded at Sluys, 405.

R.

Ragnachar, King at Cambrai, 72.
 Raoul, goldsmith to Philip III, ennobled, 349.
 Raoul d'Ocetonville, murders the Duke of Orleans, 494.
 Ravenna falls into Pippin's hands, 113.
 Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse, takes up the Crusading cause, 215; sets out, 222; wins battle of Antioch, 223; establishes himself at Tripoli, 225; swears never to return to Europe, 226.
 Raymond V, of Toulouse, calls on Philip Augustus for help, 280.
 Raymond VI, of Toulouse, excommunicated by Innocent III, 301; submits, 302; rises again, 303; flees to Aragon, *ib.*; at Lateran Council, 303; returns successful, 305.
 Raymond VII, of Toulouse, makes peace with St. Louis, 321; the hard terms of it, 322; makes a last attempt at independence, 326; fails, 327.
 Raymond Berenger, of Provence, marries his daughter to St. Louis, 323.

Regency of France under Charles VI, 478.
 Religious Orders spring from the Crusades, 231.
 Remi, friends of Rome, 29.
 Remigius, Bp., influences Hlodowig, 65, 69; baptizes him, 70.
 Renaissance, the, forwarded by fall of Constantinople, 555.
 René of Anjou, 547; a poet, 556.
 Renaud of Boulogne attacks French fleet, 307; stirs up war, 308; a prisoner, 311.
 Rheims Cathedral, place of coronation of Pippin the Short, 112; is the coronation place, 274; stands out against Edward III, 449; Charles VI takes the government in his own hands at, 484; Charles VII crowned at, 533.
 Rhetoric, the Celtic gift, 39.
 Rhine, why the chief cities are on its left bank, 41; Roman settlements on, *ib.*; long regarded as home of the Franks, 75; seat of the Austrasian power, 97; bridged at Mainz by Charles the Great, 122.
 Richard, Duke of Normandy, 177.
 Richard Lionheart, 274; made Duke of Aquitaine, *ib.*; marries Alix, daughter of Louis VII, 280; sleeps in Philip's bed, *ib.*; goes on Crusade, 281; in Sicily, 282; in Palestine, *ib.*; wrecked, prisoner of Leopold of Austria, *ib.*; freed, 283; builds Château Gaillard, *ib.*; dies, 284.
 Richard of Cornwall leads opposition to Louis IX, 318.
 Richard II of England eager to end the Schism, 488; meets Charles VI on the subject near Calais, *ib.*; makes a 28 years' truce with France, 489; is affianced to Isabelle, daughter of Charles VI, *ib.*
 Richemont, Arthur of, made Constable, 517; Charles VII refuses to be reconciled with him, 532; retires to Brittany, and there resists the English, *ib.*; loyally seconds the national movement, 535; captures La Tremouille,

541; head of the war-party, *ib.*, 542; received by the King, 544; stands by him in the Praguerie, 545; one of the few great men of his age, 556.
 Ripuarian Franks, 46, note; 68; Law, 119.
 Rivers of France, 5.
 Roads, the Domitian, 24; the Augustan, 39.
 Robert of Artois, brother of St. Louis, 325; is offered the Imperial Crown, *ib.*; takes the cross, 328; killed at battle of Mansourah, 332.
 Robert of Artois, cousin of Philip le Bel, 365; perishes at Courtrai, 370.
 Robert of Artois, brother-in-law to Philip VI, 393; claims Artois, &c., *ib.*; is banished, and flees to Edward's Court, 394; perishes in a skirmish near Vannes, 408.
 Robert of Clermont, brother of Philip III, his idiocy, 350.
 Robert 'the Devil,' Duke of Normandy, 200; defends and overshadows King Henry, *ib.*; goes on pilgrimage and dies, 202.
 Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia, 206.
 Robert, King of France, crowned, 192; pupil of Gerbert, 194; sole King, 195; his character, 'Debonair,' *ib.*; anecdotes of, 196; in trouble with the Papacy, 197; gives up his wife Bertha, *ib.*; marries Constance, *ib.*; her Aquitanians at Paris, 198; his struggles with the Barons, 199; his son Hugh crowned, but dies, *ib.*; Henry, his youngest son by Constance, is crowned, *ib.*; he dies, 200.
 Robert, son of King Robert, made Duke of Burgundy, 199.
 Robert the Strong, his origin, 169; ancestor of the Capets, *ib.*
 Robert, brother of Odo, Duke of France, 169.
 Robert, son of Robert the Strong, defeats Karl the Simple, 175; is made King, 176; killed, *ib.*
 Robert, son of William the Conqueror, Duke of Normandy, 211;

- goes on Crusade, 221; careless of the Crown of England, 225, 226; is defeated by Henry Beaucherc, 226.
- Rochelle, La, English Kings' doorway into France, 316; sea-fight off, 463; patent of nobility for its officers, 472.
- Rodolf of Burgundy, the Barons' King, 176.
- Roger de Lacy defends Château Gaillard, 292.
- Roger, Viscount of Bezier, 302; cheated and murdered by the Churchmen, *ib.*
- Roger of Loria, a Ghibeline refugee, destroys fleet of Charles of Anjou, 351.
- Rohan, a true freebooting captain, 467.
- Roland, perishes at Roncesvalles, 127.
- Rollo, *see* Hrolf.
- Roman army, full of Gauls, 41, 51; Law, the, 44, 75, 119; tongue, the, 53, 157; change in Empire under Diocletian, 50; Law, adopted by Philip le Bel, 355.
- Rome deals with Gaul, 20; sacked, 22; confiscates Allobrogian lands, 23; offended with Caesar, 34; gives citizenship to the 'Alauda,' 37; to Gallic chiefs, 40; her altar at Lyons, *ib.*; her Christian missionaries in Gaul, 45, 46; Charles the Great anointed Emperor, 129.
- Romulus, last Emperor, 62.
- Roncesvalles, disaster of, 127.
- Roosebek, battle of, 480.
- Rothfeld, 'the field of lies,' 155.
- Rouen taken by the Danes, 171; seems to be the capital of Henry II, 269; improved by him, *ib.*; ceases to be centre of English King's domains, 284; taken by Philip Augustus, 296; threatened by Edward III, 410; Jeanne Darc imprisoned at, 537; tried and burnt there, 538; revolts from the English, 550; its Exchequer Court made sovereign, 553.
- Round Table, the Celtic, 11.
- Royal power, the, much weakened, 92; strengthened by the Crusades, 233; its growth under Philip Augustus, 277.
- Rudolf III of Arles, 195.
- Rudolf of Habsburg, 348.

S.

- Sabinus defeats Veneti, 30.
- Sacrovir leads Aeduians against Rome, 40.
- St. Malo attacked in vain by the English, 466.
- St. Pol, Count of, at Bouvines, 310.
- Sainte Chapelle, the, built, 324.
- Saintes ceded to Visigoths, 60.
- Saintonge, Helvetians propose to settle at, 26.
- Saisset, Bp. of Pamiers, describes Philip le Bel, 354; legate at Philip's Court, 367; his character, *ib.*
- Saladin defeats the Christians, 280; makes treaty with Richard, 282.
- Salian Franks, the, 67; the dominant tribe, 72; called Neustrians, *ib.*; occupy North France, 80.
- Salic Law, supposed to date from Treaty of Andelot, 88; origin of, 385.
- Salisbury, Earl of, attacks the French fleet, 307; at Bouvines, 308, 311; a prisoner, *ib.*
- Salisbury, Earl of, in Brittany, 464; ordered to besiege Orleans, 518; takes the southern suburb, *ib.*; and the Tournelles, 521; is killed by a shot there, *ib.*
- Salyes, a Ligurian tribe, 23.
- Samarobriva, Caesar at, 31.
- Saracen wars of Charles the Great, 126.
- Satire appears in France, 356.
- Saxons enter France, 55; attacked by Austrasians, 82; their wars with Charles the Great, 123.
- Scabini under Charles the Great, 139.
- Schism of the West, the Great, 474; its origin, and parties, 474, 476; Charles VI strives to heal it, 487; suggestions for its abolition, *ib.*; Council of Pisa on it, 494; makes it worse, there being now three Popes, 495; partly closed by Council of Constance, 499;

- its final healing after the Council of Basle, 550.
- Scholasticism, its use, 164.
- Schools in Monasteries, 146.
- Sciarra Colonna captures Boniface VIII, 373.
- Scipio lands at Massilia, 22.
- Scotland is to England what Brittany is to France, 397; French renounce her alliance, 451; she helps Charles VII, 516.
- Scots in France, 516; many perish at Verneuil, *ib.*; cause loss of the 'Day of Herrings,' 521.
- Scroop, conspiracy of Lord, 501.
- Seljukian Turks, their origin, 218; their power broken at Antioch, 223.
- Senatorial families in Gaul, 53.
- Senones, the, threaten Rome, 22.
- Septimania, 71; why so called, 100, note; under Duke Bernard, 163.
- Sequanians, their hams, 20; they call in the Germans, 25.
- Serfs in France, 186; their condition lightened by the Crusades, 233; help Louis VI at siege of Le Puiset, 253.
- Sicilian Vespers, the, 351.
- Sidonius, Bp. of Clermont, 62.
- Sigebert, Riparian King, assassinated, 72.
- Sigebert, son of Hlotair, King of Austrasia, 84; defeats Neustrians, and is assassinated, 87.
- Sigebert, son of Dagobert, is King of Austrasia, 94; a 'roi fainéant,' *ib.*
- Sigismund, Emperor elect, 498.
- Simon of Montfort, 302; attacks Toulouse, 303; defeats Peter of Aragon, 304; lord of almost all the South, *ib.*; does homage to Philip, 305; killed at siege of Toulouse, 306.
- Slavery, Frankish influence on, 57, 78; under Charles the Great, 134.
- Slaves in Gaul, 53, 146; their condition, 147.
- Sluys, battle of, 404; rendezvous for army and navy against England, 483.
- Somerset, Duke of, defeated at Formigny, 551.
- Somme, the river, difficult to cross, 411; Edward III gets over at Blanche-Taque, *ib.*; stops Henry V, 502, 503; he crosses it near Nesle, 503.
- Soracte, place of Carloman's retirement, 105.
- Sorbonne, the, created by St. Louis, 341.
- Sorel, Agnes, 549.
- South of France, its intellectual precocity, 300; has inflicted on it a feudal form, 304; falls at last to the French Crown, 322; was and is a land apart, *ib.*; suffers from the Inquisition, *ib.*; at the mercy of the English, 420, 421.
- Southampton, sacked by the French, 401.
- Southern Gauls hate the Franks, 71.
- Spain begins persecution within the Church, 55; Charles the Great in, 126; Louis VI in, 257.
- 'Spurs, Day of the,' 370; hung up in Courtrai Cathedral, 371; avenged after Roosebek, *ib.*, 481.
- Standing Army in France, its origin, 545; construction, 548, 549; success, 551, 557.
- States-General, the, meet in A.D. 1302, 368, 369; address letters to Boniface VIII, 369; are summoned after Poitiers, 434; their regulations, 436; appoint a Committee of thirty-six, 437; Third Estate all powerful, *ib.*; convoked by Charles the Regent at Compiègne, 444; again, to sanction war with Edward III, 462; are refractory, 480; convoked by the Cabochians, 496; issue the Cabochian Ordinance, 496, 497; accept the Treaty of Troyes, 512.
- States of the Langue d'Oïl meet at Orleans, 544.
- Stephen of Blois goes on Crusade, 221; is chosen King of England, 258; attacks Anjou, 262; recognises Henry of Anjou as his heir, 267; dies, *ib.*
- Stephen III, Pope, flees into Gaul for help, 112; recrowns Pippin the Short, *ib.*

Stewart d'Aubigné serves Charles VII, 549.
 Stilicho, 61.
 Succession to the French throne on death of Louis X, 384, 385; on the extinction of the House of Valois, 387-389.
 Suffolk, Duke of, fell at Azincourt, 507.
 Suger quoted, 257; his estimate of Louis le Gros, 258; his own character and career, 260; supports Louis VII against Innocent II, 262; dislikes Crusades, 263; is Regent of France, 264; his wisdom and success, 266; he retires to the quiet of St. Denis, *ib.*
 Sumptuary Laws of Philip IV, 359.
 Superstitions in Gaul, 148.
 Supreme Pontiff, title of Emperor, transferred to Pope, 52.
 Suabians, 50.
 Sword, the arbiter of religious disputes, 229.
 Syagrius, 'King of the Romans,' 62, 68; defeated by Hlodowig, *ib.*; flees to Alaric at Toulouse, *ib.*
 Syrians, the, in Jerusalem, 241, 242.

T.

Tacitus quoted, 41.
 Taillebourg, battle of, 326.
 Talbot marches to meet Jeanne Darc, 532; defeated at Patay, *ib.*; in Normandy, in evil plight, 550; has to evacuate Rouen, *ib.*; perishes at Castillon, 552.
 Tancred the Norman goes on Crusade, 222.
 Tanneguy-Duchâtel murders John the Fearless, 510.
 Tartars (or Turks) attack Eastern Europe, 324.
 Taxation under Philip le Bel, 358; under Charles V, 469.
 Templars, at feud with Frederick II, 331; at the battle of Mansourah, 332; their origin, 377; their home at Paris, *ib.*; wealth, and character, *ib.*; arrested by Philip le Bel, 378; tortured, &c., *ib.*; their dignified defence, 379; the execution of them, *ib.*; Clement V pro-

mises their dissolution, decreed at the Council of Vienne, 379, 380; the heads of the Order condemned, *ib.*; their curse believed to rest on the lineage of Philip the Fair, 387.
 Tenures of feudalism, 237.
 Tertullus the Rustic, ancestor of the Plantagenets, 169.
 Testry, battle of, 95.
 'Teutonic France,' or Austrasia, 95, 97.
 Teutonic knights, crushed at Tanenberg, 557.
 Teutons, driven South by an earthquake, 24.
 Thegan describes Hludwig the Pious, 152.
 Theobald of Champagne attacks Louis VII, 262.
 Theobald VI of Champagne stands aloof from Louis IX, 319; joins the Baron's league, *ib.*; is detached by Blanche, 320; becomes King of Navarre, 321.
 Theodebert, King of Austrasia, 83; has good ideas, *ib.*
 Theodebert II slain by Brunhild, 80.
 Theoderic the Goth resists Etzel, 60; defeats him, but perishes at Châlons, 61.
 Theoderic the Ostrogoth, in Italy, 64; in South Gaul, 71.
 Theodicius, Innocent's legate, 303.
 Theodorik, son of Hlodowig, 71; King of Metz, 81; dies A.D. 534, 83.
 Theodorik II, dies, 89.
 Theodorik III, Neustrian King, 95.
 Theodosian Code, the, 66.
 Theodosius, Emperor, 55; defeats Arbogast, 56.
 Theodulf, one of the Missi Domini, 141.
 Thierry of Alsace, Count of Flanders, 257.
 Thionville, assembly at, for settlement of succession to Empire, 132.
 Thorismond, son of Theoderic, made King in the battle of Châlons, 61; assassinated, *ib.*
 Thouars, siege and capitulation of, 464.

Thuin l'Évêque, French before, hear of the disaster at Sluys, 406.
 Tolbiac (Zülrich), battle of, 69.
 Tolosa, seized by Volcae Tectosages, 24; retaken by Caepio, *ib.*; seat of Ewarik's power, 63; headquarters of the Albigenses, 298; besieged by Simon of Montfort, 303; falls to him by conquest, 305; it revolts, *ib.*; besieged again, 306; the death of Simon relieves it for a time, *ib.*; makes peace with France, 321.
 Tournaments, why discouraged at first, and then favoured by Kings, 350.
 Tournay, besieged in vain by Edward III, 406.
 Tournelles, the, at Orleans, 521; taken by the English, *ib.*; retaken by Jeanne Darc, 531.
 Toxandria, Germans settle in, 46.
 Trajan, 44.
 Trèves Cathedral, 83.
 Treviri, affected a German origin, 26; friendly to Rome, 29; revolt against Rome, 31; seat of Roman government, 54.
 Tributary lands in Gaul, 77, 134.
 Troussel, Guy, Lord of Montleheri, 251.
 Troyes, Treaty of, its terms, 511; besieged by Charles VII, 532; taken by Jeanne Darc, 533.
 'Truce of God,' the, 202.
 Tunis, St. Louis at, 339; why he steered thither, *ib.*
 Turks (or Tartars), attack Eastern Europe, 324; at the second Council of Lyons, 348.
 Tutelage of Charles VI, 478.
 Twelve Peers, the, of France, 274; under Philip Augustus, 297.
 Tyrants, the, in Gaul, 46.

U.

Ulphilas, 74.
 'Unam Sanctam,' the Decretal, 371.
 University of Paris created, 286; its studies, *ib.*; encouraged by Philip Augustus, 315; flourishes under St. Louis, 341; gives its opinion on the Great Schism, 487; clamours for the condemnation of Jeanne Darc, 537.
 Urban, Pope, decides on head of the Crusade movement, 213; enters France, *ib.*; holds Council of Clermont, 214; believes in Peter the Hermit, 215; his sermon, 217.
 Urban III dies of grief, 281.
 Urban V grants indulgence to Du Guesclin, 458; escapes from Avignon, 460; at Rome, 475.
 Urban VI gives name to one party in Great Schism, 474; elected Pope, 475; his severity, 476.
 Urbanist cause supported by England, 482.

V.

Valentinian, Emperor, tries to depose Arbogast, 55; assassinated Aëtius, 62.
 Val-es-Dunes, battle of, 203.
 Valois, House of, begins to reign, 388, 389, 391.
 Vandals, the, 49.
 Vaucouleurs, Jeanne Darc at, 523.
 Veneti, their fleet destroyed by Caesar, 30.
 Vercingetorix, his name, 32, note; revolts against Caesar, *ib.*; his end, 34.
 Verdun, treaty of, 157.
 Vergy, relieved by Philip Augustus, 279.
 Vermandois, the, ceded to France, 279.
 Vermeuil, taken and burnt by Louis VII, 273; battle of, 516.
 Vesontio, (Besançon), seized by Caesar, 29; receives Christianity, 45.
 Vexin, the French, given to Robert le Diable, 200; the Norman, *ib.* note.
 Vézelay, Louis VII takes the cross at, 263.
 Vicariates, the two in Gaul under Diocletian, 51.
 Vicars (Vigners), under Charles the Great, 138.
 Vierzou, taken by the Black Prince, 426.
 Vikings, Norman, 163; origin of term, *ib.* note.
 Villains in France, 186.

Villeneuves, the, of France, 275.
 Viscount of Jerusalem, the, presided over the Burgher Court, 241.
 Visigoths, 49; reach the Rhone, 59; make themselves a kingdom in South Gaul, *ib.*; nominally under the Empire, 60; have all Gaul west of Rhone granted them by Julius Nepos, 62; Code of Laws, 66; defeated by Hlodowig, 71.
 Vitellius wore Gallic dress, 41.
 Vitry church, burnt, with hundreds of persons in it, 262.
 'Vocladensian Plain' (Vouglé), battle of, 71.
 Vocontii, a Rhone tribe, 23.
 Volcae Arecomici, 9; Tectosages, *ib.*

W.

Waiffer, Duke of Aquitaine, resists Pippin, 114; slain, 124.
 Waldenses, the, 299.
 Wallia, King of Visigoths, 60.
 Walter the Penniless, 219.
 Walter Tyrrell, did he shoot William Rufus? 225.
 Wandomme, the Bastard of, captures Jeanne Darc, 536.
 Wars of Charles the Great, 123-127.
 War of Investitures, crossed by the Crusades, 221; the art of, modified by gunpowder, 248; reformed by Charles V, 456.
 Weltzes, the Sclavonian, attacked by Charles the Great, 130.
 Wenillon, Abp. of Sens, 164.
 Weregild for Bishops and Clergy, 75.
 Wilhelm Coartnez, 125; his wise rule in Aquitaine, 251.
 William Fier-a-Bias, Duke of Aquitaine, 191, 194; dies, 200.
 William the Bastard, 202; his early vigour, 203; makes Harold swear to him, 207; proposes to attack England, *ib.*; Henry I refuses to help him, 208; effects of his conquest, *ib.*, 209; attacks Maine, and makes peace with Philip I, 211; dies, *ib.*
 William the Breton, Chaplain of Philip Augustus, at Bouvines, 310.
 William Clito, the Norman, 255; made Count of Flanders, 257; ejected, killed, *ib.*
 William Rufus, King of England, 211; attacks Normandy, 225; claims the French Vexin, *ib.*; killed, *ib.*
 William of Tyre reckons the numbers of Crusaders, 222.
 William 'the Carpenter,' 223.
 William IX of Aquitaine goes on Crusade, 227; stirs up strife in Auvergne, 256; offers his daughter Eleanor for Louis 'the Young,' 258; dies on pilgrimage, *ib.*
 William, Abp. of Tyre, 281.
 William of Juliers leads the Flemish against the French at Courtrai, 370.
 Winchester, the Cardinal of, comes over to Paris with help and Henry VI, 534; arranges the trial of Jeanne Darc, 537; pulls the strings, 538; at the Congress of Arras, 542.
 Winfrith (or St. Boniface), 100.
 Wool, medieval importance of its trade, 396.
 Worms, one seat of the Austrasian Monarchy, 97.

Y.

Yeomen, the English, 398; at Crécy, 418.
 Yolande of Aragon, supports Jeanne Darc, 524.
 York, Duke of, fell at Azincourt, 507.

Z.

Zachary, Pope, his reply to Pippin, 109.
 Zülpich (Tolbiac), battle of, 69.

CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD.

Books lately Published.

A Primer of French Literature. By George Saintsbury. Ext. fcap. 8vo., cloth, price 2s.

Brachet's Historical Grammar of the French Language. Translated into English by G. W. Kitchin, M.A. Fourth Edition. Ext. fcap. 8vo., cloth, price 3s. 6d.

An Etymological Dictionary of the French Language, with a Preface on the Principles of French Etymology. By A. Brachet. Translated by G. W. Kitchin, M.A. Second Edition. Crown 8vo., cloth, price 7s. 6d.

French Classics, edited by GUSTAVE MASSON, B.A., Univ. Gallic., Assistant Master in Harrow School.

Corneille's Cinna, and Molière's Les Femmes Savantes. Ext. fcap. 8vo., cloth, price 2s. 6d.

Racine's Andromaque, and Corneille's Le Menteur. With Louis Racine's Life of his Father. Ext. fcap. 8vo., cloth, price 2s. 6d.

Molière's Les Fourberies de Scapin, and Racine's Athalie. With Voltaire's Life of Molière. Ext. fcap. 8vo., cloth, price 2s. 6d.

Selections from the Correspondence of Madame de Sévigné and her chief Contemporaries. Intended more especially for Girls' Schools. Ext. fcap. 8vo., cloth, price 3s.

Voyage autour de ma Chambre, by Xavier de Maistre; Ourika, by Madame de Duras; La Dot de Suzette, by Fieville; Les Jumeaux de l'Hôtel Corneille, by Edmond About; Mémoires d'un Écolier, by Rodolphe Töpffer. Ext. fcap. 8vo., cloth, price 2s. 6d.

Regnard's Le Joueur, and Brueys and Palaprat's Le Grondeur. Ext. fcap. 8vo., cloth, price 2s. 6d.

Louis XIV and his Contemporaries; being extracts from the Memoirs of the Cardinal de Retz, Mademoiselle de Montpensier, Madame de Motteville, and Saint-Simon. With biographical Notices, Notes, Historical Tables, and Genealogical Lists. Ext. fcap. 8vo., cloth, price 2s. 6d.

CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD.

Books lately Published.

The Constitutional History of England, in its Origin and Development. By William Stubbs, D.D., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford. *Library Edition*. Three vols. demy 8vo., cloth, 2l. 8s.

Also in 3 vols. crown 8vo., price 12s. each.

Select Charters and other Illustrations of English Constitutional History, from the Earliest Times to the Reign of Edward I. Arranged and Edited by W. Stubbs, D.D. *Fourth Edition*. 1881. Crown 8vo., cloth, 8s. 6d.

A Short History of the Norman Conquest of England. By E. A. Freeman, M.A. Ext. fcap. 8vo., cloth, 2s. 6d.

A History of England, principally in the Seventeenth Century. By Leopold Von Ranke. Translated by Resident Members of the University of Oxford, under the superintendence of G. W. Kitchin, M.A., and C. W. Boase, M.A. 1875. 6 vols. 8vo., cloth, 3l. 3s.

Genealogical Tables, illustrative of Modern History. By H. B. George, M.A. *Second Edition*. Small 4to., cloth, 12s.

A History of the United States of America. By E. J. Payne, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, and Fellow of University College, Oxford. *In the Press*.

A History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the present time, B.C. 146 to A.D. 1864. By George Finlay, LL.D. A new Edition. Edited by H. F. Tozer, M.A. 7 vols. 8vo., cloth, 3l. 10s.

A Manual of Ancient History. By George Rawlinson, M.A., Camden Professor of Ancient History, formerly Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. *Second Edition*. Demy 8vo., cloth, 14s.

Italy and her Invaders, A.D. 376-476. By T. Hodgkin, B.A., Fellow of University College, London. Illustrated with Plates and Maps. 2 vols. 8vo., cloth, 1l. 12s.

LONDON: HENRY FROWDE,
Oxford Bible Warehouse, 7, Paternoster Row.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



0026052792

944.02

K641

Kitchin

History of France

J. B. McElenny

2 Aug 88

944.02

K641

10653406

VOLUME 2

Columbia University
in the City of New York

LIBRARY



CHS

Μηδὲν ἄγαν

JULIUS SACHS



Clarendon Press Series

HISTORY OF FRANCE

KITCHIN

VOL. II.

a

London
MACMILLAN AND CO.



PUBLISHERS TO THE UNIVERSITY OF

Oxford

Clarendon Press Series

A

HISTORY OF FRANCE

COLLIGATA
BY

G. W. KITCHIN, M.A.

LIBRARY

VOL. II

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

M DCCC LXXVII

[All rights reserved]

PREFACE.

THE History of France must, to a great extent, be the history of her Kings. This is a misfortune for the historian, as it has been for the French people; for there is no constitutional life to describe; nor such political struggles, as have made England what, for all her faults, she is; nor vigorous local energies and liberties, balancing the central organisation, and giving the nation space to grow and expand healthily.

In the period now before us we have to draw the steady advance of Monarchy over the ruins of all political life, its splendid age of power and ripeness, its swift descent, under the weight of its own greatness and in presence of the accumulated griefs of a nation long voiceless and neglected. French History must be more personal and royal than the history of other nations. Her Saint Louis, her Louis XI, her Henry the Great, and Louis XIV, are the main figures of her story: and even after the Monarchy has been swept away, the grandeur of the career of Napoleon fascinates all the attention of Frenchmen.

Literature must circle round the Court, or languish in cold shade of opposition, happy if only neglected: administration is organised, not to render civil life more easy or men more happy, but that it may find funds for royal wars or royal waste: the French noblesse sink till they become waiters on the providence of Versailles: the Church, the Bar, the Cities, play no duly prominent part; the bulk of the French people remain wretched and obscure. This lack of a popular history gives its special sadness to a chronicle of the career of France: no history in Europe has in it so little brightness; no people in Europe was ever so gay and brilliant.

This work is under very great obligations to Professor Stubbs. It is impossible for me to say how much I owe to his exact eye, his prudent and judicious advice, his kind and faithful criticism: here let me record my gratitude, and give expression to my thanks.

OXFORD, *December*, 1876.

944.02

K641

v. 2

TABLES.

	PAGE
I. The claim of Charles VIII to the Crown of Naples . . .	120
II. The pedigree of Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I. . .	132
III. The relationships of Charles V	149
IV. The relationships of Francis I	170
V. The family of Lorraine-Guise	251
VI. The descent of Henry IV (to face)	396

MAPS.

	PAGE
I. To illustrate the War of the Public Weal. A.D. 1465 (to face)	41
II. The Borderlands of France and Burgundy. A.D. 1465 . . .	48
III. The possessions and claims of Charles the Bold. A.D. 1467—1477	59
IV. The Three Bishopricks and Lorraine. A.D. 1552 . . .	267

CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

The Age of Louis XI.

	PAGE
Introduction	I
CHAP. I. The later years of Charles VII. A.D. 1453—1461 . . .	8
„ II. The reign of Louis XI. First period, A.D. 1461— 1467	24
„ III. The reign of Louis XI. Second period, A.D. 1467 —1472	53
„ IV. The reign of Louis XI. Third period, A.D. 1473— 1477	78
„ V. The reign of Louis XI. Fourth period, A.D. 1477 —1483	87
„ VI. Anne of Beaujeu, and the first period of Charles VIII. A.D. 1483—1494	103

BOOK II.

The Age of the Italian Expeditions.

Introduction	112
CHAP. I. The beginnings of Foreign Policy of France. A.D. 1494—1498	115
„ II. Further relations with Italy. Reign of Louis XII. A.D. 1498—1507	131
„ III. The period of the two Leagues. A.D. 1507—1515 . . .	152
„ IV. First period of the reign of Francis I. A.D. 1515— 1519	169
„ V. The rivalry of France and Austria. First period, A.D. 1519—1526	187

BOOK III.

The last of the Valois. A.D. 1530—1589.

Introduction	217
------------------------	-----

PART I. *The Age of the Italian Wars.*

	PAGE
CHAP. I. The state of France. A.D. 1530—1536 . . .	220
„ II. Second War between Charles V and Francis I. A.D. 1535—1538 . . .	233
„ III. Third War between Charles V and Francis I. A.D. 1538—1547 . . .	246
„ IV. Henry II, and the close of the age of Italian Wars. A.D. 1547—1559 . . .	257

PART II. *The Civil Wars.*

CHAP. I. The Reformation-Movement in France . . .	283
„ II. The strife of Parties before war breaks out. A.D. 1559—1562 . . .	291
„ III. The Civil Wars. First period, A.D. 1562—1570 . . .	314
i. The First War. A.D. 1562—1563 . . .	316
ii. The Second War. A.D. 1567—1568 . . .	326
iii. The Third War. A.D. 1568—1570 . . .	331
„ IV. The epoch of the S. Bartholomew. A.D. 1570— 1573 . . .	339
iv. The Fourth War. A.D. 1572—1573 . . .	359
„ V. The Wars of the League. A.D. 1574—1584 . . .	362
v. The Fifth War. A.D. 1574 . . .	364
vi. The Sixth War. A.D. 1577 . . .	371
vii. The Seventh War. A.D. 1579 . . .	374
„ VI. The Eighth War, the 'War of the Three Henries'. A.D. 1584—1589 . . .	377
„ VII. Henry of Navarre secures his Throne. A.D. 1589 —1598 . . .	396

BOOK IV.

The Bourbon Monarchy: its Rise. A.D. 1598—1660.

Introduction . . .	437
CHAP. I. Henry IV; his character, friends, and finances. A.D. 1598 . . .	440
„ II. France under Henry IV. A.D. 1598—1610 . . .	463
„ III. Mary dei Medici and the Regency. A.D. 1610— 1624 . . .	485
INDEX . . .	501

BOOK I.

THE AGE OF LOUIS XI.

INTRODUCTION.

THREE historians illustrate three successive centuries and three successive epochs of French History. For the age of Saint Louis, the days of heroic feudalism, when the earlier monarchy was in its highest glory, we have the delightful memoir of the old seneschal of Champagne, the Lord of Joinville. The saintly King, so pure and free from selfishness, so mindful of his people, is faithfully mirrored in the loving record of his honest friend. Whether the good historian as he sets forth for his first crusade turns round to catch a last glimpse of his castle towers, and feels his heart half-broken as he thinks of his two children there; or whether he bears in his arms the worn-out King, broken down before his time; or stoutly refuses to follow his Lord to his second crusade, telling him plainly that the evils of it would be far greater than the benefits;—under whatever aspect we see him, he is always a true gentleman, humane, simple, high-souled, who watches the world with grave observant eyes, as one who knows the dignity of his theme, the epic grandeur of Saint Louis.

A very different age succeeds; it is a time of selfish feudal anarchy, of monarchy abased, of man degraded; an age of so-called chivalry. Joinville's tone and colouring are quite in harmony with his subject, and that subject a true king of men;

but Froissart is the poet of a debased time, in which no great man stands out prominent: son of a painter of blazonry, he draws his pageants, his costumes, festivals, military raids, battles, with an eye to their outward brilliancy and grouping, not to their deeper inward nature. All is clear, bright, and varied; but like a mirror reflecting the gay crowd, there is no depth, and no interpretation. Froissart represents his age, a shallow age, as it displayed itself in France.

Lastly there comes a very different time. The foreign wars are over; cunning is pitted against daring: the age is weary of life, yet full of the fear of death; the first traces of introspection appear, and men shrink back from themselves. Questionings as to the moral bearings of things, as to the political bases of life, precede, in France at least, all enquiry into the deeper problems of religion. Assassinations stain the page of history; men live in daily dread of poison; the Dance of Death is painted on the wall; the arts of corruption are found to be all-powerful; the truth blanches before the lie. The question, so often asked a little later, How shall a Prince rule over his people? first finds a tentative answer in the life of Louis XI, as we read it in the pages of Philip of Commines. He, and a few years later, a very different man, the Florentine Macchiavelli, set themselves to find the solution of this great problem, which is the first to emerge among the elements of modern national life. In substance the two men bring out the same answer. The old world is dying: none but the nimble and unscrupulous can walk in high places without falling. The Italian draws a more precise picture than that which we can gather from the diffuse pages of the Franco-Burgundian chronicler: the Florentine has also this great advantage over his predecessor, that he loathed the whole thing, and treated it with irony and cynical scorn, while Commines loved it and had his being in it, helping with a mean and vulgar spirit to carry out his bad ideal; he accepted the evil, and traded in it, moralising at the same time with deductions, commonplace yet often false, on the degradation of his age. That moralising all lies

on the surface: little knew he of the true nature of the world he lived in, little of the movement of the currents on which he floated: he applauds his hero for cunning and dexterity: he sneers at the blunt blundering of the broad-shouldered English, or the fatal obstinacy of his first master Charles the Bold: but he knows not to what ends that shifty nature of Louis XI is working, nor does he see that in the Burgundian wreck the old feudal world is going down: he is unconscious of those problems of national life and human liberty which, as he writes, are already upheaving the bosom of society. His reflexions, naïve and trite, show no sign that he and those whose story he tells were conscious of standing on the brink of great discoveries, of new worlds in art and science, of fresh-wakening powers of man, of bold and revolutionary speculations in theology. One step forward, and the traveller would have come in sight of the broad ocean of a new life spread out before him and leading to unknown horizons and lands of promise out of view; but Commines never takes that step: he tarries on the threshold, amusing himself with his odd moralisings, and busied with his low-toned ambitions; he knows not that even in the very moment at which he writes the world is moving swiftly from Renaissance to Reformation, from feudal misrule to compacted national life.

The latter half of the fifteenth century is in some respects less important in France than elsewhere. She was on the whole behind her neighbours at this time. The long-drawn troubles of the Hundred Years' War, and the utter prostration of her energies, the total want of humanity in her nobles, the absence of a true middle-class among her people, the backwardness of her trade, the ruin of her agriculture:—all these things had combined to leave France ignorant and careless, and even to unfit her for the reception of fresh influences from without. The troubles of the reign of Louis XI, which kept the land in constant agitation, also checked its development; and unfortunately, when better days came, the French Court drew its inspirations from Italy, under the unwholesome guiding of the

Medici, while the French nobles listened to the voices of Zurich or Geneva without abandoning their vices and pride, and the people stood by, uninterested spectators of movements in art, politics, and religion, which seemed to have no bearing whatever on their own lives and fortunes. This however was at a somewhat later period: at the time we now deal with, France has only one problem to work at;—like England, Florence, Rome, or Spain, she is in the throes of a transition from feudalism to monarchy. To carry through this change was the work of Louis XI: to have subdued the later development of the feudal spirit, as it showed itself in the great princes near the throne, and at the same time to have destroyed the germs of constitutional life:—these are the great acts of the subtle king; these the doubtful titles on which he claims high place among the founders and organisers of the kingdom of France.

And, after all, Louis does but carry out a movement already going on: his share in it was this;—at the beginning of his reign he evoked by his impatient spirit the latent hostility around him, and then by unwearied and diligent duplicity, and by help of a marvellous good fortune, got the better of all the forces arrayed against him, and defended, secured, and aggrandised his often-tottering throne. A century earlier the fall of Étienne Marcel at Paris, and the extinction with him of all hope of any true burgher-life in France, had laid the first foundations of absolutism; one main and essential element of constitutional life was proved to be absent. Then, all hope of parliamentary government fled from France when the English Henry V expired. That great prince, feeling that his own rights and title in England depended on Parliament, steadily encouraged similar institutions in his second kingdom of France; and had he lived to carry out his far-seeing plans, the constitutional history of France might have had some annals of its own. But he died, and in his grave lay buried the last hopes of such a growth. There came, instead, the unpatriotic and selfish reigns of Charles VII and Louis XI¹: it may in fact be said that the

¹ See Ranke, *History of England*, i. p. 85 (Engl. Transl.)

latter reign was decisive for France as against all hope of any constitutional government. The institutions of the Germanic world,—whether displayed in the noble and long-lived Republics of Switzerland; or in the attempts at organisation then visible in Germany herself; or in the struggles of the great Flemish towns; or in the slowly-growing popular liberties of England,—had no effect on the constitutional history of France: Germanic feudalism succumbed there before the Celtic love of brilliancy and absolute rule. France becomes a great nation; her place in Europe, as it grows more defined, grows more commanding and more absolutist. It will be the main object of this volume to trace the development of royal France till it reaches its highest point in the glories of the Great Monarch.

The reigns of Charles and Louis, the rise of the Armagnac faction into the national party¹, and the ejection from France of the Burgundians, the marvels of the career of the Maid of Orleans, and her later elevation to the position of a popular saint and heroine;—all these things taught the French to regard themselves as one nation, headed by one king, and looking to one centre.

A chief instrument in this movement was the standing army which Charles VII introduced² and which Louis XI, doubtless in imitation of Italian usage, developed still further, by substituting for his father's gens d'ordonnance, who were a kind of national militia, a horde of foreign mercenaries. A standing army may possibly be compatible with domestic liberties, nay, it may even become a centre of national life; but a king surrounded by mercenaries is, in germ at least, a despot.

In the period before us we shall trace this tendency towards absolutism as it gains strength at every step; at the outset, the Burgundian power strives against it: the whole career of Louis XI secures its victory.

And yet the subtle monarch, 'the universal spider,' as

¹ See vol. i. pp. 495, 512.

² See vol. i. pp. 545, 548, 549.

Chastellain¹ calls him, seemed scarcely conscious of the task of his life: he certainly felt little security in his later days, when the struggle was over and none ventured to lift the hand against him; he had little enjoyment of his absolute power in the dismal prison-house he made for himself at Plessis-lez-Tours. But in the world it is often so: movements, tendencies, general changes, pass over the whole face of society; men most different in character, under circumstances most varied, set themselves, often unconsciously, to work out the self-same problem, and to conduct mankind through the same crisis. This century feels the birth-throes of national life, and of absolute monarchy: in the next age we may watch the great wave of fresh and free thought, reforming all Europe in dogma and manners: in the eighteenth century, 'the age of philosophic princes,' comes the emergence of humane and philanthropic ideas, and the strange combination of absolute power with levelling theories: all three ages are clearly marked off, each with its own set of phenomena. In all these periods the chief personages are often far from being heroic: few see the bearings of their own acts and lives. But nowhere are the great so small as in the fifteenth century in France: nowhere are really grand results achieved with so little grandeur of soul. It is the age of a revived Reynard the Fox: its history is the tale of his hypocrisy, intrigues, cruelties, and ultimate triumph. In this period we can study the earliest stages of that 'European System,' as it has been called, which, beginning with the first consciousness of independent national life, threw off on the one hand the old allegiance paid to Pope and Emperor, and on the other hand developed itself into that international combination which we call 'the Balance of Power.'

Two questions, which now come forward in Europe, give us the clue to this movement: for these questions deeply interest the nations and call out their powers of diplomacy and intrigue. The first is the life-and-death question, Who shall be the bulwark of Christendom against the Turk? From Constantinople

¹ 'Ay combattu (says the Flemish Lion) l'universal Eragne.' G. Chastellain, Buchon, Tom. XLI. p. xvii.

he had pressed on westwards: the voice of the Church, the piercing cries of Hungary, called all men to go on crusade. But the 'Great Duke of the West,' the Duke of Burgundy, answered with an empty pageant; 'the great King,' as the polite and interested Venetians called the King of France, haggled over his interests in Southern Italy; while Hungary, to stem the tide of invasion, bravely sacrificed her national life, a very martyr in the cause of European freedom; and the heart-stricken Pontiff, Pius II, redeemed a false and worldly life by one great effort, of which he could not survive the failure.

The other international question was this:—To whom shall Italy, the fair and frail, belong? Shall Spain, or France, or Germany be her lord? or shall she be divided among the nations, in proportion to their strength and boldness? There is no more interesting, no more fruitful question in the annals of Europe than this of the struggle for Italy, and of the influence exerted in return by her on other nations. Southern Germany, Spain, France, all felt it and were modified by it. We shall have an opportunity of tracing out some portion of this influence when we come to treat of the later princes of the House of Valois and of the Medicean dominance at the Court of France.

CHAPTER I.

THE LATER YEARS OF CHARLES VII.

A.D. 1453-1461.

WHEN, in the year 1453, the battle of Castillon¹ at last closed the English wars, Charles VII had already sat for thirty-one years on the throne of France. Indolent and indifferent, without a single noble aim, coldly ungrateful to his best friends, he is a prince who seems never to come out of the obscurity of his earlier days: he shuns the light: buried in some distant castle, he follows his negative career, almost unknown, almost forgotten; for though he was incapable of good, he was not an oppressor, nor did he ruin his country by war. His throne, thanks to those who had served him so well, seemed to be thoroughly established; no jealousies show themselves; the fires of the old *Praguerie* are quenched: although he is surrounded by citizen financiers, soldiers, ladies, all more or less opposed to the old nobility, still the great lords are quiet, and for the remainder of his reign offer him no molestation. In fact, the indolent king was shrewder than he seemed: though surrounded and led by favourites, like English Charles II, he also resembled that monarch in understanding them, nor was he ever duped by them: he had a great gift of being able to make others do him good service; and if he seemed to leave things to work themselves out as they would, he was but following the policy of his grandfather, Charles V, who successfully '*cunctando restituit rem*,' and was victor through inaction.

¹ See vol. i. p. 552.

A.D. 1453.

FRANCE IN 1453.

9

In his days the land breathed again; after long sickness, there came a time of quiet lassitude, followed by slow and gentle recovery; the bountiful soil once more bore in plenty; the shrewd and thrifty labourer returned to his accustomed tasks. The unadventurous spirit of the King was a bulwark and safeguard to his country. Hungarians told him that 'they were the wall and France the house'; that the Turk was battering down the wall, and would soon enter in to spoil the house; but the King thought the peril still far off, and did not care to move. Courtly Venetians, already forecasting their relation with France, said that they waited till he, 'the great king of the west,' should move: but he cared nothing for their flattery, and stirred never a step. The Pope himself stretched out his imploring hands: all was in vain; Charles remained untouched, and France escaped the glories, the miseries, the ruin of a new Crusade. A little later, and his captains urged him to make war on the Duke of Burgundy; even this failed, and the many preparations for the struggle came to nothing. Consequently, these years saw a great revival of prosperity in France: taxation was moderate; the King showed a strong wish that there should be justice and quiet in his realm¹; the people were content, and even grateful.

At this time the Church gave hardly a sign of life in France, and the chroniclers are almost silent on ecclesiastical affairs; the influences of religion had dropped into a dull superstition, and those who seemed most devout often knew least of the true spirit of Christianity. Under the arrangements of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges², the high appointments in the Church were chiefly in lay hands; the great nobles and ecclesiastics were at one, with a common origin and common interests, and mind and morals dulled and cast into a deep sleep. There was little or none of that movement which in England

¹ A long Ordonnance, dated April 1453, attests the real desire of the King to organise and strengthen the administration of justice, and to remedy the evils resulting from the long war.

² See vol. i. p. 544.

and Bohemia had already stirred the spirits of men. The ghastly persecution for 'Vauderie,' or so-called Waldensian opinions, which raged in Northern France, and specially at Arras, soon after the middle of the fifteenth century, seems to have had no religious element whatever in it, and certainly soon became a mere proscription of the wealthier citizens for the benefit of some interested and fanatical priests¹. A few preachers of simple sermons, men of the people, existed to prove that there smouldered some faint life in the embers of the Church.

A dull scholasticism reigned at Paris: there was no sign of that intellectual eagerness which had already seized on Italy. The movement of the Renaissance just reached the gates of the University of Paris, but had not strength to enter in. In 1458 Gregory of Tiferno came thither to teach Greek and Rhetoric, these being the new learning, as opposed to Latin and Logic, the old; but the earlier tradition was still too strong, and though they let him establish a chair and teach, the results were pitifully small; after a while the Italian gave way before the phalanx of hostile forces, and withdrew to Venice.

The literary annals of France are at this time almost dumb. A slender voice, also of the people, is heard from the Norman dales and woodlands of Vire: the author of the earliest 'Vau-devilles'², Olivier Bassin, sang there his lively ditties over the cider-cup, and gave birth to one sparkling form of French poetry. Villon, sometimes styled the first modern French poet, also a man of low birth, belongs to this same period. His poetry has a ring of sadness in it: the age has not yet shaken off the fear of death; its shadow is on his verse. He walks in the Cemetery of the Innocents: he sees the skulls that have been dug up all heaped pell-mell together: 'the lords have lost

¹ See Du Clercq, *Mémoires*, bk. iv. c. 3, sqq. (Buchon, Tom. XXXIX. pp. 8, sqq.) The date is 1459. It is interesting to note that the charges brought against the poor creatures were exactly those which had before been brought against the Templars; with equal injustice in either case.

² 'Vaudeville' is a corruption of 'Vau-de-Vire,' i.e. Val de Vire, these songs having been sung or recited in the valleys under Vire.

their lordships: no one is there styled clerk or master.' Death has levelled all. Nor can we altogether forget the career of Alain Chartier, 'father of French eloquence,' as he is called (as if that quality had not characterised the race from the beginning!) the mean-looking poet, whose lips were touched by sweet Queen Margaret of Scotland, for the sake of the golden words that had issued thence. And lastly, there is the 'good King René,' endowed with every gift of mind and every noble virtue, the first French prince on whom fell the inspiration of the Renaissance, poet, painter, musician, the practical man who developed the prosperity of his Provençal domains; a king, brother of kings, father of kings, he stands alone in this age of ours, combining the culture of Provence with the fresh life of Italy; his marriage connects him with the courts of France and England; his political tendencies and personal sympathies tempt him to leave his splendid heritage, stretching from Lorraine to Marseilles, to the Duke of Burgundy. Strange as it may seem to those who only know of Charles the Bold as the obstinate and furious prince of Granson, Morat and Nancy, the Burgundian duke is the only personage of the time who can be compared with René for virtue, learning, or skill in art.

The historians whom it will be our task to follow, for the main part belong to a somewhat later time than this which now engages our attention¹.

The state of the noblesse calls for more notice. Discredited and in large part destroyed by the English wars, most of the older feudal houses had sunk into impotence, and in their place had come up a group of great lords, chiefly kinsfolk of the king, 'princes of the lilies.' In the *Praguerie*² hardly any names had been prominent, except those of the princes of the

¹ Philip of Commynes wrote his great work late in this century and early in the next; the *Chronique Scandaleuse* goes down to 1483; the confused and wearisome *Mémoires* of Olivier de la Marche could not have been much earlier; the short and jejune work of Jacques du Clercq was perhaps written as early as 1470.

² See vol. i. pp. 545, 546.

blood-royal, of captains in the late wars, such as Dunois, the 'Bastard of Orleans,' and of discarded favourites, like La Trémoille: the old noblesse had become insignificant. There stand out a few great lords, such as the Duke of Brittany or the Count of S. Pol: but almost all notable persons are royal kinsmen; witness the Dukes of Burgundy, Berry, and Bourbon, who sprang from Saint Louis, or the great House of Anjou. These princes will be the peril of Louis XI; their resistance broken, his work will be done: he will have laid firm foundations for absolute sovereignty. Their prominence, compared with the smallness of other feudal barons, the older noblesse, is in itself a revolution: it shows that the day of feudal supremacy is over, its forces spent, and that in its place has sprung up a new nobility, allied to the crown by birth, and claiming an almost royal standing. The fate of the Count of S. Pol, Constable of France, a last representative of the older noblesse, forms an epitome of the fortunes of feudalism in this age. Long poised between France and Burgundy, he lost at last his balance, and perished in the hopeless attempt to maintain a feudal independence in the presence of royalty. He offers also an example of one of the earliest attempts to establish a kind of Balance of Power, in which the smaller states should be preserved by the antagonism of the greater: but it was in vain; the feudal lord, abandoned by both the great princes, fell a victim to his own ambition and to theirs, and perished on the scaffold.

Such being the state of France at home, what were her relations with the world around her? Here there was little to disturb her in the task of gradual recovery, nor much to stimulate her in any endeavour after a patriotic and constitutional life. On the contrary, at home and abroad, all tended equally to force France into the fatal path of absolutism, to which she has owed many glories, triumphs, augments of territory, a grand position among the nations; but to which also she owes many of her difficulties and disasters, and the bewilderments of her later career. That she did not perish under the weight of her terrible monarchy, or under the perils of

reaction from that government,—that she has risen once and again, bright and sanguine, clever and light-hearted, is due partly to the vast wealth of her soil, partly to her central and most favourable position on the map of Europe; chiefly, however, to that high level of natural intelligence which marks her population.

There is extant a curious document, dated A.D. 1454, by the hand of Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II, who from his shrewdness, power of observation, and personal knowledge of all Europe was of all men then living the best qualified to describe the state of affairs at this epoch. He is discussing in a kind of state-paper the prospects of the proposed crusade; and after warm praises of Philip of Burgundy for his readiness in the matter, he goes on to give his reasons for thinking that the proposed Diet at Frankfort must be a failure. For, says he, there is no real unity in Christendom; neither Pope nor Cæsar is duly revered or believed in; they are but feigned names or painted effigies—each state has its own king: there is a prince to every house¹. Italy is disturbed, Genoa being at feud with Aragon; nay worse, Venice has actually a treaty with the Turk. In Spain are many kings, all differing in power, government, aims, and opinions; there is war too there about Granada: France is still uneasily looking across the channel at England, her old foe: and England watches France. The Germans are divided, without coherence: their cities quarrel with their princes; their princes fight among themselves: Luxemburg is a cause of quarrel between the King of Bohemia and the Duke of Burgundy. Thus does Æneas sum up the situation of Europe. It is obvious that there is little in her foreign affairs to interfere with the progress of France at home: on the contrary, while her neighbours ruined their prospects in foreign expeditions, the House of Anjou in Italy, the Burgundians in Switzerland,

¹ Æneas Sylvius, Ep. 127, Op. p. 656. 'Nulla reverentia, nulla fides. Tanquam ficta nomina, picta capita sint, ita Papam Imperatoremque respicimus; suum quaque civitas regem habet. Tot sunt principes quot domus.'

France, wisely avoiding all complications abroad, and following her best policy of inaction, passed unscathed through a time of risk, and secured her national life.

This then was the posture of the monarchy in 1453. France had beaten down the English opposition, and was supreme in Normandy and Guyenne, and down to the Pyrenees. But three great Houses girt her about; each owning itself more or less bounden to the Crown, but each watching for every opportunity of loosening that bond and of securing its own independence. These were the Houses of Burgundy, Brittany, and Anjou. A fourth borderland may fairly be taken as ranking with these, though its position was different; that is, Dauphiny¹, the proper heritage of the Dauphin of Vienne, but now the half-independent government of the ambitious and restless Dauphin Louis. A glance at the map of France shows how straitly these princes confined the frontiers of the monarchy; and how great its peril, were they to combine and push in on Paris, as they presently did in the war of the League of the Public Weal.

The lands of the Duke of Burgundy which lay nearest the heart of France were held under feudal tenure of the King: but the true relations between King and Duke were not expressed by any act of homage. Since the Peace of Arras² (A.D. 1435) the arbitrary border-line between them had lain to the south of the river Somme in Picardy, scarcely more than fifty miles north of Paris; on the south-east the Duke also held the Duchy of Burgundy, the western portions of which were not more than eighty-five miles from the capital³. Between the northern and eastern possessions of the Duke lay the lands of René of Anjou, which he had just given over to his eldest son, John, Duke of Calabria; here the frontier was further from Paris. This great House of Anjou also held the Duchy of

¹ See vol. i. p. 422.

² See vol. i. p. 542.

³ French authorities on geography are at variance as to the westernmost part of the Duchy: some saying that it at one time included Sens, others that it did not.

Bar, and the whole of Provence¹: it was to a great extent the successor of the ancient kingdom of Arles.

Beyond the Duchy of Burgundy southwards the royal power was limited, along the Saone, even close to Lyons, by the possessions of the Duke of Savoy, Bresse and Bugey: further south came the triangular province of Dauphiny, with its base on the left bank of the Rhone, below Lyons, and its apex up among the great giants of the Alps. Then came Provence, limiting France to the right bank of the Rhone down to its mouth.

On the west the rugged coasts and hills of Gaelic Brittany still preserved their half-independence, and at the accession of each Duke a dispute arose respecting the homage due to the King; he demanding liege homage, the Duke tendering only simple homage². In either case the Duchy was self-ruling; the relations implied in homage varying according to the strength of the two parties; the 'King's man' often deemed himself fully equal to the King³.

These were the conditions of the French monarchy about the

¹ Which fell to Charles of Anjou, brother of S. Louis, in 1251.

² The difference is this: He who paid Simple Homage [*Homagium planum, simplex*] took no oath of fidelity to his lord, nor did it involve the closer relation of subjection of a member of the *Pairie*; he was no 'Peer of the Realm,' a state to which, in the fifteenth century, the greater nobles strongly objected. He was not bound to any service either in Court, in Plea, or in Camp. Simple homage was probably tendered with less solemnity and ceremony. But he who paid Liege Homage [*Homagium ligium*] knelt, ungirt and swordless, before his lord, placing his two hands within those of his lord, in token of full submission, and then made profession in due form of his subjection; after which he received the kiss of peace from his lord, and entered into enjoyment of his lands. He who had thus sworn Liege Homage was bound in all times and at all places to his lord, must follow him in court and camp, and sit in his Parliament. It was a far closer and more onerous relation. See the 'Délibération du conseil du Duc de Bretagne sur son hommage,' in the Abbé Lenglet du Fresnoy's Preface to Commynes, Collection universelle des Mémoires, ed. 1785, x. p. 96. 'Le Duc faisant hommage du Duché de Bretagne dira qu'il ne fait point l'hommage-lige, mais fait son hommage à la manière que ses prédécesseurs ont fait . . . et à différence du dit hommage de Bretagne, en faisant son hommage de la Comté de Montfort et des autres terres qu'il tient en France fera l'hommage-lige déceint et à genoux.' See also Du Cange, Gloss. med. et inf. Latinitatis, s.v. *Homagium ligium*.

³ For the extent of the kingdom, &c., in 1453, see map, vol. i. p. 553.

year 1453, the beginning of the age of Louis XI. That prince, now thirty years old, was in a kind of honourable banishment in Dauphiny, chafing under a sense of distrust and a forced quietude, which suited ill his restless nature: he tried to slake his thirst for innovation by so governing his province as to make it contrast with the listless condition of the court and government at home. The Dauphin's career had already been somewhat chequered. He was born in 1423, and, when only thirteen, married to Margaret, daughter of James I of Scotland, a bride of twelve years. She, poor child, graceful and charming, had but a sad history: her lively spirits led her to fanciful and imprudent acts, and there were plenty of persons willing to misconstrue all she did, and to freeze the warm current of her young life. Moreover, says Commynes, 'there was no one in all the world she dreaded like my lord the Dauphin,' her husband. It is not clear that any prince of the House of Valois ever loved any one truly; but Louis not only did not inspire love, he aroused dread and aversion, the hatred of men, and the terror of women. So this poor princess, when just twenty-one, gave up the unequal strife. 'Fie,' said she to those who would have cheered her as she lay dying of a broken heart, 'fie on life, talk to me no more of it.'

As a boy, the Dauphin was engaged in most of the active movements of the time: he was at the siege of Montereau; he sat at the Council of Bourges, and saw the birth of that Pragmatic Sanction which he afterwards suspended; in 1438 he pacified Languedoc. In his youth he was intelligent, sensible, and generous with gifts. But in his early manhood there came the fever of ambition and desire of an active life. In 1439, 1440, he was head of the first Praguerie, joining the great lords in their attack on his own father. But when that attempt failed, he made a kind of peace with King Charles VII, and was sent to govern Dauphiny; for the King hoped that he would find there a career sufficient to satisfy his taste for active life. There he seems to have governed wisely at first; he reformed the coinage, the usual sign of good government; he encouraged

commerce, made a good working Parliament or Law Court, and established a University at Valence. He seems also to have tried to curb the power of his nobles by forbidding their cherished custom of private war. He imposed heavy taxes, and proved himself an active and in some ways a wise administrator, yet oppressive, and careless of the rights of others; in his taxation he did not ask the consent of the local estates.

But he did not always stay in his province: he helped the King in the second Praguerie, fought for him against the English at Dieppe; helped to reduce the Count of Armagnac in the south. Then came the great Swiss expedition, and the battle of S. Jacques (A.D. 1444), which taught him a lesson he never forgot; it must have been uppermost in his mind, when, thirty years later, he watched his great rival, Charles of Burgundy, attacking the mountaineers in their homes.

Charles VII, though he employed the Dauphin in these matters, refused him the government of Normandy, which he desired, and sent him back to Dauphiny. There the people grew restless under his rule; the estates appealed to the King against his arbitrary acts. Charles was inclined to interfere; for Louis had lately offended him by marrying, in defiance of his wishes, Charlotte of Savoy, whose father was the Dauphin's neighbour to the east and north. The Duke's lands lapped round nearly one half of Dauphiny; and the marriage seemed likely to strengthen the hands of Louis against his father. A long negotiation followed, with complaints, explanations, assurances; all more or less insincere. The King would not listen to his son's demands; Louis would not place himself in the King's power.

Thus things stood in 1453. Louis was charged with disobedience in marrying against his father's will; with surrounding himself with evil counsellors; and with oppressing his people. On the other hand, the Dauphin protested that the King's advisers were his bitter foes; and that, so long as they remained at court, he could not return to fall into their hands. In a word, Louis protested against the very policy he himself afterwards followed: he wished that the non-feudal courtiers should

be removed, that the soldiers of lower birth, the lawyers, and the ladies, all more or less hostile to the great Houses, should cease to sway the King's counsels.

But which of them was in the right? Had the King been a nobler man, it would be easy to condemn the unfilial Dauphin: had the Dauphin been true and not hasty, we might have readily laid all the blame on the weak King and his selfish counsellors. But in truth neither one nor other is free from blame: at any rate there are many excuses for Louis. It was an age of princely suspicion: the murders of the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy were still remembered well, and had made a deep impression on Louis himself, as we see from the great precautions he took when he met Edward IV of England. He had too a still later example in the fate which befell Giles of Brittany, who was starved in prison and then strangled, with the King's consent¹. He had also probably been told that the royal counsellors had advised the King to disinherit him in favour of Charles his younger brother.

No wonder then that neither the King of Aragon nor the Pope himself could stay the quarrel. On the contrary, the King first cut off the allowance hitherto granted to Louis; and then in 1456 marched with an army into Auvergne, where little but the Rhone lay between him and his son. Antony of Chabannes², Count of Dammartin, now the Dauphin's bitterest enemy, soon to be his staunchest friend, was sent forward to occupy Dauphiny in force. The nobles of the province joined him at once.

What was the Dauphin to do? At one time he had seemed minded to resist; but that was hopeless; the Duke of Savoy made terms with King Charles, his nobles deserted him, and the burden of taxation had vexed and alienated his people. Should he submit to his father? That involved the dismissal of his advisers, and his own return to Court: but that would hand

¹ This in 1449. Barante, *Ducs de Bourgogne*, viii, p. 113 (ed. 1825).

² The Chabannes' family was from the Bourbon district, and springing from the Counts of Angoulême was allied to the blood-royal.

him over to his foes, and from this he shrunk. There was but one course left—that of flight; and this he followed¹. He appointed a great hunting-party in one direction, and then, distrustful of his own officers and friends, rode off the opposite way with but five or six companions².

He made for the north: through Dauphiny to the Rhone, through Bugey and Valromey, and so on to Franche Comté which held of the Duke of Burgundy. Not till he reached Saint Claude, a little town just across the frontier, did he draw rein: there he wrote two letters; the one to his father, excusing his flight with a most transparent pretext; 'my uncle of Burgundy,' said he, 'is going to fight the Turk, in behalf of the Catholic Faith; and I would gladly go too, were it your good pleasure, for the Pope summons me, seeing I am Gonfaloniere of the Church³.' The second letter was addressed to the French bishops, announcing his intention of going on crusade, and begging their prayers. He had no more thought of going on crusade than had any other prince of the time.

Leaving Saint Claude he passed through Franche Comté, Lorraine, the Bishopricks, Luxemburg, and came to Namur, thence to Louvain, finally to Brussels. There he was kindly received by the Duchess of Burgundy and her daughter-in-law, the Countess of Charolais; the Duke on his return, and with him Charles of Charolais⁴ his son, repeated the welcome, providing the penniless destitute prince with a home and a pension. Then Louis settled down quietly at Geneppe, amusing himself with some hunting, some lively and not fastidious society⁵, and a little reading and study. Here he was joined by his spouse Charlotte

¹ His trilemma was almost that of the legend at Winchester: 'Aut disce, aut discede, manet sors tertia, caedi.' He would not submit or fight, then he must fly.

² 'Luy sixième ou septième,' Du Clercq, bk. iii. c. xxii. (Buchon, XXXVIII. p. 191).

³ Letter (dated August 31, 1456) in Barante, *Ducs de Bourgogne*, viii, p. 117 (ed. 1825); Duclos, *Œuvres*, iv; Louis XI, *Recueil de Pièces*, p. 125.

⁴ Afterwards Charles the Bold.

⁵ The 'Cent nouvelles nouvelles' were a collection of the loose tales told at the Dauphin's table.

of Savoy, who was so poor that 'she had but one wretched and torn dress' to wear. They lived at Geneppe five years; the Dauphin, with wonderful patience, quietly biding his time: he was humble, almost servile, to the Duke, while he kept his hand in by secretly intriguing with the Croys, the Duke's favourites and ministers. Charles VII, who did not lack sagacity, once remarked that 'as for my cousin of Burgundy, he harbours a fox that will one day eat up his chickens'.

His presence in Flanders had baleful influences; divisions sprang up in the Burgundian Court. Duke Philip was growing infirm, and leant on the Croys, whom the Count of Charolais and most of the nobles hated accordingly. There appear henceforth two parties at the Duke's Court; that of the reigning Duke, to which Louis attached himself; and that of his heir, Charles of Charolais, who was supported by the nobles and chief towns of Flanders, according to the saying that 'the men of Ghent love never their Duke, but ever their Duke's son.' A decided coolness sprang up between the heir of Burgundy and the heir of France: their interests, their tastes and personal characters, were all opposed. What had they in common? The lofty character of the Count of Charolais could not condescend to the vulgarity which marked the Dauphin's little Court. The Count's tastes were pure; he loved letters and art; his morals were blameless, almost austere: what pleasure could he find in the intrigues and coarse life which were in favour there? Consequently, though thrown together, they were in fact ever apart; and the position of the Dauphin was difficult and precarious. What if the old Duke died? What help could he then expect from Charolais? Would he not hand him over to Charles VII, glad to be clear of him, glad to gratify his powerful neighbour? This doubtless led Louis to try to persuade the old Duke to make an expedition against France, in order to drive away those who girt round the King with evil counsels, and to put an end to the predominance of

¹ Michelet, *Hist. de France*, liv. xii. c. iv. (vol. v. p. 388).

such men as Dunois, Dammartin, or René of Anjou, who were hostile to the Dauphin, and desired to draw Charles VII into a war with Burgundy. But the Duke refused, and Louis was fain to amuse himself as he could in his retreat at Geneppe.

Meanwhile, the King had occupied Dauphiny; the Estates of that province submitted; in 1457 it was fully and finally annexed to the Crown of France. This, and the condemnation of the Duke of Alençon and the Count of Armagnac, are the only incidents worthy to be recorded as taking place in these years within the borders of France.

There was, no doubt, great irritation between France and Burgundy; but it came to no open rupture. The King was annoyed to see his rebellious son sheltered in Flanders, and thence intriguing against him; the royal captains longed for war with the Duke, and many preparations were actually made. The Burgundian envoys were ill-received, when they came to appease the King's wrath: it was rumoured that Charles had determined to join with the King of England, the Emperor, the Swiss, with the Count of Charolais himself,—in a word, with all the foes of the House of Burgundy¹, and, after overthrowing the Duke in one great joint-effort, to partition out his vast domains among the confederates.

But, just as the Duke had refused to move, when Louis had urged him, so the King, when it came to the point, shrank from the step; and war never broke out. His mind revolted from the thought of helping the son against the father².

The air was full of threats of war and projects of expeditions which came to naught. This is the time of the vehement attempt of Æneas Sylvius, now Pius II, to hurl Western Europe against the infidel. Now it was that the Pope let Philip of Burgundy know that if he would but go and take Jerusalem,

¹ Even the Count of S. Pol, that mischievous intermediate between France and Burgundy, appeared at the Court of Charles VII to offer his sword and the help of Charles of Charolais against his father the Duke.

² 'For two such realms as mine,' he said, 'I would not consent to such a villain deed.' Duclos, *Hist. de Louis XI*, Preuves. iv. p. 209.

he should be King thereof¹. A little later (A.D. 1462) Pius dangles before the Duke's eyes the 'royal investiture'²; promised him by the Emperor: in which we have the germ of that ambition which is said to have moved Charles the Bold to aim at welding his widespread lands into a monarchy, and to have led to the great failure of Trier³.

It was a time of much profession and little fulfilment. The enthusiasm of the Duke of Burgundy ended in splendid festivals and banquets; the ambition of René of Anjou turned aside after Italy, and was quenched in the revolt of Genoa and loss of all his hold on the crown of Naples. As to the quarrel between Charles VII and his son, the case was the same: there were embassies and speeches of amazing length and erudition, offers and proposals; a son had been born to the Dauphin, and the King seemed sincerely to desire a reconciliation, and to wish for the presence of his son at his Court during his declining years. But nothing could overcome the suspicions of Louis; he had little sense of filial duty, nor any affection for his father. Then finally the disappointed King gave ear to his courtiers, who, thinking to prejudice him still more against his son, persuaded him that his life was in danger of poison. But they overreached themselves. The madness which, like an ominous spectre, dogged the footsteps of the House of Valois, now descended on the troubled King: he believed that the Dauphin's plots were like a web round him, imagined his food to be poisoned, refused to eat or drink. Ungrateful himself to his best friends, he was destined to perish through fear of his son's undutiful conduct. In vain did the frightened courtiers try to force him to take food; it was too late, he lingered

¹ *Æn. Syl.*, Op. p. 849 (A.D. 1459).

² 'Ceterum ex ipsis Imperatoris literis laeto animo accepimus eum decrevisse, nostra praesertim contemplatione, concedere tibi *regalem investituram*, super quo in tui favorem saepius ad celsitudinem tuam scripsisse meminimus.' *Æn. Syl.* Op. p. 855.

³ Or does the tale of the ambition of Charles the Bold to be a king spring from a misreading of these passages?

a few days and died at Mehun sur Yevre, on the 22nd of July, 1461¹.

He had been, on the whole, a fortunate prince, and his reign had saved France from many evils.

His counsellors, when they saw that his state was desperate, wrote to deprecate the Dauphin's wrath. Some whispered that it would be well to crown Charles², the King's second son; but none ventured to propose it openly: they could only sit still, and shiver at their peril³. All France regretted and lamented the 'well-served' prince, and looked forward with dread to the future: the captains and counsellors believed that their day was over. The Count of Dunois, standing by the grave of his master, closed the ceremony with these significant words, 'The King our Master is dead: let each of us look out for himself⁴.'

¹ Not far from Bourges. Charles, says Jean de Troye, *Coll. des Mémoires* (1786), xiii. p. 13, was 'un moult sage et vaillant seigneur, et qui laissa son royaume bien uny et en bonne justice et tranquillité.'

² Louis created him Duke of Berry in Nov. 1461.

³ The letter of Gaston de Foix to Louis XI proves that during the King's last illness, and even before, there had been much movement and anxiety on the part of the counsellors. See *Commines*, ed. 1785; *Preuves de la Preface*, i. p. 180.

⁴ 'Le Roy nostre Maistre est mort; que chascun songe à se pourvoir.'

CHAPTER II.

THE REIGN OF LOUIS XI. FIRST PERIOD,

A.D. 1461-1467.

I. *The Character of the King.*

LITTLE did the Dauphin Louis mourn when he heard that his father was dead and he was king. He set off at once for Rheims, sending a messenger to pray Duke Philip to ride with him; for he was not sure with what temper France would receive him, and thought that the countenance of the Duke of Burgundy might be helpful. But Louis soon saw that there was no risk: all France flocked over the frontier to greet him; the captains of the King's soldiers surrounded his person with a loyal army. He hastened to pray the Duke to bring but a small following; but the lords of Burgundy and the Netherlands had answered the summons in great numbers, each man hoping for some share of the gifts and benefits which they fondly thought would mark the new reign.

Louis passed through Maubeuge, and joined the Duke at Avesnes, where a grand funeral service was held in the morning for the late King, and in the afternoon Louis hunted gaily, in a royal dress of violet colour¹, having had little or no mourning for his father in his heart. The consecration at Rheims followed immediately; many were there knighted; the Duke of Burgundy and others did homage for the lands they held under the Crown².

This new king, whom all dreaded and hastened to obey,

¹ The king, French-fashion, wore no black, except at the funeral service. Barante, *Ducs de Bourgogne*, viii. p. 278.

² See above, p. 15, for liege-homage; and below, p. 58, for the French possessions of the Duke of Burgundy.

A.D. 1461.

LOUIS XI BECOMES KING.

25

who, like all men of mark, grew and changed as he went on, was now just thirty-eight years old: he reigned two-and-twenty years. It is not easy to treat him fairly: the picture drawn of him by his great admirer Commynes inspires us with so much disgust. He is one of the men whose qualities are developed by the circumstances in which they find themselves; his good and evil elements of character both served his country well, so far as it was well to build her up on the foundation of kingly autocracy. If he watched over his country, he also oppressed her: if he infused into her the unity needful for the coming ages, he did it at the cost of her independent institutions, and of her chances of a wholesome and natural national life.

In his history of Henry VII, Bacon, summing up the character of that great prince, places him side by side with Ferdinand the Catholic and Louis XI, styling them the 'tres Magi of Kings of those ages!'. And certainly, though Henry VII far surpasses the others, they may all three be accepted as the wise men of statecraft, the great upbuilders of royalty. In their power of striking fear into men; in their policy of depressing their chief nobles; in their coldness and indifference as to the means used to compass their ends, these princes are closely allied in character. They were the genuine expression and true leaders of their age; they give us the measure of its faults and tendencies; above all, they are the three master-minds which built the framework of modern society.

The age, with its unscrupulous falseness and intrigue, almost goes by the name of Macchiavelli: for he it was who knew best how to analyse and lay out in the sight of men the principles which governed it. But we should remember that more than a quarter of a century before the grave and patriotic Florentine set himself to that merciless dissection which we find in his 'Prince,' Louis XI had steadily and successfully practised many of the arts which have so unjustly been called by Macchiavelli's name. The best parallel to Louis XI, and one too of his

¹ Francis Lord Verulam's History of Henry VII (Ellis and Spedding), vi. p. 244.

own day, may be found in the career of that cultured and subtle Pontiff, the false and ambitious Æneas Sylvius¹, who almost atoned for a mean, selfish, and vicious youth and manhood, by the devotion of his last days to the hopeless task of arraying Christendom against the Turk. But even Pius II gives us no true parallel: he spent no quarter of a century consolidating a great tyranny; his life was almost over when he reached the high goal of his ambition, and the few years left to him as Pope were very unlike the gloomy record of the later days of Louis. For the French King was, in truth, a man without a parallel: we see him best perhaps by contrasts, as with heavy good-looking Edward IV of England, or with the old Duke Philip, or with Charles of Charolais. By the side of those tall forms we see the mean-looking little King, who bore in his person plain marks of that decrepitude which characterised so many of his race. For the Valois princes were most of them bad, and half of them mad. As their melancholy line moves slowly down the page of history, we can trace the same timid cunning, feeble self-indulgence, coldness, cruelty often, idiocy sometimes, and sometimes madness, a diseased frame, and a wretched constitution. Philip of Valois heads the line, hasty, unwise, cruel, and vicious; then follows John 'the Good,' the silly prodigal, who found his captivity in England so much more amusing than his duties of kingship in France; then came Charles V, the 'Wise,' a great King, but cold and mysterious; in him the physical weakness of the race comes out; he was cowardly and diseased. Next comes the handsome, self-indulgent Charles VI; on him madness, the curse of the family, soon fell, obscuring all the hopes of his young life; his son, Charles VII, the lazy heartless prince, whose most marked quality is ingratitude, follows next, and follows to the same end, for he too dies mad: and now Louis XI stands before us, with every feature and every characteristic of the hereditary type. He combined all the qualities of his fathers, also not without suspicion, in his last days, of insanity.

¹ Pope, under the name of Pius II (Pius Æneas), from 1458 to 1464.

Each of these qualities in him is at its highest, perhaps also at its best in many cases. There is something fascinating in the contrast between his mean appearance and the vast results of his reign; and between the splendour of the older feudalism, so brilliant and so powerless, and the shabby dress¹ and deprecatory manners of this first of modern kings: mean of garb and humble in speech—the two outsides of a man—he carefully hid from sight his subtle schemes and dark designs.

His portraits give him a small and cunning eye, a long, aquiline nose², a cruel, cynical mouth; his hair falls on his shoulders. The shape of his head is hidden under that 'bad hat' of which Commynes speaks; his dress gives him a common look, which is misleading, and was meant to be so. But that cynical mouth could at pleasure wear a very winning smile, of which few could resist the fascination. What could be more amusing than the contrast between Louis and burly Edward IV of England, when they met on either side of the grating at Pecquigny Bridge?—the Englishman splendid, handsome and tall, but coarse, self-indulgent, stupid, and straightforward; the Frenchman so meagre and common in appearance, quite conscious of the contrast, and full of contempt for a prince who had so little subtlety and was so easily deceived³.

No coarse vices are charged against Louis: his physical weakness disinclined him from all excess and open violence; no one ever saw in him any of the faults of a genial character. Hence Commynes declares that he 'had never known a prince

¹ When he met the King of Castile at Fontarabia, the year after his accession, Commynes tells us 'se habilloit fort court, et si mal que pis ne povoit, et assez mauvais drap aucunesfois; et portoit ung mauvais chapeau, différent des aultres, et ung imatge de plomb dessus.' Commynes, II. viii. (vol. i. p. 166, ed. Dupont). The references in Commynes to volume and page will be from Mdlle. Dupont's edition, unless otherwise stated.

² In the *Preuves* of Mdlle. Dupont's edition of Commynes (iii. p. 339) there is a curious instruction respecting the statue of the King to be set on his tomb at Cléry. In it the sculptor is bidden to make 'le nez longuet et ung petit hault, comme savez . . . le nez aquilon.'

³ Commynes, IV. ix. (i. p. 368), 'Les Anglois ne sont pas si subtilz en traictez et en appointemens comme sont les François': and again, IV. vi. (i. p. 344), ' . . . alloient plus grossemment en besongne; parquoy ne peurent si tost entendre les dissimulations.'

of fewer vices,' and that 'God had made him more sage, liberal, and virtuous, than the princes that reigned with him and in his time'. He was liberal, no doubt, in a certain sense: he would say it was 'better to have debtors than creditors'—parodying, perhaps unconsciously, in words and in a very different spirit, the rule laid down by our Lord. He cared little for money, except as a means wherewith to buy power, or to corrupt men: but his liberality had not the true ring in it; it was but calculating self-interest. Men were his tools; he gave, not because he loved, but because it was the price for help. One cannot see that he ever cared for any man. He took his servants, used them, and threw them aside: even Commynes himself was not always secure in favour. For he had no heart: what men call ingratitude was but the natural bent of his nature; all had a price; he paid, and used them, as he felt he had a right to use his property: he was kinder to his menagerie than to his men. It was the same in his home-life: he was 'a bad son, bad husband, bad father, unjust brother'; he was 'ill to his friend, waur to his foe', according to the old Scottish saying.

Such a man will be vindictive; and the desire of revenge was so strong in Louis that it impelled him to acts which imperilled his safety; the war of the Public Weal sprang in part out of his haste to smite down his father's ministers.

In his earlier life he was hasty and impatient; stupid people annoyed him. Consequently, he shewed a heat and a lack of prudence which contrast strangely with the cold subtlety and foresight of his later days. He could not bear to be kept waiting: he was rash and sudden in talking of people or to

¹ Commynes, Prologue (i. p. 3).

² Under an old French engraved portrait of the King, in the Hope Collection, Oxford, there is the following inscription, showing the popular view as to his character:—

'Louis renversa tout pour suivre son caprice;
Mauvais fils, mauvais père, infidèle mary,
Frère injuste, ingrat Maistre et dangereux amy.
Il regna sans conseil, sans pitié, sans patrie:
La fraude fut son jeu, sa vertu l'artifice.
Et le Prevost Tristan son plus grand Favory.'

them: twice he told the Archbishop of Rheims to 'get on,' while he was congratulating him in a learned and bottomless speech on his accession¹. The King was aware of this fault: 'My tongue,' he said, 'has done me great harm, and I know it'. To this hastiness were due, in large part, the blunders of his early reign; hence came the great mishap of Péronne. But later on, his impatience turned to an unwearied industry in government and administration: and he cured himself of the fault by bitter experience; 'no man ever learnt more from adversity.' We see the remains of this restlessness in the many journeys he made from end to end of his realm; an activity which continued to the very close of his life, and indeed long after his strength had utterly failed him. On the other hand, this heat and haste were compatible, in his case, with a singular coldness and hardness of disposition: his most congenial friends were the Provost or hangman, Tristan L'Hermite, and Olivier le Daim; by help of these men he rid himself of all who were dangerous to his authority; the executions took place mostly without form or pretence of legal trial. The darker side of his character appears in his conduct towards his first wife, who feared him mortally: she was a 'pretty little lady, who loved reading and books, with which she diverted herself in the great constraint in which her husband kept her; for he held her so close that she scarce dared speak except to two or three servants; she did not venture to leave Amboise, where she was kept in a real captivity;—hence she grew more and more timid and sad, till at last she could not even speak plain:—good was she and simple'. The King casts a cold and gloomy shadow over life: wherever he comes, a cruel winter seems to kill the flowers.

¹ This archbishop was J. Juvenal des Ursins, who had gone to Avesnes to meet and salute his King: a sad fate for his copious eloquence!

² Commynes, I. x. (i. p. 84.)

³ Ibid. Pref. to ed. 1785, p. 159. It is hard to say whether he was more hated or feared. For men's fears see a specimen in Chastellain (quoted in Commynes, *Preuves du Préface*, ed. 1785, i. p. 280, 281): 'le sieur de Cressol en trembloit de peur, car il cognoissoit son maistre . . . la Reyne à peine qu'elle ne ploroit de peur, tant frémissait-elle de trespasser de commandement du Roy.'

This is perhaps the worst side of his character, and his meanest quality; but the most marked and prominent one was his falseness. As was said long after of that able statesman the Abbé Dubois that 'he exhaled falsehood from every pore,' so it may be said of Louis that there runs through his life a steady contempt for truth. He lived in an air of deceit and distrust; every one cheated him who could, and all intrigued; his weakness, beside the great foes arrayed against him, seemed to have no arms but those of treachery and fraud. He made agreements and broke them; he held that what he signed under coercion of his enemies was binding only so long as the compelling power could enforce it. Little did his neighbours trust his word, or he theirs. When Charles the Bold carried him to the siege of Liège, we read that he 'bade them say nought to the King¹,' when there was an alarm and the men of Liège were thought to have discomfited the Burgundians, for he knew that he could not rely on him if things went wrong. A little later, on occasion of the great sally of the citizens², we are told that they 'knew not in what state the King was, nor on what side he was, which thing caused great anxiety.' And yet he had made a final peace with the Duke scarcely a fortnight before, and had sworn to keep it loyally: 'nevertheless, no confidence was possible³.' For all his superstitious terrors, he regarded no oath nor solemnity, save only that he would not perjure himself on the bit of the true cross of S. Loup of Angers; for he was convinced that whoever swore falsely thereon would die within the year:—was it not so with his brother Charles of Guyenne⁴?

Closely akin to this falseness were the King's seductive qualities. He was 'a prince who sought to win men, which is a very great grace that God gives to the prince who knows how

¹ Commines, II. xi. (i. p. 181).

² Ibid. II. xii. (i. pp. 191, 192).

³ 'Toutefois la fiance ne sy pouvoit trouver par nulle voye.'

⁴ Cp. Commines, IV. vi. (i. p. 341). If ever Louis did swear on it (as in the case of his treaty with the Duke of Brittany in 1476) it may be taken for certain that he meant to keep his word. He refused the Constable, S. Pol, a safe conduct on it in 1475.

to do it¹.' 'There was never prince so laid himself out to gain any one who might be either serviceable or harmful to him².' On such a man he used all his battery of winning ways, persuasive speech, ample promises, liberal gifts. Nor was he nice as to his instruments; any man who was shrewd, handy at business, not too particular, suited him well. Such was Ambrose of Cambrai, an old friend of the Count of Armagnac, a forger and murderer; Louis made him his maître des Requêtes, then Chancellor of the University of Paris. Such was Philip of Commynes himself, from whose applauding pen come all these traits of character.

In a word, the King's views as to the mainspring of government lie in the apophthegm with which he is said to have replied to those who urged him to give his son Charles a better education, that the boy might be a good king in his day: 'Qui scit dissimulare,' he said, 'scit regnare'—He is a king, who can conceal his thoughts.

We shall not expect to find in Louis either a high sense of honour, or pride, or indeed much self-respect. It was a saying of his that 'when pride rides to the fore, shame and loss follow behind'; and Commynes, who tells us this, adds that 'from that sin he was quite free³.' The same temperament led him to think far less than was usually thought in his day of the shame of cowardice. He was naturally timid, 'fearful of his own nature'; but on occasions, as in the day of Montleheri, he could show himself very fearless; and on his death-bed he gave way to no unmanly dread. But often his alarms were abject; none might ever breathe to him the hated name of death; he was the slave of his physician; he gathered together all the relics and charms he could hear of; sent for monks and magicians⁴,

¹ Commines, I. ix. (i. p. 82).

² Ibid. (i. p. 83).

³ Ibid. II. iv. (i. p. 147). 'Quant orgueil chevaulche devant, honte et dommage le suivent de bien près; et de ce peché n'estoit-il point entaché.'

⁴ Jean de Troye (ed. 1786), p. 431. 'Y fist aussi venir grand nombre de bigots, bigottes et gens de dévotion, comme hermites et saintes creatures, pour sans cesse prier Dieu qu'il permist qu'il ne mourust point.' (Is this an

saints and herbalists; he made, for example, the 'Estates of Paris' go in procession to S. Denis to pray that the bitter north-east wind, the Bise, should not blow; for it was a wind that would do much harm to man and to the fruits of earth¹.

And this brings us to that strange element in his nature, his religion. He treated it, he dealt with it, with the Virgin and with the Saints, as if they had been neighbouring princes. He bribed them, intrigued with them, used or neglected them, as seemed desirable. In his day there was little true sense of religion; and Louis was of a type not yet extinct, he was a devotee without faith, almost a superstitious atheist. No man was ever more willing to do outward worship; his superstitions were almost those of an idiot; yet no man ever had less of real and genuine belief in God. There is a curious tale that one day a priest was offering up in his presence a prayer to S. Eutropius 'that he would give the King health in body and soul,' and that Louis interrupted him with the order to omit the words 'and soul'; 'for,' said he, 'it is enough for the saint to give bodily health, without asking him for too many things at once².' And again, with all this eager observance, this faith in talismans, this devotion of pilgrimage, he absolutely disregarded the most solemn oaths: he was also singularly free from all dependence on the clergy. They find no place in his counsels; he opposes them, alienates them from him, pays no respect to their position or their ecclesiastical weapons. 'France,' says a Frenchman of our day³, 'is bound to two influences, superstition and irreligion.' The phrase describes the religious position of Louis XI.

Let us pass to the intellectual character of the man: but here we meet with difficulties; there are scarcely any data on which to form an opinion. As in his life generally we mark his restlessness, so we clearly see a like quickness and eagerness of mind in him. He had been ill-taught, with scarcely any training:

early use of the word *bigot* in its modern sense? or only the French form of *beghard*?)

¹ Jean de Troye (ed. 1786), p. 437.

² Martin, *Hist. des Français*, vii. p. 153.

³ Père Hyacinthe, in one of his addresses at Geneva.

he did not seem to see much advantage in education for his son; though perhaps the miserable health of the boy was some excuse. Still, we have little proof that Louis set any store by learning, though he seems to have been fairly friendly with men of letters; he regarded them as a new power which might be useful against the rough vigour of the nobles; perhaps also he discerned that letters would only too willingly lend aid to absolute monarchy, with their skill in panegyric, their power of writing or distorting history, their almost inevitable position of dependence. But there seems little to show that he cared for learning for its own sake. It is true however that he let a printing press be established in the Sorbonne, and that he refused to persecute the new learning for the benefit of the old. It is also certain that his was an inquisitive and active mind: 'no man ever whispered so much into one's ear; none ever asked so many questions, or wished to know so many persons¹.' Of his sagacity there can be no doubt; 'he was the best man that ever was at getting out of a scrape².' He knew well what France needed, and showed that he knew it by his conversation on his deathbed, when he lamented that God had not granted him six years longer to give her peace and tranquillity, and to heal her wounds. But the great ruler is not he who deplores his fate, and sees what might have been done had more opportunity been his, but it is he who seizes what opportunity he has, and shapes it resolutely for his people's good. And this is just where Louis XI failed. He had no constructive power; he could not help a growing nation towards a wholesome and prosperous life. He effected great things, but not in a great manner: what he did achieve shall be considered when we reach the end of his career.

Though he was the instrument of great things for France, Louis XI had but an ignoble spirit: such utterances of his as are preserved to us reveal a cunning rather than a wise nature;

¹ Commynes, I. x. (i. p. 84).

² Ibid. (i. p. 83), 'pour soy tirer d'ung mauvais pas.'

no dignified tone of mind appears; if he was 'humble in dress and speech' it was because the soul within was mean. His whole being is of one strain; physically feeble, and disposed to take a low view of his own character and of that of others, intellectually thin and unsympathetic, Louis is one of the few men destined to do really great things, and yet not himself to be great.

Such was the prince who was now come to reign over France for twenty-two years. That reign may be divided into three periods: (1) the King's earlier struggles with the great lords, from A.D. 1461 to 1467; (2) the rivalry with Charles the Bold, A.D. 1467 to 1476; (3) the quiet years at the end of the reign, A.D. 1476 to 1483.

II. *The First Years of the Reign*, A.D. 1461-1467.

When the King first came to Paris after his consecration, the Flemish and other lords of the Burgundian escort held high sport and tourney in the street of S. Antoine, hard by the Tournelles where he lodged. After they had shown their skill and appointments to the crowd, there rode into the lists a rough warrior, well-mounted, clad in skins, and with wooden armour: he broke in among the knights, and 'nothing stood before him.' The King, who had arranged it all, watched the discomfiture of his chivalry unseen from a window of his palace, doubtless with that sardonic smile on his pale face. It was a parable of the coming reign; it was the royal power rudely breaking up the old glories of chivalry; the hired soldier scattering away the feudal levy.

The King's first act was to get rid of these followers of Duke Philip: he dismissed them with many fair words, but scanty gifts: their doleful faces, as they turned their horses' heads northwards, were a sight to be seen. Then he at once fell on the chief lords of France. The Duke of Bourbon, who had hastened to meet him, the greatest man of the South,

lost his government of Guyenne even before the coronation¹. The King shewed a desire to draw towards the towns and to set them against the princes: the burghers, dazzled by the unwonted attention, thought that a new day was dawning for them².

These acts were sufficiently imprudent, but worse was to follow. Louis suddenly deprived of all their offices his father's ministers and friends³, though the Duke of Burgundy had begged him to give them grace, and he had promised to be gentle with them all except eight. 'Such were the Chancellor Juvenal, the Marshal, the Admiral, the First President of the Parliament, the Provost of Paris and divers others⁴': in their places he set new men 'who acquitted themselves but poorly.' Then he took a farther step, as rash but in another direction; for he set free the Duke of Alençon and the Count of Armagnac, whom his father had condemned and imprisoned: they at once joined the ranks of the malcontents.

Next, he ventured on a line of policy, the grounds of which are plain enough, but which must have aroused great irritation;—he negotiated with the Papacy for the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, with the sole stipulation that René of Anjou should receive investiture for the kingdom of Naples from the Pontiff. It is true that these arrangements were not carried out, nor was the Pragmatic Sanction superseded: still, the document was dragged with every mark of contumely, as if it had been another Sejanus, through the streets of Rome; and the King succeeded in offending and alienating both nobles and clergy. For the terms of the agreement of Bourges had secured them a great power in all appointments to episcopal

¹ See the letter of Louis to Saintrilles, Marshal of France, bidding him secure Guyenne, assemble the inhabitants, and send him tidings by 'two of the most notable burghers of the chief towns.' He does not mention Bourbon. The letter is dated Maubeuge, 27 July, 1461. See Commynes (ed. 1785), Pref. to vol. i. p. 84.

² In Chastellain's vigorous phrase, 'Ses povres subjects cuidoient avoir trouvé Dieu par les pieds.' Chastellain, p. 173.

³ Commynes, I. iii. (i. p. 28).

⁴ Jean de Troye, p. 23, 24.

sees and abbeys; the nomination lay in the hands of the feudal lords, and consequently the higher clergy were their kinsfolk, and made common cause with them in resisting an attack on the rights and powers of the nobles. The Parliament of Paris also opposed the attempt to subject the Gallican Church more directly to the Pope and King. The actual partition of the Gallican liberties did not however take place till the days of Francis I. It is during these dealings with the Papacy that we hear of John la Balue, the King's Almoner, Bishop of Evreux and Angers, who conducted the affair, and was made a cardinal in consequence. He was one of the King's most trusted instruments, one who betrayed him almost to his ruin, as we shall see¹. The King also showed himself determined to curb the power of the clergy; he refused them entry into his council²: it may be noticed that, in return, one of the first meetings of the league against him took place in the church of Notre Dame at Paris³.

The Duke of Brittany, Francis II, did the homage due from him⁴, but only 'as his council understood it': there were difficulties and reservations on the King's part which left irritation in the Duke's mind. Lastly, the formidable soldier who had taken an active part in ejecting Louis from Dauphiny, Antony of Chabannes Count of Dammartin, was taken and imprisoned.

Having thus kindled a fire, which was not destined long to smoulder before breaking out into flame, the King made a progress, first to a shrine at Redon near Vannes, then through Nantes down to Bordeaux; thence to the very edge of the kingdom in Béarn. He met John of Aragon in lower Navarre, and made a treaty with him, lending him money to carry on his wars at home, and receiving in pawn Roussillon and Cerdagne, together with Perpignan, a strong place, and Collioure (A.D.

¹ See below, pp. 67, 68.

² Michelet, *Hist. des Français*, tom. vi. p. 64.

³ Olivier de la Marche, c. 35. Ed. 1785, ix. p. 69.

⁴ See Commynes (ed. 1786), Pref. to vol. i. pp. 95, 96, and above, p. 15.

1463). The King of Aragon used the French King's help, subdued his foes, and then turned round, intriguing against his friend: it was a lesson in ingratitude which Louis did not fail to study.

On his return he imposed arbitrary taxes: the people awoke out of their dream of confidence: 'in all things,' says his hostile biographer Chastellain, 'he studied to make himself hated, not loved¹.' He set up a rival to the Parliament of Paris at Bordeaux; he gave his feeble brother Charles, a youth already under the influence of his foes, the great Duchy of Berry as an apanage. Charles was not personally formidable: but he was still heir to the throne, and in vigorous hands might become very dangerous.

As if all these dangers at home were not enough, the King also embarked on the stormy sea of English politics. In March, 1461, Edward IV had been proclaimed king, and his coronation made the triumph of the Yorkists for the moment complete: but in 1462 Margaret of Anjou crossed over to France for aid. That great House of Anjou was engaged in many chivalrous and romantic enterprises. Louis, who had befriended René, now took up the cause of the forlorn Queen: but his help seemed only to embroil him still more with the House of York; and that House in return encouraged the Dukes of Brittany and Burgundy in their hostility to the French crown.

As yet Louis seemed to be on very good terms with his old benefactor, Philip the Good; and, thanks to his friendship with the Duke's counsellors, the Croys, he persuaded him to accept the amount stipulated in the treaty of Arras as the ransom-money for those towns on the line of the river Somme, which had been the price of the reconciliation between Charles VII and the Duke of Burgundy in 1435. Their repurchase was one chief cause of the outbreak of hostilities; for Charles of Charolais was vehemently opposed to the cession, and did all he

¹ Chastellain, c. cxlix. (Buchon, XLII. p. 8).

could to hinder it. The King however persuaded the Duke at a meeting at Hesdin; and on payment of four hundred thousand crowns of gold the towns were restored to France¹. Louis could always find money; he took unscrupulously from his people, spent nothing on his own state, and boldly used what he had for political objects, whether these were the subsidising of neighbours, or the purchase of territory, or the corruption of agents. When the King visited the Duke he actually went so far (in his indignation against undutiful sons!) as to offer to chastise the Count of Charolais for rebelling against his father. But old Duke Philip rejected the offer with horror. These Somme towns, which formed a frontier for Flanders far within the French borders, and gave the Duke entry into the heart of the kingdom, were the real aim of Charles of Charolais² in the war of the Public Weal, as well as the cause of the war between the King and Duke in 1470; after which time they finally reverted to the monarchy.

With this cession of the Picard towns the year 1463 closes. All 1464 the discontent grew; and, as if to secure an outbreak, Louis smote the nobles in their tenderest place, their love of sport and privileges of hunting:—rumours went abroad that he had forbidden hunting in Dauphiny, and was about to sell the forest-rights throughout France. The King was probably moved by a wish to assist agriculture and to relieve his peasantry, on whom the vexations connected with the chase pressed very heavily³. He had, however, no time to carry out his wish; for the war was on him. The Count of Charolais had snatched the reins of government from the hands of the old Duke, now too feeble to resist him; the Croys fled for their lives. The Count of S. Pol, whose lands lay between

¹ They were Peronne, Roye, Montdidier, Abbeville, S. Quentin, Amiens, and some smaller places, all lying on or near the Somme. The history of the lines of barrier-places between France and Flanders is an interesting and varied one.

² Charles said later that he would 'give up the best duchy that he had rather than part with these towns.' Chastellain, p. 459.

³ See Michelet, tom. vi. pp. 80, 81.

Flanders and Picardy, kept up the communication between Charolais and the discontented nobles of France. In vain did the King summon his lords to a great assembly at Tours; they came, heard him, professed submission and a desire for peace, and then went off to make them ready for war.

They had already formed a great League, a more formidable Praguerie. Its nominal head was the King's brother, Charles of Berry, heir to the throne; with him were the Duke of Brittany, the Count of Armagnac, the Duke of Nemours, John of Anjou Duke of Calabria, the Duke of Bourbon, Dunois the aged Bastard of Orleans, and most of the captains of the later days of the English war. Dammartin escaped from prison and joined them. The real leader was the Count of Charolais; he was also first in the field. Their confederacy was styled 'the League of the Public Weal,' for the nobles professed that they fought to overthrow the King's bad government¹; it is said that above five hundred princes or lords, as well as some noble ladies², were members of it.

The plan of their campaign was simple. The Count of Charolais from the north, the Duke of Brittany from the west, the Duke of Bourbon, helped by the men of the duchy of Burgundy, from the south, and the Duke of Calabria³, with Lorrainers and some Italians, from the east, were all to converge slowly on Paris and to crush the King in their folds.

And the King's danger was very great. Overwhelming armies, estimated at sixty thousand men, would soon be on him; and he could only reckon on some half-hearted nobles, like the Counts of Maine and Nevers, who served him ill, and were strongly suspected of being in communication with the League; some gens d'ordonnance or soldiers, and his good

¹ Olivier de la Marche, c. 35: 'Se faisoit cette emprise sous ombre du bien publicq, et disoit-on que le Roy gouvernoit mal le royaume et qu'il estoit besoing de la réformer.'

² Noble ladies often figure in the aristocratic outbreaks against royalty in France; witness the ladies of the Fronde.

³ John of Anjou, Duke of Calabria, was son of René of Anjou, King of Sicily. By right of his mother, Isabelle of Lorraine, he was connected with that duchy.

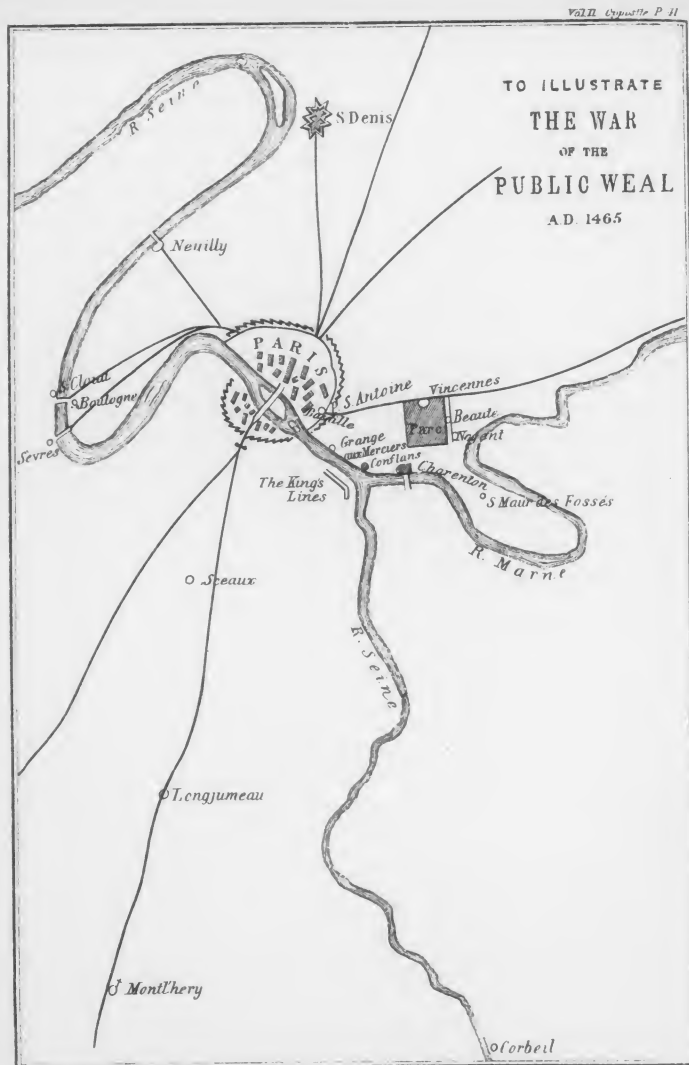
town of Paris, though even there a strong party among the citizens favoured his antagonists. But Louis showed no dismay; he left the Count of Nevers on the Somme frontier line to retard the forward movement of the Count of Charolais, with orders to fall slowly back on Paris: with like instructions the Count of Maine¹, in command of seven or eight hundred men, was sent to hold the Dukes of Brittany and Berry in check as long as possible. The King judged (rightly as it turned out) that the eastern division of his foes would be slow in coming up, and he left the Bastard of Vendôme, one of the few captains who did his work well, to harass the Duke of Calabria's advance: there remained only the southern attack under Bourbon. On this last force Louis fell with admirable swiftness, for 'he deemed him a more declared foe than any other, and also the weakest of them all; and but that he had been helped by those of Burgundy on one side, and by the great lords from the south, the King would speedily have reduced him²'. As it was, he gave them plenty to do. And had there been time he might have completely pacified the south; but the danger pressed at Paris, and he was fain to grant the southern nobles easy terms,—which they broke as soon as they dared. Then he marched quickly northwards. Charolais had pressed on with about fourteen hundred men-at-arms—ill-found and under small control, for the Burgundians had had peace for six-and-thirty years—with from eight to nine thousand archers, of whom the most were bad³; and with a fairly equipped 'artillery,' and an almost endless wagon-train.

The Count of Nevers had not impeded him at all: some thought he was friendly to the invaders; and Charolais marched quietly southwards paying for all he took; the Somme towns and other places stood by as neutrals, 'waiting to see which would prove the stronger, King or Lords.' Early in July the

¹ Charles of Anjou, Count of Maine, was younger son of Louis II, Duke of Anjou, and of Yolande of Aragon, and brother to the 'good king René.'

² Commynes, I. iii. (i. p. 24).

³ Ibid. I. ii. (i. p. 19).



Burgundians were at S. Denis, hoping there to be joined by the others, but they were not come up. So Charolais reviewed his forces in sight of the Parisians, and skirmished with the King's men up to the very gates. The alarm spread through the city, men crying 'They are in.' But he drew back to S. Denis; whence, tired of waiting, he crossed the Seine at S. Cloud, moving southward to Longjumeau on the Orleans road; his van under S. Pol was pushed two leagues farther, and lay near Montleheri, where the castle held for the King. Thence he sent out scouts and horsemen, to feel for the royal army. It was agreed that when the King came up S. Pol should fall back on the main army at Longjumeau. Meanwhile the Dukes of Berry and Brittany were coming up from the south-west; and the Count of Maine, though his force was strong, offered no resistance, but fell back on the King.

Then arose the grave question, How should Louis reach Paris? Should he fight, or slip between the converging armies without a battle? It is not quite clear which was his plan, but probably he was inclined to fight the Burgundians before the others could join them. And this would have been successful but for the conduct of the Count of Maine, who deserted him¹. 'He had come,' he said, 'to serve the King by acting as intermediary between him and the princes of the blood-royal, but not to fight with them; and as it pleased the King to fight he would be gone, and so bade the King farewell, and drew away with his men, though he went not far off².' Thereon the King, much weakened, seems to have wished not to come into collision with the Burgundians. But Peter de Brezé, Seneschal of

¹ He had a fine force; 2200 men-at-arms and the arrière-ban of Dauphiny. Each man-at-arms had with him seven men on horseback; so that there must have been over 17000 men in all.

² Was he a traitor? Commynes thinks not: 'je ne le sceuz oncques et ne le croy pas.' On the other hand, Olivier de la Marche, who was with the Burgundians, affirms that he was one of the Leaguers; and he had every opportunity of knowing. (Olivier de la Marche, c. xxxv, ed. 1785, p. 70.) Jean de Troye also says so (pp. 51, 52). There can be no doubt about it; he betrayed the king.

Normandy, who led the van, purposely brought his men forward in such a way that a battle became inevitable. Dearly he paid for his neglect of orders; he was among the first who fell.

It was the 16th of July, 1465, a hot summer's morning; the dust was so thick that men were almost stifled, and could scarcely see one another; the corn being high added much to the suffering of the armies as they trampled through it. When the King drew near, S. Pol, instead of falling back as had been agreed, sent to Longjumeau an urgent request for support; and the Count of Charolais, supposing him unable to withdraw, hastened up, a two leagues' march without a halt. When they came in sight of Montleheri, the King had not yet attacked; and after much confusion the Count drew up his own men as centre and right wing, while S. Pol formed the left, having at his back a wood, in front the Castle of Montleheri, and his wagons so placed as to form a kind of rampart behind which he might retreat. The King, as his marching columns came up, drew them out behind a thick hedge and ditch, which separated them from the Burgundians, who, had they pushed on and attacked at once, instead of being in wild confusion, might have driven in the head of the King's army before it had time to deploy, thereby throwing his whole force into disorder. Instead, they let the King occupy Montleheri village and draw his vanguard out in line of battle. So they slowly stretched themselves out in two rough lines, the King's men being far fewer, but in much better order. The Burgundians, with their archers before them, waited till the royal army had issued from behind the hedge, coming out at the two ends of it. Then their men-at-arms and foot-soldiers thrust aside the archers before they had time to do much, and fell on the royal troops; these were pushed back, through the hedge, through Montleheri, and towards the hills to the south: the Count of Charolais, with a handful of men, following them half a league to the south of the village. The rumour spread that the King was killed; the Count of Maine and the rear guard now fled altogether from the field. Meantime the King's right had failed on S. Pol, and driven him to

take shelter in the wood: the bulk of his force fled away to the northward. The Parisians, hearing that the Burgundians were worsted, came out in crowds to take what spoil they could, and found plenty. Some of the panic-stricken fugitives fled till they reached Pont S. Maixence, on the way to Flanders; others ran till they met the advancing army of the Duke of Calabria, and reported all to be lost. Charolais himself had a narrow escape: he rode too far southwards in pursuit, and as he returned, in passing the Castle, was attacked by the garrison¹, sharply wounded, and all but taken prisoner. It was a strange battle: most of the Burgundians had fled; most of the King's men had run; the Count, with a scanty retinue of about thirty men, retired behind the great hedge; the King, with hardly a man at his back, except his Scottish guard, who stood firm, took refuge and rest in the Castle, where, for the first time that day, he brake fast. So they watched each other all the day, neither venturing again to attack the other². When night came the King lit fires in the village; Charolais lay behind his hedge with a frightened handful of men³; there S. Pol joined him with about forty men-at-arms. The carnage had been great⁴; they had to clear away bodies to make room for the Count to sit. There in the darkness they debated what to do: the general voice was for a retreat to Flanders; the Parisians were on their rear, and might cut them off. In the end, they agreed to stay where they were till daybreak. Scouts were thrown out to spy where the King lay; but they only stared at the great fires in the village, and came back to say the King was there; whereon the little army was drawn out again for defence, 'though most would rather have run away.'

But when morning came, came tidings that early in the night

¹ Commines was riding by his side all the day: 'Comme il passoit rasibus du chastel veismes les archiers de la garde du Roy devant la porte.' Commines, I. iv. (i. p. 41).

² Commines, I. iv. (i. p. 45): 'Nul ne desiroit plus de combattre . . . estans sur ces pensées, et sans nulle escarmouche, survint l'entrée de la nuit.'

³ Ibid. (i. p. 47): 'Nous avions grant nombre de blecez, et la pluspart fort descouragiez et espouventez.'

⁴ Commines says 2000; Jean de Troye 3600.

Louis had silently slipped away under cover of his watch-fires, and was gone to Corbeil. Great was their joy to find that while they had been sitting shivering with fear they had all the time been the proud victors of the day! Commynes, who saw all the fighting, describes the grotesque scenes with infinite zest and humour: every one ran who could; the rest cowered for hours on the battle-field, afraid to fight after the first onset. Both sides claimed the victory: the Count, because he held the ground; the King, because he made his way safely to Paris. Louis on the one side, and the Count of S. Pol on the other, were the only men who showed any skill in war on that day. But for the King's presence, says Commynes, the royal army would have melted away¹. But the Count of Charolais showed then, as afterwards, that he had no true military gifts. The effect of this victory, undeserved as it was, on his character was immense. Hitherto he had disliked war; but henceforth he became changed, counted the glory all his own, and asked counsel of no man: he became eager for battle, whereby he worked his own ruin, and that of all his house².

No battle could have shown more clearly what was the true state of the war-power of the day. War had been mere riding forward and 'pushing people about'; no strategy was known; the old feudal war was not yet displaced by the new war of artillery and trained soldiers: the one was passed, the other not yet developed. English Henry V had shown himself a real general; but when he died, he had no successor in the deadly game. War became mercenary, yet unorganised: it was a thing opposed to the genius of Louis XI; it was misunderstood by Charles the Bold.

The King lay two days at Corbeil; then marched down the right bank of the Seine towards Paris. It was a critical moment in his fortunes: had Paris closed her gates on him,

¹ Commynes, I. iv. (i. p. 45). Jean de Troye also bears witness to the king's courage: ed. 1786, p. 51: 'N'avoit cessé de combattre et faire grans armes toute la journée.' Again, p. 53: 'Il fut laschement servy de ses gens de guerre, et ne tint point à luy, car il estoit assez et trop vaillant.'

² Commynes I. iv. (i. p. 50).

his kingdom would have been lost; for, as he often said to Commynes, 'had he failed to get into Paris, he would have fled to the Swiss, or to Duke Francesco Sforza at Milan¹.' Had Charolais retraced his steps, he would have found his party strong in the capital, and the King's fortunes might have been undone. Instead of the bolder course, he marched south to meet the Dukes of Brittany and Berry, lying idly at Étampes for nearly a fortnight, while the King secured Paris by every art he knew. He lowered the taxes of the city, restored its privileges, and stirred up its enthusiasm. He knew that its support was all-important; before Montleheri he had written to thank the burghers for 'their good-will and loyalty'; he told them he was sending the Queen to their care, that she might bear him a son there, 'in the city which in all the world he loved best².' It was a piece of his policy to pretend that he hoped for an heir, to damp the ardour of his brother Charles of Berry; but as a fact his son the Dauphin was not born till two years later.

The city being thus secured, he left there the Count of Eu as his lieutenant, and set out for Normandy to gather fresh forces with which to face the League.

During these days Bretons and Burgundians joined hands at Étampes: they crossed the Seine by a floating bridge, and the very next night saw the watch-fires of the Duke of Calabria, who was coming up with the Lorrainers, Italians, and men of the duchy and county of Burgundy. Commynes reckons the whole force at full 100,000 horse. At Charenton they passed over the bridge to the right bank of the Marne, which brought them close to Paris; they at once showed in force under the walls, and occupied the park at Vincennes: the Duke of Berry, as head of the League, sent four letters into Paris addressed to the University, the Church, the Parliament, and the burghers, setting forth the objects of their armed levy, and asking for a

¹ Commynes, I. viii. (i. p. 73). He professed sincerely that he 'would rather have lost half his realm than that any mishap had befallen Paris.' Jean de Troye, p. 48.

² Jean de Troye, p. 47.

conference. The civic authorities seemed likely to yield; there was among them a strong party, as of old, favourable to the Burgundians: but the Count of Eu, the King's lieutenant, made a great display of force, and the citizens of the King's side showed so savage a temper towards the authorities and the heralds, that the conference was broken off, and the peril passed. Four days later the King returned with a strong body of men from Normandy¹, and was received into his faithful city with loud cries of 'Noel.'

Then began a blockade: Charolais lay above, at the Grange aux Merciers, within gunshot of the walls; the Duke of Calabria was first at Lagny, then at Charenton, commanding the course of the two rivers, Seine and Marne; the Bretons occupied S. Denis; the rest were scattered among the villages round: those who afterwards came up from the south, as Nemours and Armagnac, lay farther off; for food was scarce in the camps. To the south the town was open; but Charenton with Conflans above, and S. Denis below, closed the river-supplies from Champagne and Normandy. Yet the city never wanted food, while the princes suffered horribly; indeed had the King been sure of Paris he might have quietly waited till famine relieved him of them. But Paris was not safe: one night, after the siege had lasted some weeks, the King found the Bastille S. Antoine, which was close to the quarters of the Count of Charolais, left open, and some guns on the bastions spiked. Feeling his insecurity, and being still impatient of humour, the King then began to treat for peace, hoping to sow distrust among the Leaguers, and perhaps to detach some: there was an incessant coming and going. The King refused to fight; he harassed them with sallies of small bodies of troops; he fired on them with 'serpentes' from the walls; he constructed a well-placed earthwork opposite Charenton, on the left bank of the Seine,

¹ The king's Normans, the surest part of his garrison, wore a kind of uniform; those from Caen had that word embroidered on their jackets; the men of Alençon wore the motto 'Audi partem.' These are among the early germs of modern regimentals.

hard by its junction with the Marne, whence he annoyed their headquarters exceedingly.

But matters pressed; the King thought it safest to deal in person with his foes, and was rowed up the Seine till he saw the Counts of Charolais and S. Pol standing on the bank. Then he hailed them from the water: 'Brother,' he cried to the Count, 'do you guarantee me?' He replied at once, 'Yes, Sire, as a brother.' Then the King landed, and walking between the two, discussed terms of peace. He agreed to all the demands of Charolais, offered S. Pol the Constable's sword, and charmed them by the grace and sweetness of his manners and talk: but to the demand that the Duke of Berry should have Normandy he would not consent. That question was left pending. As to the Public Weal, that, as Commynes says, was 'turned to private gain¹.' So the King went back to his boat, and to Paris. The conferences continued at the Grange aux Merciers, Normandy being still the obstacle to peace. But news came that Madame de Brezé, widow of the seneschal who had perished at Montleheri, had given Rouen city and castle into the hands of the Duke of Bourbon, and that almost all the province had yielded to him: for the great Duchy yearned for a Duke of its own². Pontoise—so important for communications—also had been sold, and its gates opened to the Duke of Brittany's men. Then the King, seeing that he could not cope with treachery as well as force, and feeling that 'what was done could not be mended,' and that it was a small matter to give up what he had already lost, accepted the terms of the League in full: the Peace of Conflans was quickly agreed to and signed.

Not a word was breathed as to the 'Public Weal'; each man carried off his prize; Louis XI was left sitting desolate in his fair city of Paris.

The Duke of Berry resigned that Duchy to the King, and was made Duke of Normandy; the Count of Charolais secured his

¹ Commynes, I. xii. (i. p. 93).

² Ibid. I. xiii. (i. p. 98).

heart's desire, the Somme towns¹, also Guines and Boulogne. To the Duke of Calabria fell, as his share, certain places on the Lorraine frontier, a round sum of money, and soldiers at the King's charge. The Duke of Brittany, to the westward, secured Étampes and Montfort, with certain seigniorial rights, including that of coining money; Bourbon recovered his pension, as in the days of Charles VII; Dunois got back all the King had taken from him, and a large pension besides; Dammartin had fair gifts, and all his lands restored; S. Pol was created Constable of France. As to the smaller men, 'each went off with his piece.'

But not a word as to those States General, so much called for at the outset; nor much stand for the Pragmatic Sanction: but, that they should not seem utterly to have forgotten all their professions, the Leaguers made the King promise to name a commission of thirty-six notables—twelve nobles, twelve churchmen, twelve lawyers—to enquire of the state of the realm, and draw up ordinances and edicts which the King bound himself to accept. But, as one of the chroniclers says, 'I have enquired thereof diligently, but never could I learn who were the thirty-six, who was the first and who the last².' Still, the thirty-six were named, though nothing came of their labours³.

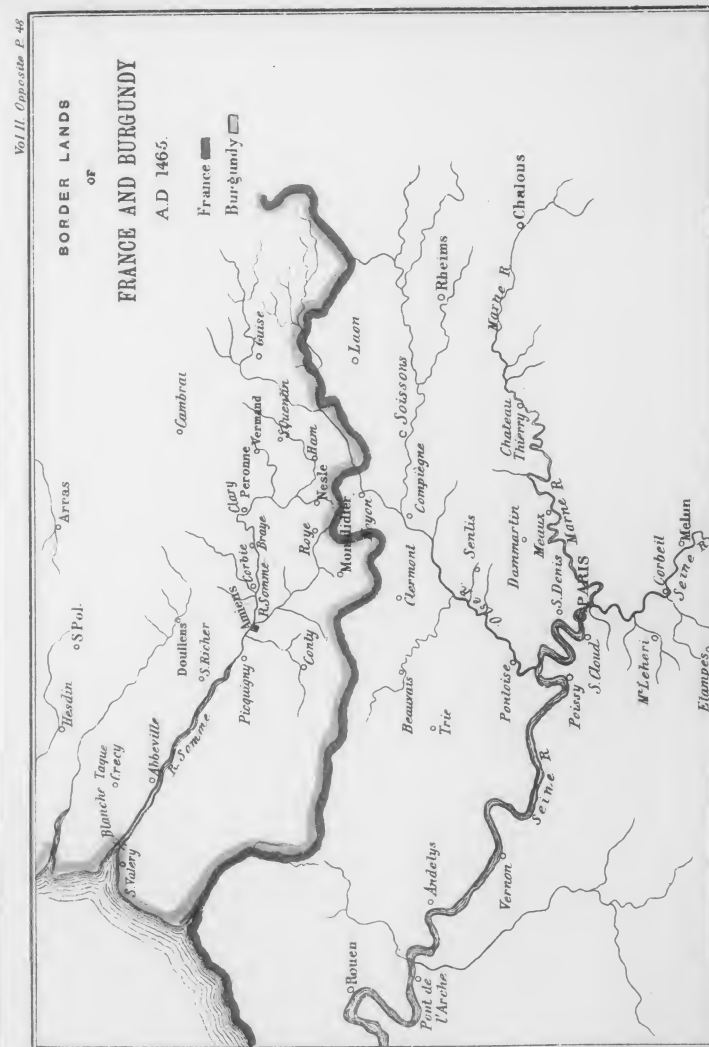
The Peace of Conflans, between Louis and Charles of Charolais, was signed October 5th, 1465; at S. Maur des Fossés a similar treaty was also signed by Louis and the confederate princes. It has been said that the nobles of France have ever been ready to sacrifice their permanent political fortunes for present gain: the war of the Public Weal is an early instance of the truth of this saying.

The Leaguers were very glad to have peace, for they were all but starved. The Burgundians and Bretons, when food was

¹ These were, in 1465, the Castle of Hondecourt, Bray, Peronne, Lejons, Liencourt, Fay, Chanle, Nesle, Beaulieu, Roye, Montdidier.

² Olivier de la Marche, c. xxxv. (ed. 1785, p. 88).

³ Commines (ed. 1785), I. Preuves, p. 491, where the list is given in full, from the Collections of the Abbé le Grand.



brought out, and a kind of fair set up in the fields outside the gate of S. Antoine, bought it at a great price, whereby the citizens got large profits¹: 'their cheeks were thin and pendent, from the misery they had long undergone; most of them were barefoot; full of filth and vermin.' For a while the wealthy city fed them without being straitened; then they broke up and went home; the War of the Public Weal was over.

One might have thought that the feudal princes had utterly crushed the monarchy. Louis had made his first essay at government, and had failed; he was less of a king than four years back, when he was crowned at Rheims. But he was not the man to despair; on the contrary, he shone in adversity; 'Never was any man so clever at severing people'; and he remembered the shrewd advice of his Italian teacher and friend Francesco Sforza — 'grant all they ask, but be careful to keep your own people round you; means of dividing the princes may easily be found².' At the King's instigation as a first step the Parliament of Paris refused to ratify or register the treaty of Conflans.

Nor had he long to wait: the Duke of Brittany and easy-going Charles, the King's brother, now Duke of Normandy, fell out over their shares of spoil; the discord went so far that Brittany in fear and anger left Rouen and camped out on S. Catherine's hill, just above the town; thence, when the others threatened to assault him, he withdrew in great wrath to his own duchy. Then the King came down, and at once the strong places began to fall to him; he met the aggrieved Duke of Brittany at Caen, and made a treaty with him, which left him free to deal as he would with his brother Charles, while Brittany withdrew to the heart of his domains. Thence the King marched to find his brother, taking Pont de l'Arche on his way. Charles made no resistance, but followed the Duke of Brittany to Caen, where he was reconciled with him, and, as Commynes says, 'the

¹ Jean de Troye, pp. 100, 101.

² Commynes, I. viii. (i. p. 74).

two dukes were wise, Breton-fashion, when it was too late¹. Rouen opened her gates; all Normandy was recovered by the King.

That within three months the treaty of Conflans should be flagrantly violated was a deep mortification to the Burgundians: Charolais rightly felt that the best part of his work was undone again². But what could he do? The League was broken up; the princes all at home; his own army engaged, in bitter winter weather, with his attack on Liège. So he gloomily accepted the King's excuses, and was fain to bide his time.

Shortly after this, Dammartin came over to the King's side; he was at once overwhelmed with gifts and honours, Louis rejoicing much to secure him: ever after this he was faithful even at the worst moments.

At the time of the siege of Paris, Louis had encouraged the men of Liège to revolt against their bishop, hoping thus to occupy the Count of Charolais. Liège felt no love for her powerful neighbour. The Meuse valley, lying between Teutonic Flanders and Hainault on the one side, and the Teutonic Rhineland on the other, has ever maintained, thanks chiefly to the great Ardennes forest, a Celtic population, ingenious and given to busy industries, manufactures and mining. Feudally under the Empire, the Meuse towns inclined towards France, and opposed the House of Burgundy.

Now in 1445 Duke Philip had made the Bishop of Liège resign, and had imposed on the city Louis of Bourbon, a warm partisan of the Burgundians, and a man of bad character. The citizens hated and presently ejected him; a civic revolution followed, corresponding to the movements at this time going on in several German cities. The people chose sheriffs, named judges; the mendicant friars, men of the people, the liberal

¹ Commynes, I. xvi. (i. p. 111): 'Ces deux Ducz estoient saiges après le coup (comme l'on dict des Bretons).'

² Ibid. I. xv. (i. p. 109): 'Luy douloit bien de veoir ceste division; car la chose du monde qu'il désiroit le plus, c'estoit de veoir ung duc en Normandie: car par ce moyen il luy sembloit le Roy estre affoibly de la tierce partie.'

clergy of their day, performed the offices of religion in place of the ejected bishop and chapter: the city called in a German prince, the Margrave of Baden, as its ruler. When news of the battle of Montleheri, described as a victory of Louis over Charles, reached Liège, the citizens at once sent a defiance to the Burgundian Court—they had been content hitherto with their revolution at home—and in combination with their neighbour Dinant, a town famous for 'Dinanderie,' its iron pots and pans¹, attacked the Duchy of Limburg. But Louis, on whom they had counted, could not help; Charolais, freed by the Peace of Conflans, marched on Dinant, and with horrible savagery uprooted the town, bringing the first stain on his hitherto fair name: Liège submitted.

Reeking with the blood of Dinant, he returned to Flanders, where he had tidings of his father's illness, and hastened to his bedside. There his devotion to his aged parent was beautiful: the dying Duke begged him to rest; otherwise he would fall ill: but he refused to leave him, and sat there attentive and sorrowful four days and nights, till the end². The better nature of Charles showed itself in his real and extreme grief: for days he could not see one of his father's servants, or speak of him without tears. They buried him at Bruges³, amid the laments of his people. For fifty years had he ruled over them, this great Duke of the West, amazing them with his wealth, liberality, and gorgeous shows: they did not feel he was spoiling and debauching them, as was in truth the case. To him men had looked when Christendom was threatened; he had gathered states and cities under his more than royal hand; he had governed well, but had also shed seas of blood in order to be able so to govern. His lands were fertile, teeming with all manner of produce; his court splendid, and even for that age dissolute. He was corrupt but prudent; under him the

¹ 'Dinanderie' now is gingerbread.

² Duclercq, c. xiv. (ed. 1785, p. 483).

³ The Duke's body was carried in 1473 to the Chartreux at Dijon, and laid among the bones of his ancestors.

glory of his dukedom reached its height. His successor was a man of purity and culture, but he was also hasty, violent, and obstinate: the 'great thoughts' he nourished in his younger days brought him and his splendid House to destruction.

CHAPTER III.

SECOND PERIOD OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XI,
A.D. 1467-1472 (*from the Accession of Charles the Bold
to the end of the War of 1472*)¹.

THE rivalry between Louis XI and Charles the Bold, which occupies us through this middle period of the King's life, was one not merely of neighbouring princes, but of clashing principles, opposing ideas, and personages in every way antagonistic to one another. It is not true to say, as has often been said, that Charles the Bold was the head of feudal anarchy as opposed to the incoming age of monarchical absolutism. No man ever made greater efforts to become an absolute sovereign than did Charles: his father was a great feudal potentate, no doubt; but the son, in all but the name, was a great monarch. The true difference was this:—while Louis XI was a successful master of the new kingcraft, Charles the Bold was unsuccessful in aiming at what was much higher—an imperial position, a grand lordship over many lands. In the main he was under the Empire: some of his vast domains were feudally under the King of France, but for far the larger part he paid allegiance to the Emperor, not to the King². The bond connecting these great territories was

¹ Charles the Bold made war against Louis XI as follows:—

1. As Count of Charolais—the 'Public Weal,' A.D. 1465.

2. On Duke Philip's death, ending after the interview of Peronne, A.D. 1467, 1468.

3. After the assembly of Notables at Tours, A.D. 1471.

4. The Second Great League, A.D. 1472.

5. The Anglo-Burgundian War, A.D. 1474.

After that he left France alone, and turned against Germany and the Swiss.

² See below, pp. 58, 59.

not that of a monarchy: no joint national life was in them; they were wide apart in position, sympathies, and race-origin. The theory that Charles strove after a kingdom of Burgundy rests on slight foundations: it was before his father's eyes, not before his, that Pope Pius II had hung out this dazzling prize¹. What Charles aimed at, in the later, if not in the earlier years of his life, was the establishment of a grand 'Empire of the Rhine,' from source to mouth: and it is probable that in his dealings with the Emperor Frederick III he aimed at a kingship only in the special sense in which the presumed successor to the Empire was styled 'King of the Romans.' There is no trace, in his case, of a claim to another kind of royalty. Truly, as Commynes says, Charles the Bold was a man of grand ideas, a dreamer,—whose dreams, but for the unfortunate coalition in his character of those dangerous qualities, pride, obstinacy, and wrathfulness, might have been realised in a new and splendid development of the Holy Roman Empire.

And though he failed, his daughter, Mary of Burgundy, the greatest heiress in Christendom, by carrying her vast possessions to Maximilian of Austria, laid the foundations of the grandeur of the House of Austria, and of the perennial rivalry between that House and the Kingdom of France; and thus in a sense his great schemes found fulfilment.

At the time of his succession to the splendid lordship left him by Duke Philip, Charles Count of Charolais was thirty-four years of age, in the very prime of life, blessed with a fine constitution, with abilities far above the average, a man of unrivalled energy and industry, and, above all, one who was conscious of a high sense of duty. Brought up in the midst of the luxury and corruption of his father's court, he seemed to pass unstained through it, a very knight of chivalrous romance, superior to all fears and temptations. He was open to all the better influences, and to none of the seductive snares of art and culture. In the studies now coming into fashion he was an apt and diligent scholar:

¹ Æneas Sylvius, *Op.* p. 855, 856.

'he learnt well at the school . . . and retained what he learnt better than any one of his age¹.' In the best sense of the word he was a gentleman: refined, courteous, polished; he could dance beautifully, 'though not much addicted to such idleness,' was an excellent chess-player, a good musician, composing songs and motets; no man was ever better at athletic games; none drew a truer bow: in the tourney he was the toughest combatant, 'not,' says Olivier de la Marche, 'as a prince or a lord fights, but like a hardy, puissant, formidable knight, giving and taking great blows, not sparing himself.' He knew not what fatigue was; for he had a splendid constitution, and had diligently trained it to bear hardness². He delighted in high and noble deeds, specially in the stories of Alexander or of the Romans; each night before he went to rest the Lord of Humbercourt, 'who could read right well,' read to him for a couple of hours:—in striking contrast with the loose and vulgar storytelling that had gone on at the same time in the little court of the Dauphin at Geneppe. This reading turned his mind to great thoughts of wide conquest, large dominion, imperial glories: everything in Charles points to empire, not to kingship. He grouped round him the best lawyers he could find, especially those skilled in Roman Law: whereas Louis XI sent into Italy for modern politicians from Venice, that they might teach him statecraft. As an administrator at the outset of his reign he shewed no small ability: he 'worked outrageously,' plunging into the distasteful maze of accounts, and trying to introduce a system of regular and equable taxation; 'but all,' it is added, 'not for the good of his people, but to augment his own pomp and wealth.' Nor did he only busy himself with taxes: he reformed his father's dissolute court; instead of the free life the 'good Duke's' courtiers led, there was solemn state; the common table was abolished; the new Duke took no pleasure in the convivial company of friends and household, but placed between them

¹ 'Apprenoit à l'eschole moult bien . . . et retenoit ce qu'il avoit ouy mieux qu'autre de son aage.'

² Commynes, I. iv. (i. p. 51).

and himself the barriers of a modern etiquette. In all things he indicates a wish to mould his father's feudal grandeur into a more formed and ordered lordship, according to the proud bearing of his motto, 'J'ay empris.' Chastellain, who knew him well, adds a remarkable trait: he loved to give lectures to his court, and did it well, for he was eloquent: he discoursed to them of virtue and self-restraint. Thrice a week he lectured in due form after dinner; benches were set before him, and there the nobles sat, each in his rank, whether he would or no. The discourses, moral and edifying as they were, seem to have proved rather wearisome to his audience¹.

To the calls of religion he paid sedulous attention: he fasted every great fast, was liberal of hand, true and faithful to wife and friends: 'a fair thing,' says Du Clercq, 'was the fair life they led in marriage²': 'in the days of his virtuous youth,' says Olivier, 'he was prudent, open-handed, truthful, and cultivated such manners and such virtues, that I have never read of nor have I seen so virtuous a young prince³.'

With this noble character and this vigorous constitution he had also great gifts of personal beauty. 'His eyes angelically clear,' though with depths of latent fire in them; his face massive and stedfast, and of a rich brown tint, betraying his southern blood; his hair thick, curling stiffly. But this fine face could grow dark and severe when the under-nature was aroused; then it was terrible to see. 'In his youth,' says Olivier, 'he resisted his temperament⁴'; no one was more courteous and gentle than he. In his younger days he even disliked the noble pastime of war, though he delighted much in all knightly exercises; not till that absurd battle of Montleheri did he seem to have 'tasted blood,' and to have become aware of the tiger-nature within⁵.

¹ Chastellain (ed. 1836), pp. 448, 449.

² Du Clercq, c. ii.

³ Olivier de la Marche, c. xxviii. (ed. 1785), i. pp. 406, 407.

⁴ Commynes, V. ix. (ii. p. 66): 'Pour le temps que je l'ay congneu, il n'estoit point cruel; mais le devint avant sa mort.'

⁵ Ibid. I. iv. (i. p. 50): 'Estoit très inutile pour la guerre paravant ce

Such was Charles the Bold, when in 1467 he became the head of the House of Burgundy. But, as the proverb has it, mastership, like wine, unmasks the man: and the three demons lurking within him under stern control hitherto now broke out and drove him to destruction. He was proud, while Louis was only vain; the one proud of his great position¹, the other vain of his skill. He was choleric; once with his own hand he killed an archer who disobeyed him; in his later days he became terrible to all: above all, he was obstinate, took no advice, doggedly held his ground; the tenacity he shewed at Neusz contrasts singularly with the shifts and changes of Louis, who cared nothing what means he tried so long as he arrived at his end. Both these princes are marked examples of deterioration: in the one the hot nature gets the mastery; year by year he grows fiercer, more overbearing, more terrible: in the other the cold nature rules; year by year Louis grows more selfish, more solitary, more silently cruel and absolute. Thus often to mixed and strong characters there comes a day of conversion; it may be for good or for evil: the forces before depressed now dominate, the direction of the career changes, the complexion of the man's acts takes tone from the new influences; and unhappy is the man and the people in which this change, as in the case of Charles the Bold, is from the nobler to the worse, from spirit to matter, from vigour to violence, from wholesome strictness to cruelty.

To this new Duke of Burgundy how many noble provinces looked with hope and desire! The extent of his lands was wonderful. Even at his accession Duke Charles was the greatest prince of the Empire; before his Swiss wars ruined him he had grown to be the greatest prince in Europe. His territories lay on the frontiers of the German-speaking and the

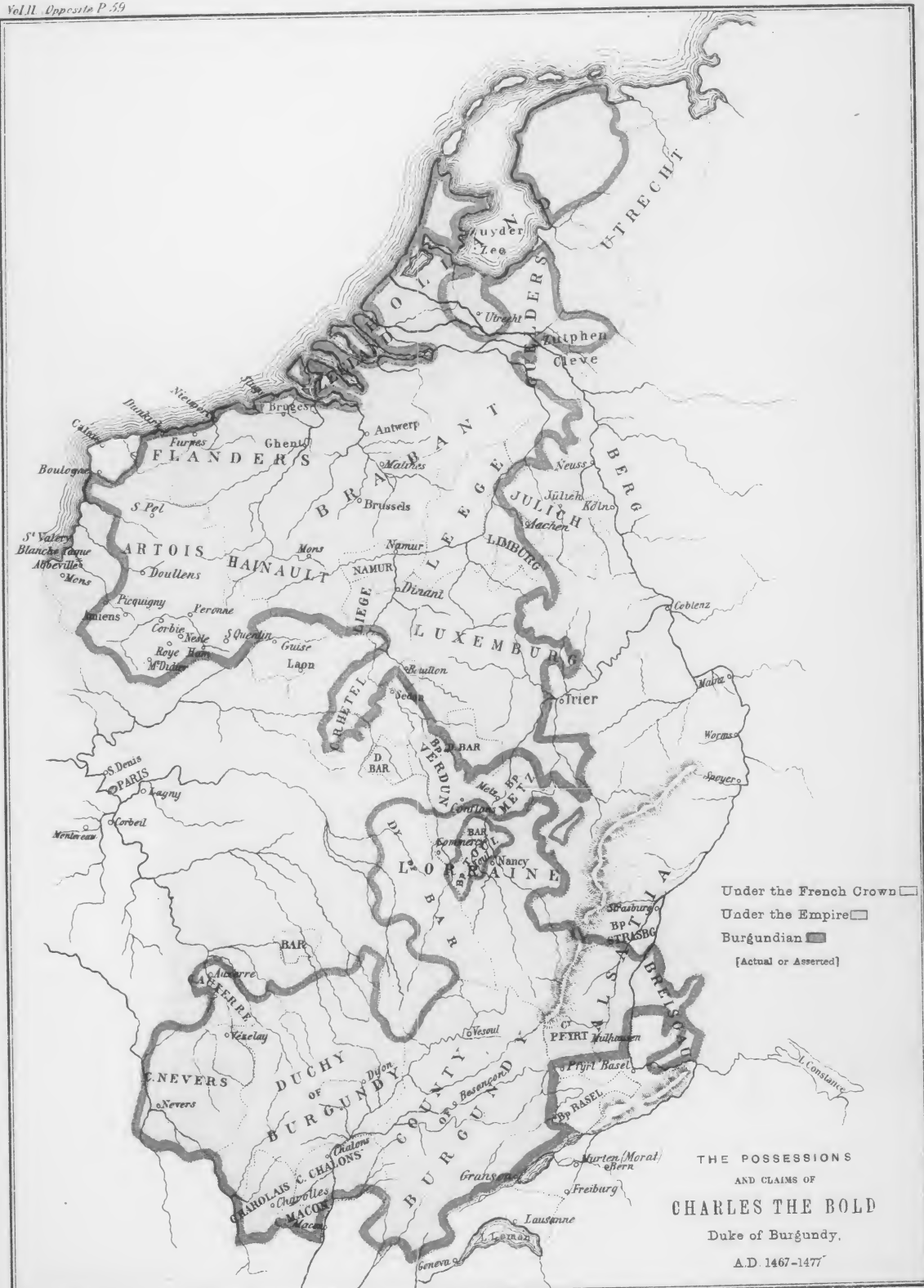
jour, et n'aymoit nulle chose qui y appartinst, mais puis changèrent ses pensées, car il y a continué jusques à sa mort: et par là fut finée sa vie, et sa maison destruite.'

¹ Commynes, V. ix. (ii. p. 66): 'Toutes les graces et honneurs qu'il avoit receuz en ce monde il les estimoit toutes proceder de son sens et de sa vertu, sans les atribuer à Dieu.'

French-speaking races: they were both represented among his subjects. At the height of his power his lands, roughly speaking, formed a huge curve, stretching from the Flemish seaboard to Switzerland: the stones of the arch were Flanders, Holland and Gelderland, then Hainault and Brabant, Namur and Luxemburg, Limburg also; then Lorraine, the Duchy and County of Burgundy, and lastly Alsace, and for a time at least the Breisgau across the Rhine. Among these Lorraine was evidently marked out by nature as the keystone of the fabric: it was central, easy of access from either side, a line of communication between Germany and France. In Picardy to the north, and in the Duchy of Burgundy in the east, his territories struck far into the heart of France: while the more northern parts were substantive lordships under the Empire. There is extant¹ a record of the homage done by Philip the Good to Louis XI on his accession in 1463: this gives us the extent of territory feudally under the King of France. This was the Duchy of Burgundy, and the 'Peerage and office of Dean of Peers thereto attaching'; the county of Flanders, with its Peerage; the County of Artois, and 'all other lands and lordships that he held in France.' The Netherland part of the Duke's lands was fairly solid and coherent: Flanders, Brabant, Hainault, and Gelderland, in spite of the turbulent vigour of the commercial cities, formed the true heart of his territorial power, with Brussels for their capital. The great blunder of Charles lay in this, that he oppressed and bled these wealthy and compact states in order to carry out his grand ideas in the east; that in fact he aimed at making Nanci the capital and centre of his chain of states, instead of being content with a less ambitious and more secure power in the west and north-west of the Empire. His was naturally the headship of the Low Dutch branch of the Germanic peoples: but he threw away that fine position, that he might grasp a shadow, and fall².

¹ Communes (ed. 1785), *Preuves de la Préface*, i. pp. 240, 242.

² This is the place for a summary of his territories. In 1363 King John of France had granted the Duchy of Burgundy to his youngest son Philip





The bulk of his lands, then, was German: and the Duke, French by origin, seemed long to waver between a French and a German policy. He had two problems before him: both he doubtless aimed at solving in course of time; but which should be his principal object? The two problems were:—Should he keep down the King of France by a league of princes all round his frontiers, so carrying on the policy of the league of the Public Weal? or, Should he consolidate his own power to the north and east, and build up for himself an Empire of the Rhine? The former, the French policy, was one of coalition; the latter, the German, of consolidation: the former feudal, the latter monarchical, even imperial. On the one side we have his famous speech: 'I love so well the Kingdom of France, that for one king there is there I would gladly see six': on the other side we have his speech at Nanci, in which he

the Bold (the Duchy had fallen to the Crown by failure of heirs male at the death of Duke Philip of Rouvres, the last of the first line, in 1361). King John's grant was confirmed by Charles V in 1364. Philip the Bold got Flanders and Artois on the death of Louis de Mâle in 1384, by marrying his widow Margaret of Flanders; at the same time he obtained Franche Comté, which had come to her in 1361. Antony, second son of Philip the Bold, became Duke of Brabant and Limburg in 1406; on the ending of his line in 1430 these lands passed to the elder branch in the person of Philip the Good (who had also bought Namur in 1421). Philip also wrested from Jacqueline of Holland her inheritances in Hainault, Holland, Brabant, and Zealand, in 1433, 1436. By the Treaty of Arras in 1435 he got the Somme valley with its towns, and (on the other side) the counties of Auxerre and Mâcon. Finally, as protector of his aunt, Elizabeth of Luxembourg, and by purchase, he succeeded to the Duchy of Luxembourg in 1462, at which time Antwerp and Mechlin were also transferred to him. Of the Netherlands eleven provinces (all Holland and Belgium that now are, except Gelderland, Friesland, and Liège) were now his; and in 1469, by a transaction and money-lending with Sigismund of Austria he got hold of Upper Alsace and the Breisgau, as a kind of security. Gelderland and Zutphen became his in 1473 on the death of the old Duke Arnold, who left them to him rather than to his unnatural son; and who had received a money-consideration for so doing. In the same year he seized on the Duchy of Lorraine, though he was compelled to let it go for a time. He conquered it, as he thought, permanently in 1475, as he was on his way to his overthrow in Switzerland. What could be more splendid than the roll of the titles of Duke John: 'Mr. le Duc de Bourgogne, de Lotrich, de Brabant, de Limburg, et de Luxembourg, Comte de Flandre, d'Artois et de Bourgogne, Palatin de Hollande de Zelande et de Namur, Margrave du St. Empire, Sire de Friese de Salins et de Malines.' Quoted by Michelet, tom. v. p. 406.

indicated his intention of making that city the capital of his empire.

Now, from his accession to the winter of 1472, Charles followed almost exclusively the former of these two lines of policy: but from that date till his death, though he did not abandon his outlying western alliances, he quite changed his course and struck for the Rhine. The acquisition of Gelderland, which gave him the mastery over the Rhine-mouths, seems to have afforded the motive for the new policy; it was the pivot on which the line was changed.

Correspondingly, the policy of Louis XI has two periods; the active and the observant. While Charles interfered in northern and western France, Louis had to fight for his life; intrigue played only a secondary part. Later, when the Duke was on the Rhine, or in Lorraine or Switzerland, the King fights no longer: he sees that his favourite weapons will also be the best for his purpose; he intrigues with skill and success, weaves fine nets, encourages the hostile forces with words and money:—but not a man does he set on foot: vigilant, incessant, an impalpable foe, his influence dogs the footsteps of the Great Duke, a malign shadow falls on the best laid plans; the strong man wearies himself in vain, beating the air; no blows can reach the hidden enemy. And lastly, round the King the counsellors, so far as he let them counsel him¹, represented also these two lines of policy. Dammartin and the soldiers were all for fighting; Balue and the churchmen and lawyers rejoiced in quiet intrigues.

Tempting as is the drama of the career of Duke Charles, with its grand central character, stirring scenes which rouse the dullest imagination, and its terrible and tragical end, still it does not really belong to the history of France. It borders on it,

¹ Brezé, the old Seneschal of Normandy (who said 'my seal is with them, but my body with you,' when the King taxed him with joining the League in 1465), a man who had a way of saying what he thought, one day saw the King riding on a little jennet: 'I could not have believed,' he said, 'that that horse was so strong'; and when the King asked why? he added, 'Why? because he is strong enough to carry the King and all his council.'

and during the earlier period affects it constantly and deeply; but during the later or heroic period it scarcely touches France, till it is all over. We will therefore deal but slightly with it—giving it a treatment quite unworthy of the subject, but as large perhaps as the matter we have in hand permits.

The years that followed the Peace of Conflans were spent by the King in consolidating his strength against the outer circle of his assailants. That he held the central position was all-important: but the centre of that centre was Paris; and the one hope for Louis lay in her loyalty to him, and in the chance he had of arousing some feeling in France on his behalf. For the first he set himself to strengthen in every way his hold on the capital; for the second, he convoked the Three Estates at Tours. At this time he also began to act more prudently towards his servants: he left off suddenly raising or debasing them; those who were faithful he attached still more firmly to himself. Such a one was Dammartin, his old foe, now his staunchest friend; such, so far as the King was concerned, might have been that schemer S. Pol, the ambitious small man between two great ones. He had the Constable's sword; he desired a great marriage, and the King got him a Savoyard princess, his niece, and betrothed the Count's daughter to his own nephew. He promised him the County of Eu, to extend his lands to the sea. He gave him the town of Guise, and foot-hold in Normandy¹. The King meant him to be his instrument for the recovery of those Somme towns which play so large a part in the history of this period. Those towns were now smarting under the Duke's heavy taxation, and 'were angry at being no longer under the King of France.' On another ground they were very important to France. From Amiens the Duke of Burgundy could stretch out a hand to the Duke of Normandy, if he were hostile to the King; and Normandy touched on Brittany. So that a chain could thus be formed, which should exclude the French King from the whole

¹ Michelet, vi. p. 196.

coast. Then it was reckoned that with help of the English, with whom Burgundy and Brittany were ever dealing, Louis might be made powerless. This is why Charles was so stiff as to Normandy at Conflans; this the secret of the King's haste to eject his weak brother from that Duchy.

In connexion with this policy, the Duke in 1466 allied himself closely with the House of York, then dominant in England. On the other hand, the English nobles sent their champion Warwick to Paris to conclude a peace with Louis, whether their king liked it or not. For all that, there remained the formidable fact, that English Edward, if he could, would take a prominent part on the side of the League. An English force was sent to Calais in 1467; five hundred Englishmen appeared in the Burgundian army. At the moment of the old Duke's death, this new League, a league of princes, not of nobles, embraced Burgundy and England, Brittany, Aragon, and Castile.

To quench this outer circle of fire the King strained every nerve. He had already done his best for Paris; he had granted her great privileges, and made her free from taxation; he now gave her arms and banners¹. Pains were taken to re-people the town; for war and mortality had thinned its population. The Church and the Bar, Notre Dame and the Parliament—the two dwellers in the Cité—were conciliated: the King had not always treated them so considerately. He and his queen came into Paris in the autumn of 1467, and were received with high pomp and festival². Then he held a great review of all Parisians who could bear arms from sixteen years to sixty; a vast muster of men, more or less armed, more or less drilled. 'Sire,' said one to the King, as they were looking on, 'do you know that in this muster there are more than ten thousand men who could not go ten leagues on horse without baiting?' 'By my faith,' replied the King, with a smile, 'I do think their wives would ride better

¹ Jean de Troye (ed. 1786), pp. 142, 143; *Ordonnances des Roys*, xvi. p. 671, June 1467.

² Jean de Troye (ed. 1786), p. 147.

than they¹. Still, good with bad, it was an imposing display of strength: Jean de Troye thinks there were from sixty to eighty thousand under arms, 'all in fair order, without confusion or noise.' They marched eastwards out of the town, as far as Conflans, and home again. The King also saw to the civic defences. He struck sharply and with mystery at his foes in the town: these were the days of Tristan l'Hermite, and of men suddenly seized and darkly disappearing. The heads of men known to be favourable to the Burgundians were never safe; the more notable among them perished.

But now the coalition began to move: the Duke of Burgundy was too much engaged at home to come south at once; but the Bretons entered Normandy, and took Caen and Alençon, menacing the Seine, and calling on their English allies to make a descent: they offered to make over to them twelve strongholds as a base for their operations.

Then Louis played another card: he 'condescended' to convoke the States General² at Tours for April 6th, 1468. They came in fair numbers: many nobles and churchmen, and, for the third Estate, 'sixty good towns sent each its three deputies, a priest and two laymen³.'

¹ Cabinet de Louis XI, p. 11.

² Jean de Troye, p. 167: 'Enfin le roy se condescendit que les trois Estats se tiendroient et assembleroient, et pour ce faire leur fut lieu assigné en la ville de Tours.'

³ The States General of France, the solemn meetings of the three Estates, clergy, nobles and commons, were general assemblies convoked at intervals of very various length, whenever the king 'condescended' to call them together. They were three independent and coordinate bodies, sitting, debating, voting in separate chambers. The name first appears early in the fourteenth century. We rarely find any real constitutional action. 'From the ninth to the sixteenth century,' says Sir James Stephen (*Lectures on the History of France*, ii. p. 348) 'the King was the real as well as the nominal lawgiver of France.' Their functions were limited to expression of opinion on points laid before them by the King, or on *gravamina* brought up by them from the country. They usually supported the monarchy, whether against Pope or Templars, or as when they ransomed 'John the Good,' or decided succession questions, or refused to sanction alienations of territory. They also dealt, with a timid hand and slightly, with internal troubles and difficulties; they went against the Huguenots, against Henry IV when he was struggling to secure the crown; they were consulted as to the majority of Louis XIII. In the matter of

The question laid before them by the King was this:—Can the King for the time being alienate the Duchy of Normandy? Their reply was prompt and clear: The King 'has but his voyage,' he is but a passenger, while the realm remains; consequently the realm alone can give or take away; the King has no right to alienate any part of his realm. The reply is intended to apply to the Somme towns quite as much as to Normandy. It was also agreed what the apanage of Charles, the King's brother, should be, and that he should be entitled

gravamina, they listened to complaints, and formulated their *cahiers* (or 'quires') of grievance, which they laid solemnly before the King for his consideration, leaving all amendment entirely in his hands, for they had no power of redress. In a few instances they sanctioned taxation, and even voted subsidies; but this most important function was exercised rarely and uncertainly. Once only (in 1560) do they seem to have attempted actual legislation. The nearest approach to real Parliamentary Government took place when they met under the influence of Étienne Marcel in 1356, though even then it is doubtful how far the Estates were a true representation of the three bodies. At that time they debated in one chamber, and recognised three great principles (see vol. i. p. 436): (1) The right of frequent and regular session; (2) the right of equal taxation; (3) the right to control the King in the matter of taxation, and to abolish his power of levying aids and taxes at his own pleasure. But this was only a gleam of constitutional light: with Marcel's death the parliamentary system perished also. It is singular that in 1541 Seyssel (*Grande Monarchie de France*, c. xiii. p. 170) declares that the Three Estates are 'la noblesse, le peuplemoyen que l'on peult appeller le peuple gras, et le peuple menu,' omitting the clergy, 'because they belong alike to all estates.'

The most important meeting of the Estates were as follows:—Under Philip IV (1301, 1302) against Boniface VIII; in 1308 against the Templars; in 1314 to levy taxes; in 1317 and 1328 on the Salic Law and the royal succession; in 1356, 1357, under Marcel; in 1420 to ratify the Treaty of Troyes, and to vote a subsidy (this was under that Parliamentary King, Henry V of England); in 1468 at Tours, to save Normandy for the crown; in 1484 to fix the age of the majority of Charles VIII (when the chambers were elective and parliamentary forms were observed); in 1560 to make Catherine dei Medici Regent of France, and to draw up a Commercial Code; in 1593 to support the League against Henry IV; in 1614 on the majority of Louis XIII (a very 'bear-garden' for confusion and quarrelling); and lastly, in 1789, when the Estates eventually were merged in the Constituent Assembly. Finally, as Sir James Stephen adds, the questions as to the true composition of the States, their procedure, competency, constitutional authority, are both 'obscure and intricate.' Throughout, the kings claimed and exercised at will the right of law-making by their Ordonnances, of laying and levying taxation, of redressing gravamina; so that the constitutional powers of the Estates were always very limited; and when the monarchy became really strong, the Estates were never again summoned to meet.

Count or even Duke; and that the King should also grant him a large pension; but the Duchy of Normandy should not be his; it was not for the King to grant it away, or to dismember the realm. Notable words, which make us regret that the French kings had not the wisdom and patriotism to strengthen the nation by giving real, fixed, and weighty functions to the States-General, the true Parliament of France. The Estates promised warmly to support the King: he had laid before them an account of the communications going on between Brittany and England, which seemed likely to result in a fresh war, renewing the old miseries of France. The clergy thereon undertook to make prayers, and find funds out of their temporalities; the nobles and the third Estate agreed to help according to their means. The King also induced them to approve of a commission, chosen from all the Estates, to remedy abuses and to order the course of law. A singular decree was also agreed to: it was ordered that 'Monseigneur de Charolais' (so they still style the Duke of Burgundy), 'seeing he is both near kinsman of the King and also a Peer of France,' should be called on to occupy himself sedulously with this matter—a curiously indirect defiance to the Duke, as the prime mover in these troubles.

A report of the whole proceedings was laid before the Duke, who was at Cambrai, holding an assembly of his friends. The haughty contempt with which he treated the ambassadors helped to strengthen the King's hands, as it offended, in their persons, the nobles of France. The King had already secured himself to the south and south-east by making terms with the Bourbons and with the great House of Anjou. Even the shifty Count of Maine swore to be true to him, taking oath on the dreaded cross of S. Laud of Angers. Charles, his brother, weak in mind and body, gave him little uneasiness: the English King was not firmly enough established at home to venture on braving the anger of Warwick and his party. Thus only Brittany and Burgundy remained as formidable antagonists: the former had already begun war; the latter was gathering a

menacing force in Picardy near Peronne¹, and only paused to secure his English allies still more closely by his splendid wedding with Margaret of York (2nd July, 1468).

This was the moment which Louis seized for a swift attack on Brittany; fortnight by fortnight he prolonged a precarious but precious truce with Charles the Bold, offering also to abandon Liège if the Duke would abandon the Bretons². He had tempted Liège to resist, and was now ready to leave her to perish; her ruin, then and later, seemed to him as nothing compared with his own interests. He marched two armies into Brittany, one from the side of Normandy, the other through Anjou. The Duke of Brittany could not stand against it; even Charles, the King's brother, rather hindered than helped his friend, and Louis found means to win to his side the Lord of Lescun, the adviser and real ruler of both these weak princes. The Duke gave way, signed a treaty at Ancenis (10th Sept. 1468), and submitted the grievances of Charles the King's brother to the arbitration of the Duke of Calabria and the Constable S. Pol.

So far the King had succeeded beyond all expectation: the chain was broken; he had now only to make front against one single foe, though that foe was the formidable Duke of Burgundy.

But how should he act? With the Duke of Brittany, who was weak, he had acted boldly with a strong hand. But with an English fleet at Portsmouth threatening a descent, and the Burgundian army flushed with recent victory at Liège, Louis, though his forces were probably larger and better disciplined than his rival's, still hesitated to move forwards. He was between Dammartin the soldier, who urged him to fight boldly, and Balue the courtier-churchman, who shone in negotiation, and wished him to treat. The soldier hoped for the joys of war and its rewards; the priest would show his skill in the council-

¹ Jean de Troye, p. 178: 'Aux camps près de Peronne, entre Esclusiers et Cappy . . . édifier un parc audit lieu . . . le dos au long de la rivière de Somme.'

² Commynes, II. ii. (i. p. 123).

chamber, and longed to make his profits out of it. Dammartin, too, had lately executed the King's will on Charles of Melun for his desertion of the royal cause at Montleheri, and had been rewarded with the grant of his forfeited lands; he naturally dreaded peace between the King and the Princes. Moreover, S. Pol's hopes and ambitions all depended on keeping the King and the Duke apart. Still, Louis felt that the risks were immense; a battle lost was almost a kingdom thrown away: how far, too, could he trust his chief officers? He was surrounded by treason; his own falseness led him to suspect all of being false; nor was he far wrong. Under the circumstances he decided on treating with the Duke, placing himself in the hands of the false counsellor Balue, after all, instead of trusting the honest soldier Dammartin. It would be a doubtful thing, he thought, to cope with the strong Duke in war; but he had a firm belief in his own superiority in the arts of negotiation, and his vanity was touched by the thought of carrying his point by his skill in dealing with men: so, finally, he took the amazing resolution of going in person to meet the Duke, and of placing himself unreservedly in his hands¹. 'Great is the folly,' says Commynes², 'of a prince who places himself in the power of another'; it is a moment of 'great frauds, deceits, and perjuries'; of captivities and violent deaths. And Louis came very near the last and worst of these evils, while he proved the truth of all the rest.

The Duke, who did not much desire to see him, granted him a full safe-conduct, 'come what might³.' So the King went, with a scanty following; the Duke rode out to meet him, and escorted him into Peronne; he lodged him in a goodly house in full view of the Tower of Peronne, and as he did so, pointed

¹ In Commynes, ed. Dupont, Preuves, vol. iii. pp. 226-236, there are three contemporary accounts of the Peronne interview, besides the narratives given by Commynes himself (who was a chief actor in the scene), by Jean de Troye, and by Olivier de la Marche.

² Commynes, II. vi. (i. p. 155).

³ 'Pour quelque cas qui soit, et qui puisse advenir' is the phrase in the Duke's letter.

out to him with a grim pleasure in the historical detail, that in that Tower 'once a king of France was a prisoner'.¹ The King's guards were lodged at the other end of the town; and, as if to complete his uneasiness, a few minutes after his arrival there came clattering up the street a string of horsemen, and from his windows Louis saw a band of his bitterest enemies, men who thirsted for his blood, dismounting at the castle gate. That evening the King, in deep alarm, finding that the horsemen were gone away again, moved into the safer quarters of the castle, uncomfortable as it was; in fact, he placed himself in a kind of voluntary imprisonment, in the very spot where Karl the Simple had lain a captive. Negotiations began at once, and were continued for some days, the Duke often deliberating whether to imprison or to kill the King. But to imprison him was not safe—'what cage could hold so great a bird?'—and to kill him would be impolitic; for on his death Charles would succeed to the throne, and Charles was the friend of Brittany; consequently, his accession would rather strengthen than weaken the monarchy. And again, as Michelet² phrases it, 'only one half of the King was captive'; the other half, the royal army, lay to the north and east of Paris³, menacing and strong, and commanded by Dammartin and those angry captains, who had counselled war, when 'Reynard had chosen to go and put his head into Isengrim's den.' Only too glad would they be to march and fall on the rich Burgundian lands. Therefore nothing was done: the Duke of Burgundy may have hoped that one day his friends in France might succeed in betraying both the King and his brother into his hands⁴: possibly he thought to attain his end in some other way.

But now things came to a crisis. Before he had thought of

¹ Karl the Simple was confined there by Herbert of Vermandois in 923. He died in prison there in 929 (see vol. i. p. 176).

² Michelet, *Histoire de France*, vi. p. 276 (ed. 1852).

³ Commynes, ed. Dupont, *Preuves*, iii. p. 233: 'Auprès d'illec, savoir est à Meaux, à Senlis et à Compiègne, il y avoit xii c. lances: et d'aoltre coste Mr. de Calabre et Mr. le prince de Navarre estoient à Meaux et à Paris.'

⁴ The narrative in Commynes, *Preuves* (ed. Dupont, iii. p. 235), says distinctly that Balue had promised to do this for the Duke.

going to Peronne the King had sent two men to incite the citizens of Liège to revolt once more; and now, while the Duke's mind was still doubtful, they struck a sudden blow. The Bishop of Liège, the cause of all their ferment, was at Tongres, under the care of the Lord of Hymbercourt. Suddenly came tidings to Peronne that the men of Liège had swooped down on Tongres, and, as the news ran, had killed the Bishop and Hymbercourt, and had put the canons to the sword. As a fact, neither Bishop nor Lord had been touched; but the story did its work. In a blaze of anger Charles the Bold shut himself up three days in his quarters, nursing his wrath; on the fourth day he suddenly determined to go and see the King. Philip of Commines, who here appears on the scene, slipped out and ran down to the castle, and with the uttermost eagerness, and apparently in mortal fear, begged the King to grant everything—everything, or his life was gone! Louis, already dejected and suspicious, and personally timid, agreed to surrender all—and then the Duke appeared. It reads like a well-timed piece of acting throughout. 'His voice trembled, so moved he was, and so nigh unto wrath.' The King could not conceal his terror; he agreed to everything. Peace was made on the base of the Treaty of Conflans, except that Charles, the King's brother, was to have Champagne and Brie instead of Normandy—a stipulation which may be regarded as a first sign of a change of policy on the Duke's part; for these districts in the hands of a friend would cover and secure Lorraine, and give through communication between Flanders, Luxemburg, and the Duchy of Burgundy. It was a first tentative step towards consolidation.¹ Then, to crown the King's humiliation, the Duke asked him if he would not like to go with him to Liège and help to punish the treason of the citizens; and Louis, false-hearted and shameless, replied he would willingly go if peace were first signed: which was forthwith done; King and

¹ As Mlle. Dupont shows, this stipulation does not appear on the face of the treaty; it must have been a secret article, for Commynes and Olivier de la Marche, who both mention it, cannot have been mistaken.

Duke swearing on 'the true cross which S. Charlemagne wore'.¹ The Duke had violated his safe-conduct; the King felt himself bound only by force; both King and Duke evaded their oaths soon after.

Then they set forth for Liège—a terrible punishment for Louis, who must have felt deep mortification at his position. Here were the men of Liège displaying the lilies on their walls, and fighting to the cry of 'Vive France'; and here was the King of France, in the train of his foe and theirs, marching to destroy them. The citizens made but a brief resistance; the place fell; Louis took his share of the fighting eagerly, and rejoiced at the triumph of his antagonist; he drained his cup of disgrace to the very dregs. Nor did he waste his breath in intercession for his friends whom he had deluded to their ruin: the execution of the city began under his very eyes; pillage, violence, brutality, raged fiercely for a while, followed by a long and steady extermination: executions went on for months; all who had not succeeded in escaping perished; the city walls were rolled into the ditch.

Then the Duke thought that he might let his degraded rival go. They parted like friends. But as the King was riding off he turned and said, 'If perchance my brother refuses the lands I grant him for love of thee, what wouldst thou I should do?' and the Duke answered without thinking, 'If he will not take them, but you otherwise satisfy him, I will leave it to you two'.² These words the King bore in mind when he persuaded Charles to take Guyenne instead of Champagne, placing thereby all France between him and the Duke, while he also made it impossible for him to be very friendly with the English crown, which still claimed its old possessions in the south of France.

So the King returned home, degraded and depressed. No wonder he was ill for a time, after this hurricane of passion, fear, and failure. After Montleheri and the siege of Paris, he had bowed to his fate, when he signed away more than half his power; but now he was discredited before all the world; he had

¹ Commines, II. ix. (i. 175).

² Ibid. II. xiv. (i. p. 220).

seen Liège perish, and, worst of all, had shown himself unskilful in his own business of treating and finesse. He was not sensitive; but to fail in his own art was a great blow to his self-esteem. And he showed it in a singular way: soon after his return he forbade all attacks on the Duke of Burgundy, 'whether by mouth, writing, signs, pictures, songs, rondeaux or ballads, or otherwise,' for such attacks reflected also on himself. But, above all, he ordered the seizure of all caged pies, jays, owls. These were all brought before him, and note taken whence they came, and what words they could say; for tradition tells us that men taught the birds to cry 'Perette' and 'Peronne,' to the great derision of the King.¹

In these dark days literature herself took a cynical and derisive tone. It was a kind of 'despotism tempered with epigrams,' a clear sign of a diseased and wretched state of the public mind. The King himself set the example; he was given to sarcastic speeches, such as that which he made when some one wished for S. Pol to give advice, 'Yes,' he said, 'I will send for him; in such a crisis one has need of a head like his—his head, you know, not his body'.² Paris was now full of 'epitaphs and defamatory libels'; such was the famous apologue of the Bear and three Hunters³; such the message of Louis to King Edward IV, which he sent him with an ass, a wolf, and a boar⁴. We have but to look into the farce of Patelin, which appeared at this time, to see that violence, robbery, dull trickery, were the measure of the relations between gross traders and ignorant peasants⁵. The laughter of that age was not pleasant to hear.

Lastly, it came out that Cardinal Balue, who owed all to Louis, had played him false, and had been in secret correspondence throughout with the Duke of Burgundy. Not long before

¹ Jean de Troye, pp. 186, 187.

² Commines, IV. xi. (i. p. 384).

³ Ibid. IV. iii.

⁴ Jean de Troye, p. 279.

⁵ See Michelet, Renaissance, Introduction, § xii. (Histoire de France, vii. 79, ed. 1874).

this, at Balue's suggestion, the King had ordered iron cages to be made to hold such prisoners as it might be dangerous to kill and difficult to keep. Into one of these horrible torture-cells Balue himself was thrust, and kept for ten years to meditate on the excellence of his own invention.

Dammartin had served his King with remarkable skill, firmness, and loyalty; he was now sent to reduce the Southern lords, Nemours and Armagnac, and brought them both to submission.

Then Louis summoned an assembly of sixty-one Notables¹ at Tours, 'calling none but those he had nominated,' most of them being lawyers or magistrates. To this prepared audience he made his complaints against the Duke of Burgundy. They at once declared that the Duke, by harassing the harbours of Normandy and Eu, by wearing the English Order of the Garter² and by other hostile deeds, had broken the Treaty of Peronne, and had thereby released the King from his engagements. It was a comedy, no doubt; but some of the complaints seem to have been well grounded. The King at once egged on S. Pol, to whom war was advancement and safety, while peace was fruitless if not ruinous, called out his companies, and seized the border-towns Amiens, S. Quentin, Roye. The royal army was excellently equipped and disciplined; the Duke was taken by surprise; he had sent home all his feudal levies, and had no system answering to that of the free-archers on which to fall back. He did his best to meet the blow, gathered five hundred men, secured Abbeville and Arras, and took up a strong position near Pecquigny on the Somme. For a time he was in no little risk: the King had friends in all the large towns, who, weighted

¹ Commynes, III. i. (i. p. 211), calls it an assembly of the Three Estates. He is confused between this packed convocation of Notables in 1470, and the actual States General of 1468.

² To wear an Order was to acknowledge the giver as your superior, and to place yourself under his orders. So when the Order of S. Michael was founded in 1469 it was offered to the Duke of Brittany, who refused it, and accepted the Fleece of Gold from Charles the Bold in preference, showing thereby that he was still in opposition to the Crown. Of course, between sovereign princes, the giving and accepting involved no submission, only betokened friendship.

with oppressive taxes, and shocked by the savage destruction of Dinant and Liège, were disposed to rise and shake off the Burgundian yoke; Antwerp, Bruges, and even Brussels were giving ear to the tempter; the King's disgraceful abandonment of his friends at Liège seemed to be forgotten.

It was in the Duke's favour that the birth in 1470 of a Dauphin, afterwards Charles VIII, had shattered all the hopes of succession which Charles of Guyenne, the King's brother, had hitherto cherished. He was all the more ready to wish for a new League to resist the King's power: the royal advance in the north was also very alarming to the princes.

Moreover Burgundian interests were rising in England¹. Edward IV had been reinstated by help of Charles the Bold, to whom he would be bound to give help in return: the Duke only needed time to see matters take a favourable turn. Charles therefore humbled himself before Louis, and a truce was made at Amiens for three months (10 April, 1471), to the dismay of S. Pol, whose schemes were all frustrated thereby. Amiens and S. Quentin remained, the one in the King's hands, the other in those of S. Pol, as Constable of France, who aimed at

¹ A brief sketch of English affairs may well be subjoined here.

In 1469 Warwick, with outraged England at his back, imprisoned the Yorkist Edward IV. The red rose of Lancaster, under Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou, seemed likely to revive. But Charles the Bold interfered with a letter addressed to the City of London (so sensitive to its business-connexion with Bruges and Flanders); whereon London declared for Edward IV, and Warwick was fain to release him, and to leave England. This he did, not as a fugitive, but as a great prince, with eighty ships. Calais refused to receive him, and the Burgundians harassed his passage. He landed at Honfleur. Thence he annoyed the Flemish coasts; Charles refused to apologise for having attacked him; and the state of the northern coasts was one of the pretexts for the war of 1470. Louis XI brought Warwick at this time to reconcile himself with Margaret of Anjou and the Lancastrian party, and this union presently (Sept. 1470) led to the overthrow of Edward IV and his flight to Holland. Henry VI was at once restored. But early in 1471 Charles the Bold gave Edward IV means wherewith to return to England; at the battle of Barnet (Easter Day 1471) Warwick fell, and the Lancastrians were routed; at the battle of Tewkesbury (4 May, 1471) Margaret of Anjou and her son were defeated and taken; the lad was murdered. Then Henry VI died suddenly in the Tower. And so perished, at the age of fifty, the man who had unhappily worn the two crowns of France and England, and with him ended the House of Lancaster on the throne. Yorkist Edward IV henceforth held the sceptre in security.

securing that strong town for himself: the Duke was greatly displeased at losing these two important positions¹.

S. Pol now set himself busily to form a new League: the Duke of Burgundy tried to persuade an assembly of his Estates at Abbeville to give him the means of establishing a standing army like that of France; and they very reluctantly consented: 'for they feared to put themselves into that state of subjection in which, as they saw, the kingdom of France was lying by reason of its soldiers².' With these troops to rely on he hoped soon to make head against his slippery foe. He had also another resource—his only daughter, Mary, heiress to all his great possessions. Her he dangled before the eyes of every ambitious prince. She was half-promised to Duke Nicolas of Calabria and Lorraine; then to Philibert of Savoy, a child; then to Maximilian of Austria, whom she eventually married; the price Charles asked in this case being the title of 'Rex Romanorum' for himself, and the hope of succession to the Empire. But in none of these cases, except perhaps the last, was the Duke serious; 'I would sooner turn friar,' he said, 'than give myself a son-in-law!' Nevertheless, at this moment, he actually promised her to the Duke of Guyenne; and this was a match which S. Pol and the Duke of Brittany seemed to wish for: the new League grew very formidable³. The King's whole activity was called forth; the old friends of the French monarchy, the Scots, were appealed to for help; the Pope was invoked; Louis instituted the noonday Angelus⁴, that men might offer up daily a prayer to God for the King and his cause: messengers hurried hither and thither; the Duke of Guyenne's health was worse, he was like to die. The King made him splendid offers, to stay his hand; but he

¹ Commynes, III. ix. (i. 277).

² Ibid. III. iii. (i. p. 228).

³ It was at this time that the Duke made his famous speech 'pour ung Roy qu'il y a je y en vouldroye six.' Commynes, III. viii. (i. p. 271).

⁴ Jean de Troye describes it, p. 226: 'doresnavant à l'heure de midy, que sonneroit à l'Eglise dudit Paris la grosse cloche chacun feust fleschy un genoüil à terre, en disant *Ave Maria*, pour donner bonne paix au Royaume de France.'

refused them all: he also offered to Charles the Bold terms equal to a great triumph, and the Duke was almost inclined to grasp the present and certain advantage, and hesitated and delayed. That hesitation saved the King: the Duke of Guyenne was failing, had been failing for months; and the King from afar watched his slow decay with a cold eagerness such as surely none but he could feel in a brother's sufferings. He took every step to secure himself, massing troops on the borders of Guyenne, and writing a cruel letter to Dammartin;—'the Duke is dying, and there is no escape for him: . . . my informant believes that he will not be alive fifteen days hence, do what they may . . . I hear it from the monk who says the Hours with M. de Guyenne, whereat I am much amazed, and have signed myself with the sign of the cross from head to foot¹.' It was thought at the time that the King had caused him to be poisoned: the slow decay of consumption seemed to that age to be an unnatural blight. But the tale of the poisoned peach given to him eight months before, after which he had begun slowly to waste away, is probably a fiction. At last he died in the end of May 1472.

The King's troops entered at once into Guyenne: the Burgundian ambassadors were sent away 'with very meagre words'; and Charles the Bold, furious at the failure of his great League, crossed the Somme, burning and ravaging mercilessly as he went. Never had he done so before²; it was a sign of the evil days coming on him: his truce with the King had not expired; he broke it without excuse, for he was beginning to believe that his anger might override all honour and all humanity. Near the Somme lies the little town of Nesle; the lava-flood of war reached it, eddied round it, scathed and destroyed it. The inhabitants took refuge in the church, but it availed them nothing; for the Burgundians broke in and slew them all on the sacred floor. The Duke on horseback rode in

¹ Cabinet du Roy Louis XI. p. 67.

² Commynes, III. ix. (i. p. 275): 'exploict de guerre ort et mauvais, et dont il n'avoit jamais usé.'

at the church-door, into 'full half-a-foot of blood from the poor creatures lying there stark and dead. And when he saw them so, he made the sign of the cross and cried out that it was a right fair sight to see, and that he had with him right good butchers¹. The evil spirit within him was stirred to wild joy and exultation.

Thence he passed on to Roye, which submitted; thence to Beauvais, where the burghers, helped by their wives and daughters, resisted with the heroism of despair, and saved themselves. One woman, Jeanne Hachette, was preeminent in her bravery: she took from a Burgundian soldier a standard which he had actually planted on the walls, and rolled back the attack, just when it seemed on the point of success. Louis XI afterwards in gratitude ordained that in the annual procession in memory of the defence, the women of Beauvais should have the place of honour before the men. The town was not prepared for a siege; one of the gates by taking fire at the critical moment of assault seems to have barred the way: the Duke refused to besiege the place in form, insisting on storming it; while he left the south side open, so that troops from Paris soon poured into the town, and the peril was over. When the final assault took place the Burgundians were beaten back with great disgrace and loss; they broke up the siege. Charles marched towards Normandy, hoping to be joined by the Duke of Brittany; as he went he burnt and ravaged. Before Dieppe he failed; thence he passed to Rouen, where he waited four days under the walls, watched by a vigilant garrison; when the Duke of Brittany still did not appear, he turned back to the north, loudly accusing his friend of broken engagements, and so passed out of the land. He went, and never returned.

The Duke of Brittany's hands had been quite full; it was no fault of his that he did not keep tryst. Louis, following his old policy, had struck swiftly and hard at the weaker antagonist, and after successfully overrunning part of his domains, had

¹ Jean de Troye, p. 232.

offered the frightened Duke fair terms, which he readily accepted. The King had won.

Even the Duke of Burgundy recognised the fact: and, weary of this unprofitable war, was minded to turn to fresh fields of conquest. His policy of coalition had crumbled to dust; all the princes of the League were dead or down: he too hastened to make peace. On the 23rd Oct. / 3 Nov., 1472, he signed a truce with the King at Senlis.

Philip of Commynes, whose book gives life to this dark age, recognising that the Duke his master had lost all 'sense and malice,' that is, that he listened to no shrewd counsels, cared nothing for intrigue, and followed only his own obstinate anger, foreseeing also that the game was too full of risks in such hands, now watched his opportunity, and made his escape from the Duke's court to the King's¹. Louis XI, who knew him to be a congenial spirit and a valuable tool, overwhelmed him with gifts and favours², and attached him securely to his person. The clever minister of the Duke of Brittany, the Lord of Lescun, Odet d'Aydie, about this same time also deserted to the King. To men such as these success was the goal, and the means might be good or bad, as it chanced. One leading canon of their craft was always 'Detur fortiori,' go with the stronger party. Their appearance at this moment at the court of Louis XI was the sign that his policy had triumphed.

¹ Commynes, III. xi. (i. p. 291).

² Some of these would now qualify both giver and receiver for transportation. Witness their destruction of the deeds which invalidated the title of Philip of Commynes to the Viscount of Thouars' titles and estates.

CHAPTER IV.

REIGN OF LOUIS XI, THIRD PERIOD. THE KING WATCHES THE DOWNFALL OF HIS RIVAL.

A.D. 1473-1477.

Of the two main lines of policy followed by Charles the Bold, the western way of coalition, and the eastern way of consolidation, the former henceforth is almost abandoned, while the latter becomes all-important. It is not so much that Duke Charles ceases to aim at the diminution of the King's power as that the wars of the last eight years have taught him that, in spite of all direct attacks, the King steadily grows stronger and firmer. Therefore he thought it better to concentrate himself on his greater aim, and to try to consolidate what we may call a grand lordship of the Rhine. With this he proposed to hold the Vicar-Generalship of the Empire¹, and then, if possible, the ancient title 'King of the Romans'², which in its turn should open to him the succession to the headship of the Holy Roman Empire. For long the dignity of empire and that of supreme lord of Germany, the practical union of the imperial with the German throne³, had been given to some weak prince, some 'drunken Wenceslaus,' some vain Sigismund, some feeble Frederick III: but now the general change in Europe was beginning to

¹ Martin, *Histoire de France*, vii. p. 79.

² The title of *Rex Romanorum* was understood to be borne by the elected successor to the imperial throne. The title was conferred by the seven electors.

³ Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, pp. 51, 54, 93 (ed. 1864).

influence Germany; ere long there will be an end of the succession of weak Emperors, and the House of Austria will prove that the instincts of the Electors are turned towards the strongest instead of the most insignificant of the candidates for the imperial diadem. Why then should not Charles have conceived the wish to lead this movement? Why should he not have thought first to consolidate a splendid dominion, and then to use this as a pedestal whereon to erect his awful figure, as Emperor of the Western World?

For years he had watched over his eastern interests; Alsace and the Breisgau, on either side of the Rhine near the great bend at Basel, had been placed in his hands, as sureties for a loan to Duke Sigismund of Austria; in 1470 he had already come into collision with the Swiss, those Germans, as they were then rightly called, who held the sources of the great river; and now in 1473 came his first seizure of Lorraine¹, and his unexpected piece of good fortune in Gelderland. The old Duke of that district, grateful for his help against an undutiful son, bequeathed to him that important duchy as well as the county of Zutphen. These gave to Charles complete command of the Rhine-mouths; while Alsace and the Breisgau secured the upper course of the river. Should he not connect these, and become lord of the whole of that historic stream, with its ancient traditions of empire, its ever-rolling roadway of wealth, its high-perched castles and venerable cities? To this day the very name of the Rhine is as magic to the German; then even more than now the river was the backbone of the prosperity and life of Germany. This grand prize Charles the Bold now thought to seize for himself alone.

But before moving in his further career of conquest, he would see what he could get from the Emperor; and in this same year (A.D. 1473) came the famous interview at Treves with Frederick III. The Duke's splendour, his pride, his great

¹ The early death of John the young Duke of Calabria, who left as his heir René, son of the Count of Vaudemont, gave Charles an opportunity of seizing Lorraine.

demands, his ill-faith respecting his daughter's hand, above all, the busy intrigues of Louis, offended and frightened the Emperor, indisposing him to make any concessions. At last Frederick suddenly and secretly quitted the city, leaving behind him a message for Duke Charles, to the effect that the affair could be better dealt with at a more convenient season. The Duke of Burgundy was surprised and enraged. He spent the winter-months in his newly-acquired lands, Alsace, Lorraine, and the duchy and county of Burgundy. At Nanci he bore himself as master and lord, and is said to have hinted to the citizens that the chief town of Lorraine would ere long become the capital of a far wider dominion. Thence he passed into Alsace; there and in the Breisgau the inhabitants had laid before him their complaints against Peter of Hagenbach, his brutal and tyrannous agent, whose government of these provinces had been almost unendurable. The Duke haughtily supported his lieutenant in all his enormities; the natives could only weep and wait. Their day of vengeance was not far off. Thence he passed into the Burgundies, and as it was his first visit, went through the feudal ceremony proper to the occasion; at the gate of the Abbey of S. Benigne of Dijon he was met by the abbot, who placed a valuable ring on his finger, and so espoused him to his fair duchy of Burgundy¹. At this time he also harangued his Estates of the duchy and county, reminding them that of old they were parts of an independent kingdom: he seemed to hint at the union of the old Lotharingian kingdom with that of the Burgundies, and perhaps even with the adjoining inheritance of the House of Savoy. This would have formed an enormous and unwieldy kingdom, half encircling France, and comprising some of the fairest provinces of Germany. But just behind the weakest point of this great arch of states lay the Swiss mountains, the home of freemen, who ruthlessly dispelled the autocratic dream. The borderlands between France and Germany were not capable of permanent coherence or of a solid national life.

¹ Olivier de la Marche, Coll. Univ. ix. p. 231.

Negotiation with the Emperor having failed, Charles determined to carry his point by force. A little before this, Robert of Bavaria, Archbishop-Elector of Cologne, as odious to the burghers of that city as the Bishop of Liège had been to the men of Liège, had named Charles protector of his Electorate. Under pretext of this protectorate, in defiance of Pope, Emperor, the German princes, the city itself, even postponing his vengeance for the revolt of Alsace and the Breisgau, of which he had lately heard, Charles came down to the Rhine, and laid vigorous siege to the little town of Neuss, which lies below Cologne, also on the left bank of the Rhine; it was a fortified place, naturally strong, situated near the junction of the Erft with the main stream. It dominated the Rhine, and on it depended the victualling of the electoral city: were it to fall into the hands of Charles, then Cologne might be reduced, and then all the middle Rhine¹. That great river would then from mouth to source be the frontier of his grand dominions; nor would he be without a foothold on the other bank. For this he even set aside for a time all thought of repairing the loss he had suffered in Alsace. Sigismund had sent him two hundred thousand florins for the ransom of Alsace (the wealthy cities had gladly lent it to him); Alsace, overjoyed, at once claimed her freedom, captured her tyrant Hagenbach, the Duke's brutal agent, and carried him to Breisach, where he was speedily tried, condemned, and beheaded.

But men knew that with Charles 'town gained' meant 'town destroyed,' and Neuss made stubborn defence. Slowly the whole fighting power of Germany came down; part, under the Bishop of Münster and others, lay on the right bank of the Rhine, over against the town; the Emperor Frederick himself with a vast host filled up the triangle between the Rhine and the Erft. The place could be neither starved nor stormed;

¹ Commynes, IV. i. (i. p. 312): 'S'il eust prins Nuz, la garnir bien, et une aultre place ou deux dessus de Coulogne, parquoy ladicte cité droit le mot; et que partant il monteroit contremont le Rin jusques à la conté de Ferrette, qu'il tenoit lors; et ainsi tout le Rin seroit sien, jusques en Hollande.'

and the Burgundians, who lay in a great permanent camp, which was like a town, full of hostelries and all manner of jollities, waited tediously eleven months for its surrender. The Duke from time to time renewed his truce with Louis XI.

But just before leaving Flanders the Duke had begged English Edward IV to come over with an army and attack the French King, promising to return from the Rhine and join him as soon as he landed. Edward was willing; his Parliament granted him the required supplies, and a large force was collected¹, strong in appearance, but really undisciplined, for the miserable civil wars had ruined all the old skill of the English bowmen and foot-soldiers. It was also arranged that three thousand English should be landed in Brittany, to raise that duchy and embarrass the French from two sides. Charles had wished the English to land at Harfleur or at La Hogue, as their kings had done before²: they would then have the Duke of Brittany on their right, and himself on their left, and all three might make a grand converging attack on Paris. It was a renewal of the old plan, for which the Duke had struggled so hard, when he tried to secure Normandy for Charles of Berry.

Edward IV made preparations for a year; almost all that time Duke Charles had been wasting his great power on Neuss. Nothing could stir him from his obstinate siege. The Pope sent a legate to pray him to make peace; the Emperor offered favourable terms; the King of Denmark came and wished to mediate; the English King called him to come back and join him on his landing. All was in vain; week after week he stubbornly held on. The Swiss and Swabians, emboldened by the unpunished revolt of Alsace, penetrated as far as Hericaud, near Belfort, and there defeated the Bastard of Burgundy; Franche Comté lay defenceless before them: yet the Duke still held on stubbornly at Neuss. News came that Sigismund of Austria had made a league with the Swiss and with the cities of the

¹ Commines, IV. ii. (i. p. 316).

² See a letter by the Duke, cited in Mdle. Dupont's Communes, i. p. 335. 336, note.

Upper Rhine and some of the princes of that neighbourhood¹:—so far from their natural course had the Duke's violence driven them; the old foes, forgetting their feuds, united heartily to repel their new and cruel enemy. The King of France supported them underhand, while he also renewed his truce with Charles the Bold.

Only at last, when Neuss was all but worn out, did the Duke consent to withdraw on terms: the place was to be put into the hands of the Pope's legate, and the dispute as to the Archbishopric of Cologne referred to the Pope; the Emperor abandoned the League of the Upper Rhine, and made peace with Charles. The siege had lasted eleven months; the Duke gave out that he was returning in triumph, that all had gone well. But in fact the delay had been his ruin. Occasion, inexorable deity, had turned her face from him: he had outworn his own fortunes. His army was so disorganised that it could not be brought down to join the English. Edward, landing at Calais, against the Duke's wish, found no Burgundians awaiting him; nor was he well pleased when, after much delay, the Duke, almost alone, rode into his camp, and announced that he had changed his plans, and proposed to enter France through Lorraine, while the English should pass through the northern districts, and join him under the walls of Paris. He assured King Edward that he had good understanding with S. Pol, who had promised to deliver to him the frontier-fortresses: and Edward moved forward on the assurance. But when he presented himself at the fortresses, the Constable answered through the cannon's mouth. Disgusted, finding his troops restive, and the merchants, whom he had brought over, weary of the whole thing, feeling himself also slighted by the Duke of Burgundy, he lent a ready ear to proposals which came from Louis. The 'traffic-

¹ This league was made at Constance. Its members were the Duke Sigismund, the Bishops of Basel and Strasburg, the Margrave of Baden, the city of Basel, the free cities of Alsace (viz. Strasburg, Colmar, Hagenau, Schelestadt, Mulhausen), and lastly, the Swiss. Communes, V. i. (ii. pp. 2, 3). He calls the Swiss 'ces vieilles ligues d'Allemagne qu'on appelle Suisses.'

truce,' *'la trêve marchande,'* as it was called, was quickly agreed on: Louis bought off his burly opponent with seventy-two thousand crowns in cash, with a promise of marriage between the Dauphin and the eldest daughter of Edward¹, with Guyenne as her dowry, or fifty thousand crowns a year for nine years. The Duke of Burgundy rode over in great heat and haste to prevent it, but he was too late; peace for nine years had been signed between France and England. The two kings afterwards met with every sign of friendship on Pecquigny bridge over the Somme.

Charles the Bold, instead of showing his anger, renewed his truce with Louis. Both knew that it was hollow, but each thought it to his own interest not to break with the other. Charles hoped first to settle matters in Lorraine, Alsace, and Switzerland; Louis was only too willing to see his formidable antagonist turn another way. He abandoned the cause of poor Duke René, whom he had tempted to declare war on Charles. Lorraine was speedily overrun by the Burgundians and subdued; Nanci was taken (Nov. 30, 1475).

Early in 1476 the Duke, marching into Switzerland, laid siege to the little town of Granson on the Lake of Neufchatel. The citizens defended themselves bravely: at last, being in desperate case, they listened to assurances of the Duke's clemency, and capitulated: but Charles hung or drowned them all. This terrible deed was singularly and speedily avenged. The Swiss rose against him, and caught him still close to Granson. As they came up a strange panic took the Burgundians, and they fled headlong; it was an amazing rout, only seven men were killed. The Duke's camp and all his treasures fell into the hands of the simple mountaineers, who knew nothing of their value. Priceless stones, which now grace the diadems of kings, were carelessly passed from hand to hand; silver dishes were thought

¹ Elizabeth of England however never married Charles VIII of France. Commynes' account of the whole affair is sarcastic and amusing; he had a keen eye for the weak points of our ancestors. IV. ch. vii-x. (i. pp. 346-372).

to be made of tin; the Duke's sword, his collar of the Fleece of Gold, the plate belonging to his chapel—all were taken. The rout and disgrace were complete. But the Duke's power was not destroyed; he retired to Lausanne and there gathered fresh forces. With these he marched out again, intending to lay siege to Bern. Their way was to be from Morat to Freiburg, from Freiburg to Bern. But the little town of Morat was garrisoned by dauntless Swiss, who held the Duke in check while Alsatians, Lorrainers, Germans from Austria and the Breisgau gathered in force, together with a great levy of Swiss. On June 21, 1476, was fought the murderous battle of Morat, the ruin of the Burgundian power. The Duke, who despised his foe, and cared nothing for the laws of warfare, made no preparation against the coming attack; the allies seized the higher ground, hemmed him in, broke his army, drove it into the lake. Charles himself scarcely escaped. He had marked out Nanci as his future capital; but it was destined to be his grave. As soon as he could collect an army out of the ruins of his power, he hastened there; but René of Lorraine had been too quick for him, and had recovered the city. Winter was at hand, the Duke was still under the walls; his foes redoubled their efforts. Duke René, who had left the town to collect forces for its rescue, while it defended itself, speedily returned with twenty thousand men. Charles had only four thousand, and felt himself surrounded by treachery. Campobasso, his chief leader of mercenaries, deserted him at this critical time. Still the obstinate and desperate man would neither yield nor withdraw; he would fight, he said, 'even if he must fight alone.' On the 4th of January, 1477, he fell grimly on his foes, to conquer or to die. They were too strong for him; his little army soon melted away; the Swiss closed in upon him for the last time. Not till the next day did a page recognise his body as it lay in a swamp, stark-naked, frozen, covered with wounds. They took it up, and carried it into Nanci, and held over it solemn rites of burial. Duke René, whom he had so much wronged, acted as chief mourner.

He wore a long mourning-robe, and 'a great beard of gold, which came down to his waist' after the manner of ancient heroes, when they have won victories¹. 'God have thy soul,' he said, as he gazed on the corpse lying in state; 'thou hast caused me much evil and many sorrows.' Thereon he sprinkled the bed with holy water and departed².

¹ Cabinet du Roy Louis XI, p. 85.

² Jean de Troye, p. 357.

CHAPTER V.

REIGN OF LOUIS XI, FOURTH PERIOD. THE KING TRIUMPHANT AND MISERABLE. A.D. 1477-1483.

TIDINGS of the death of Charles the Bold soon reached the King by the posts which he had established in 1464. At first it was but a doubtful rumour; some said the Duke was dead, others that he had escaped. But as messenger after messenger came in, it was seen that the news was true¹.

Three marked days of happiness Louis had enjoyed in life; the first when he heard that his father was dead, and that he was no longer an exile but King of France; the second when, after long and anxious watching, he learnt that his brother, the Duke of Guyenne, had succumbed to his tedious malady, and by dying had spoilt all the plans of the League of Princes; the third, this day on which news came that his terrible foe, Duke Charles the Bold, lay dead in a ditch at Nanci. On this last day the King 'was so much surprised with joy that scarcely could he contain his countenance².' But his courtiers were not so much delighted: Commines noted their behaviour with a malicious pleasure. The King sent to the captains and other chief men at Tours, 'and all made show of great joy, but those who looked closely' (with the eye of a shrewd observer) 'could see that there were many who did but feign . . . They greatly feared³ the King, and thought he would make changes, and take away places and offices; for many had been against

¹ Commines, V. x (ii. p. 70).

² Ibid. (ii. p. 71).

³ Mdle. Dupont here reads 'craint,' not 'craintif,' and rightly

him in the days of the Public Weal, or in the affairs of the Duke of Guyenne . . . Then came dinner, and they ate with him, as they had often done, but I and others watched how they dined, and with what appetite: and of a truth (whether from joy or sadness I say not) not one of them seemed to eat the half of his wonted share¹.

And thus at the Court of the French King they mourned for the great Duke Charles.

While Charles attacked Germany and Switzerland, leaving France at peace, Louis had not been idle. Heavy taxes and small outgoings had set his exchequer straight; he had also attacked the ill-affected Houses, one by one, and brought them down. First, he fell on the House of Alençon; John, head of that family, whom Charles VII had condemned and Louis had released, had shown his gratitude by joining the League of 1465; he was now seized and tried. He died in prison, and his son René, a weaker man, after ineffectual struggles and much harsh treatment, was also imprisoned for life. Next fell the grand historic House of Armagnac: the last Count, a turbulent disorderly soldier, had also been pardoned by Louis, and he too had turned on his benefactor. Against him the terrible Cardinal of Albi was sent (A.D. 1473). He defended himself in Lectoure; but the warlike Prelate took the town; the Count was put to death before his wife's eyes, and then she was poisoned in cold blood. In 1474 the rich province of Roussillon was secured: the king had treated another of the Armagnacs, and a member of the House of Albret, with swift severity; the nobles of Roussillon, believing that the King of Aragon would support them, then revolted against the far-off French. But the King's arm was long: Perpignan fell, the province submitted; the northern slopes of the Pyrenees were secured against Spain.

The most remarkable incident of the series was the fall of the Count of S. Pol, Constable of France, who, standing as he did between three great powers, England, France, and Burgundy,

¹ Commines, V. x. (ii. p. 73).

had tried by every art of intrigue to balance himself, to increase his power and domain, and to carve out an independent principality. But a man cannot always be balancing, and at last S. Pol roused the hatred of both Louis and Charles. Agreed in nothing else, these two princes were of one mind as to him; Charles, who had him in his power, readily abandoned him to the King, on condition that Louis would not defend René of Lorraine. He was handed over to the Admiral of France, and, among others, to the Lord of S. Pierre, whence the courtier-wits said that there was war in Paradise, and that S. Peter had taken S. Paul¹. The King had the pleasure of seeing his grim joke about him practically carried out; the Constable was beheaded² at Paris in 1475.

The Duke of Nemours, head of a younger branch of the Armagnacs, had also in 1475 refused to help the King; he had designs on Languedoc, if the King succumbed. In 1476 he was seized, imprisoned, and finally executed, not without suspicion of torture.

These were the chief blows struck; each fell true and heavy on some leading spirit among the King's princely antagonists. Others he won over; the Houses of Bourbon, Anjou, Orleans, learnt, one way or other, that it was their best policy to acquiesce in the King's supremacy. Brittany stood out alone; but even Brittany was much weakened and straitened; the King had allured away the most capable men from the Breton court, and made them his by gifts and honours.

So stood matters, when the fall of that 'so great and sumptuous an edifice,' 'that mighty House, which had sustained and nurtured so many worthy men, and had been so much honoured afar and near³,' called the King to fresh and bolder action. The heiress of the wide domains of the House of Burgundy was a maiden of twenty years:—how could she defend herself?

¹ Cabinet du Roy Louis XI, p. 82. See also the pleasantry in Molinet (Buchon, XLI. p. liv.).

² 'Sa tête, bien entendu, sans son corps.' Commynes IV. xi. (i. p. 384).

³ Commynes, V. ix. (ii. p. 69).

Her territories were too wide-spread: Ghent was already in agitation; clearly she must find the strong arm of a husband to help her. But whom should she choose? She who had been held out as a prize to so many princes by her father, even when he loathed the idea of giving her to any man, was now driven by necessity to choose a husband for herself.

Louis XI deliberated whether he should compel her to marry the poor little Dauphin Charles, or at once declare war on her, snatching from her as much of her inheritance as he could; or thirdly, whether he should only claim as his, by right of devolution, the districts the Duke had held of the Crown¹. There being no male heir, these might be treated as fiefs resumed by their sovereign lord.

In the main the King chose the third course, though he did not give up all thought of the marriage, and would not have refused, if need were, to make aggressive war on the Duchess Mary.

The Estates of the Duchy of Burgundy at once recognised the King as their liege lord. The Parliament of Beaune, the 'great days of Burgundy,' remained as a sovereign court of law; and the Chamber of Accounts at Dijon was left untouched; the Duchy itself returned to the Crown, once and for ever. Nor did Franche Comté resist, though the King had no such clear rights there, for the County was under the Empire, Germanic not French. But he claimed it on some shadowy grounds, such as that he expected that 'Mademoiselle of Burgundy' would shortly be betrothed to the Dauphin. Any excuse was enough for the stronger; the County was taken; here again the local Parliament was not interfered with.

In Picardy the King was welcome; the long-desired towns on the Somme opened their gates at once: he was tempted to push on, so easy had his course been. A politic embassy allayed the rising jealousy of England; the French arms moved

¹ i. e. Northern Picardy, Duchy of Burgundy, Walloon Flanders (Lille, Douai, etc.) Cp. Martin, *Histoire des Français*, vii. p. 120.

forward with a vigour that had an element of cruelty in it, sweeping northwards as far as Boulogne and Arras. Flanders was threatened, Hainault entered; but though Avesnes fell, Valenciennes defended herself well, and the King did not dare to go on to Brussels. Arras, which was restive under the French yoke, and revolted when the tide of fortune turned against the King, was treated with great severity; the destruction of the city was ordered; it was bombarded, walls rased, population expelled, the very name of the place changed to 'Franchise'; and Louis repeopled it by a kind of pressgang of artisans from the good towns of the kingdom. Troubles broke out at Ghent, the Flemish towns, as often before, desiring to take advantage of the weak hand of their new ruler, and to recover their rights. Mary, betrayed by Louis, who let the men of Ghent know how she was dealing with him, had the supreme mortification of supplicating, bare-headed and in vain, for the lives of her two ministers. The citizens of Ghent slew them, and their death made an alliance with the Dauphin impossible. How could she stoop to one who had betrayed her, and brought her to such a painful and humiliating scene? The men of Ghent wished her to marry that Adolf of Gelderland, who had treated his father so ill; but she would have none of him: why should she take their nominee? At last she offered her hand to Maximilian of Austria, to whom at her father's bidding, some years back, she had written a letter and sent a ring, as to one likely to be her favoured suitor. His praises, as the most knightly, handsome, and courteous youth in Christendom, she had heard when the Duke came back from his bootless visit to Trèves².

¹ So, after her revolt in 1793, Lyons was cruelly punished by the Convention, and a decree passed that her name should be abolished and replaced by that of 'Commune-affranchi.'

² The chief suitors of Mary of Burgundy were seven in all:—

1. Charles the Dauphin of France.
2. The son of the Duke of Cleves.
3. The young Lord of Ravenstein.
4. Duke Adolf of Gelderland.
5. The Duke of Clarence.

The marriage took place at once; on the 27th of May, 1477, the lands of the House of Burgundy passed over to the House of Austria. No marriage has ever had such eventful consequences; all Europe felt for centuries the effects of it: the new system of politics, the new relations and modifications of states, the secular rivalry of France and Austria, the establishment of the Balance of Power, all these things are closely connected with this great event.

But the first result was the arrest of the forward movement of French aggrandisement. Louis felt that, safe as he was at home, his newly-acquired districts were dissatisfied and menacing; to go on with the war might be to lose all. He considered that the hostility of Maximilian might draw endless disasters on him: he remembered how wisely Commines had advised him to leave Charles the Bold to 'break his head against Germany,'—Germany, so vast and strong that for all the Emperor's impotence Charles would be sure to ruin himself if he attacked her; he remembered also how the event had set its seal to that advice;—and should he reverse the policy of that time? So he asked and obtained a truce from Maximilian; he also made peace with the English King. But the truce was a hollow one; both sides prepared for war. In face of the threatening aspect of the Flemish, Louis negotiated, agreed to evacuate Hainault, Cambrai, Franche Comté, keeping the Duchy of Burgundy, the Somme towns, and Artois. Negotiations for a solid peace ensued, and for a while seemed to be serious.

At this time Louis appears to have felt that his father's system of 'free archers' might have too much independence in it. He suspected his captains, deprived several of their commands, organised a large mercenary force, allied himself closely with the Swiss, who were now coming forward as the new fighting power of

6. Lord Rivers, Edward IV's son-in-law.

7. Maximilian of Austria.

Also at earlier times many others, such as the two Dukes of Calabria, John and Nicolas of Anjou.

Europe. Six thousand mountaineers entered France at his request—he could not trust his native levies—and were set to reduce Franche Comté; all thought of a solid peace with Maximilian vanished. The County was sternly ravaged; Dole and Besançon, its strong places, were taken, and the fief wrested from the Empire for a while.

Again Louis marched into Artois, retook Arras, horribly punishing the insults the town had hurled at him from the walls. Maximilian also came out and besieged Therouenne, and the French advancing to relieve the town, the two armies came into collision at Guinegate¹, a little place about a league south of Therouenne (A.D. 1479). The French were the stronger in cavalry, the Archduke in foot-soldiers. A prudent general in such a case would have declined to fight, or if obliged would have carefully supported his weak arm with the strong, by keeping his horse close to his infantry. But Crevecœur, who commanded the French, one of the many nobles who had passed over from Duke Charles to the King, did neither one nor other. He had none of the experience and caution of the older captains whom Louis had set aside; he was only eager to break a lance with his old Flemish comrades. He saw that their horse were few compared with his, and, without a moment's thought, charged in among them. Down they went before him; the broken remainder turned and fled. Crevecœur, forgetful of all the rest, eagerly pursued; the flying cavalry drew him far from the battle-field. Meanwhile, the French footmen, the 'free-archers,' left without a general, charged up against the Flemish pikemen, and they, encouraged by young Maximilian, who showed heroic qualities in this his first battle, resisted steadily. The French garrison of Therouenne, which had sallied forth to take the Archduke in the rear, passing near the Flemish camp, turned aside to plunder, and a diversion, which would probably have decided the day, was thus arrested at the critical moment. The free-archers, hearing rumours of booty, thought little of fighting and

¹ Scene also of the 'Battle of the Spurs,' A.D. 1513.

much of spoil. Then the Count of Romont retook from the French the Flemish artillery, and the King's troops broke and fled. When Crevecœur came back flushed with the triumph of his senseless pursuit, the battle was already lost; he was obliged to gallop off and escape as he might. Maximilian remained master of the field; but his forces were so much crippled that he had to raise the siege of Therouenne and to withdraw into Flanders.

Once more the undisciplined vivacity of the French men-at-arms had ruined their cause, but punishment fell not on them but on the free-archers. Louis XI, in great anger, ordered that pillage should for the future be strictly forbidden; and that prisoners and booty should be divided fairly and equally. After this the war languished; here and there a town was taken or lost. Early in 1480 a truce for a year and seven months was agreed to.

The battle of Guinegate, the last that Louis fought, was also the end of the system of free-archers. The King ordered that henceforth the towns should contribute money, not men; and the money went to hire those foreign mercenaries who, the proverbial stay and support of tyranny, marked the advance of absolutism in France.

A time of peace now came for weary France, but not a time of rest. The King cherished many fair schemes for her good, as we are told by Commines; but all in vain; they came to naught. The belief that repression might beget autocracy, and that autocracy should then cause all blessings to flow down on the people, was not new in the days of Louis XI, and is not old now. But it had its usual fortunes. Heavy taxation, corrupt officials, and a depressed and degraded public spirit, made it impossible for Louis to carry out his benevolent schemes. On his deathbed he sighed for a few more years of life, in which to give peace and happiness to his country: this too is no unusual delusion. But a man must do his work while it is day; he cannot atone for a barren past by sighing after an impossible future. In these last years of the sad King's life, and they were 'few and evil,'

his power to do good had passed from him. In wretched health, distrusted, suspicious, embittered by suffering, Louis XI dragged on a sad existence.

Yet even then he busily gathered in the rich harvest of his long reign; these dark days of his life are, by striking contrast, the days of his success and triumph. In 1480 he annexed to the Crown, on the death of the old King René¹, the two great districts of Anjou and Provence; Anjou important because it stretched from the flank of Brittany into the very vitals of the kingdom, and was the home of that far-reaching ambitious family which had so many claims on Italy, Lorraine, and the lower Rhone; and Provence, because it was a fief of the Empire, the second which Louis had wrested out of the infirm hands of Frederick III.

Lastly, in the end of 1482, Louis made firm peace with Maximilian at Arras. It was agreed that the Dauphin Charles should espouse his daughter Margaret, a child of three years, who should bring with her Artois, Franche Comté, Macon, Auxerre, Salins, Bar-sur-Seine, and Noyers; while in return the King renounced his claims on Walloon Flanders. Thus in the end he saw all his great acquisitions firmly secured to the Crown.

This Peace of Arras, the third within the century², forms an epoch in French history. It ended the struggle for the frontier-line to the north of France; it was the last act of sovereign feudalism; it was the first telling blow struck at the great Burgundian aggregation of states.

But one scene more, and we shall bid farewell to Louis. During these last years he had withdrawn almost entirely from the world, shut up in his chosen home, the castle of Plessis-lez-Tours. Here he was seen by few; he was consumed by

¹ Margaret of Anjou, heiress to these districts, had transferred her rights to Louis, in gratitude for her rescue from captivity in England.

² (1) A.D. 1414, made by Charles VI to reconcile the Burgundians and Armagnacs.

(2) A.D. 1435, by Charles VII and Philip the Good, to close the Burgundian struggle against France.

(3) A.D. 1482, to settle the points at issue between France and the Burgundian House.

suspicious. He changed all his servants, and that frequently: the old ones he did not entirely dismiss, but sent them to look to the offices which he had given them in different parts of the kingdom. At this time he did many strange things, so that men deemed him mad; but, says Commynes, they did not know him at all. He kept round him none except his domestics and four hundred archers of his guard. No lord, no prince, no grandee, was allowed to come near him, except Peter of Beaujeu, afterwards Duke of Bourbon, who had married his daughter Anne, the true successor of the King in character and intellect.

All round the castle of Plessis ran a moat, with a trellis of iron-bars on its outer bank: fastened to the walls on the inner side of the moat were iron spits, each many-pointed, forming a kind of chevaux-de-frise. At the four angles of the building were four turrets of iron¹, thick and strong, so placed that men could shoot from them with advantage; and ten arbalest-men were set in each, to watch for and to shoot any who might draw near before the opening of the gate. At eight o'clock in the morning the drawbridge was lowered, and the officers came in, and set the watch, just as if the place had been a frontier-fortress needing special vigilance. No stranger might enter, save by the wicket, and only with the King's leave. It was in fact a close and gloomy prison to which Louis had condemned himself; he had only a narrow court to walk in, yet thither he seldom went, but wandered up and down his gallery, through his rooms, and went to mass in the chapel without passing into the open air; he seemed to dread even the windows that looked down on him from the inner walls of the castle. Thus he lived, a 'walking skeleton²', 'looking more like a dead man than a living, so meagre was he, that no one could have believed it³.' To add to the contrast he now wore splendid raiment of furs and velvet. A feverish activity also possessed him: he seemed eager to prove to the world that he was still alive. To England he

¹ 'Quatre moyneaulx de fer.' Commynes, VI. xi. (ii. p. 67).

² Pierre Mathieu calls him 'une anatomie cheminante.'

³ Commynes, VI. vii. (ii. p. 232).

sent an embassy to negotiate a marriage, with splendid gifts; to Spain he would send to buy a good horse or mule at any price; dogs he sought from every quarter, Spain, Brittany, or Valence, sent them; in Sicily he heard of a splendid mule, and bought it for twice its worth; at Naples he purchased horses: from all parts of the world came strange beasts: from Barbary little ponies, from Denmark and Sweden the elk and reindeer¹.

He also gathered to him many other strange beings, hermits, saints, physicians, magicians: each with his nostrum to cure the King, each as helpless as the other. One last delight he had: for in 1482 news reached him that Mary of Burgundy, in the very bloom and sweetness of her young married life, had been thrown from her horse, and grievously hurt, and had died at Bruges, leaving two infants, Philip, afterwards called the Handsome, who became the link between Spain and the Austro-Burgundian power; and a little Margaret. 'The King,' says Commynes, 'told me the news, and was greatly rejoiced thereat².' He thought it would turn to his profit—one is glad to know that he was disappointed. Maximilian, he said, was young; his father the Emperor lived still, and was 'exceeding niggardly'; war was threatening him all round; he was a foreigner on Flemish soil and but poorly accompanied. Surely the stars shone on France, and she would profit by her neighbour's weakness and mishap. Louis began to negotiate at once for a marriage between the Dauphin and the infant Margaret: the little child was led into France to be brought up as his bride: but the marriage never took place.

So passed the last years of this remarkable reign. The King fought long and hard against death; but the dark spectre would not be denied. Louis had strictly forbidden his courtiers to breathe the name of death; he thought the very word would kill him. They were only to say 'Speak little' and 'Confess,'

¹ Commynes, VI. vii. (ii. p. 233): 'L'une s'appelloit *Helles*, et sont de corsaige de cerfz, grans comme buffles, les cornes courtes et grosses: les autres s'appelloient *Rangiers*, qui sont de corsaige et de couleur de dain sauf qu'elles ont les cornes beaucoup plus grandes.'

² Commynes, VI. vi. (ii. p. 223).

when they knew that he must die. At the last they used no such soft speech: they told him plainly death was coming. Then the higher nature in him revived, and he bore himself patiently and wisely to the end, never complaining, though his sufferings were great, and attending devoutly to the last offices of the Church. He thought much of the state of his wretched country, 'had God but given me a few more years, I would have set the state in order,' was one of his very last utterances.

His son Charles was called to his bedside: for several years the King had not even seen him, but had left him uneducated, a kind of state-prisoner, helpless, and deformed. The father's last words of advice to him were wise and good: he begged him to give the land rest, for 'it was very lean and poor,' not to attack Calais or vex the English, and to avoid all quarrel with Francis, Duke of Brittany; to keep the peace right and left, till he came of age.

At the last Louis suffered but little; his mind was clear; he passed away tranquilly, conversing to the end with those round him. He died on the last day of August, a Saturday (as he had wished)¹ in the year 1483, and at the age of sixty-one.

He died, leaving France still sunk in darkness and distress. There she sat, one of the fairest of the European nations, oppressed and a captive, while all around her the world was being touched with the light of the new day now breaking over Europe. The literary life of Italy, even of Germany, had scarcely touched her; the annals of learning are a blank for France during the reign of Louis XI. Like men who sleep through the sweet morning-hours, when spring is passing into summer, France lay dormant, unconscious of the day.

We need not review the character of Louis; it was written in every act of his long reign. It only remains to sum up the political results. French historians strongly insist on the great things his policy achieved for France. Things great they were, but also disastrous. In his reign healthy political action,

¹ Commynes, XI. (ii. p. 270).

constitutional progress, the balance of elements in the state, became impossible. Not between liberty and privilege, but between privilege and absolutism, is henceforth the sole remaining struggle. This debate lingered on till the end of last century: when, in a blaze of military splendour, a new autocratic power swept away both monarchy and privilege.

Louis XI was the first of French kings who shows the disastrous influences of Italian ideas on the Gallic nature. He imbibed their political maxims, and put them in practice. He was very desirous to learn the Venetian and Florentine laws. Francesco Sforza taught him much; two Venetians whom he invited to Paris 'with great mystery', taught him still more. From them came much of that cynicism which marks the King and the age. Louis had no scruples; he could bribe, or flatter and cozen; he was one of the first among princes who understood something of electioneering arts, though his processes were comparatively simple. When he had bought his instruments, he used them as one uses help purchased: and did not commit the error of giving them the claims and inconvenient position of real friends.

We must give full credit to Louis as an administrator. His was an unwearied industry, exactitude, and justice bordering on severity, in all things pertaining to law or finance; he was liberal towards churches and cloisters, and also in founding and endowing hospitals; he favoured the universities, specially that of Paris: he founded that of Bourges: he allowed the press to be set up in the Sorbonne (A.D. 1469); and many books were forthwith printed there: he was anxious to promote and forward good government among his people. He declared himself most desirous to reform the morals of his clergy, and compelled them to make returns of their wealth. His tendencies were no doubt towards rigour; nor was he nice in his acts: yet their general bearing was in many ways favourable to the advance of his kingdom.

¹ G. Chastellain, p. 196.

He worked on the lines of his father's policy: Charles VII had imposed taxes at will¹, and had engaged some few men-at-arms as paid soldiers. When he died the taxation had reached eighteen hundred thousand francs; and there were seventeen hundred men-at-arms of the *Ordonnances*. When Louis XI died, the yearly levy was more than doubled, and amounted to four million seven hundred thousand francs; and he had between four and five thousand men-at-arms as well as some twenty-five thousand foot.

But besides money and a standing army he had other tools. He was 'a natural friend to men of middle condition, a foe to every great man who could be independent of him'.² Commynes, who faithfully mirrors his master's character, had also a sovereign contempt for the feudal lords of the day, and draws their ignorant arrogance with a sarcastic pen. The King, against all the old ideas of noble land and noble man, gave fiefs to burghers, encouraged the cities, supported them against the feudal lords³: he allowed a kind of French Hansa to grow up in Paris; he was careful for commerce and industry; he founded the silk manufacture, and thereby gave its first impulse to the richest modern industry of France. The cities did not love him well; yet he treated them better than any other order in the state. Throughout his life he fought against the two classes of lords, the old feudal nobles, and the 'lords of the lilies': with him apanages, that fruitful source of weakness, ceased. He did all he could to centralise the administration of the realm: early in the reign he had established the posts, quickening communication between point and point. He traversed the kingdom again and again till near the end of his life: 'it was amazing to see him so meagre and exhausted, but his great heart bore him up'.⁴ He used the Three Estates only when he needed them to help him in saving some portion of

¹ Commynes (iii. p. 65).

² Commynes, I. x. (i. p. 84).

³ Martin, *Histoire des Français*, vii. p. 144, note 2.

⁴ Commynes, VI. vi. (ii. p. 222).

the kingdom; but to their rights, claims, and grievances he paid little heed: when the central power appeared to him to be strong enough to permit some counterpoise, he encouraged the growth of the different provincial Estates; they met in many parts of France, even in Normandy and Languedoc, where they might seem to be a danger to his supreme authority. The same holds of the several local parliaments; they were maintained and favoured: local customs were often confirmed, larger jurisdictions granted, judges declared to be permanent. The King doubtless reckoned that the result of strengthened local institutions must be the enfeebling of all the central resistance to the royal power. But at any rate the course of his policy was wise and prudent, and ought to be remembered to his credit. In connexion with this it may be noted that he made France, as she has been ever since, the chosen land of officials, securing a safe and harmless career for the upper classes of citizens. 'France had more legal and financial offices than all the rest of Christendom'.¹ His ordinances show great administrative power; they are numerous, thorough, minute: he wished his hand to appear in everything, and to give to his power the semblance of ubiquity.

With persistent policy he weakened, and, where he could, destroyed, those princes and lords who resisted the centralisation of the kingdom: the tall heads in the field of France fell one by one; and ere Louis died his weary eyes gazed on a kingdom, monotonous and far-stretching, whence all that was high and characteristic was gone. In dealing with the great lords Louis had followed two chief lines of policy, that of repression and that of absorption: he either made his antagonists poweriess, by holding them down, and sometimes by destroying them, or he succeeded in drawing their territories into his own hands. The fall of the House of Armagnac is a striking example of the first process; the annexation of Anjou fairly represents the second.

¹ L. von Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, i. p. 66 (ed. 1868).

The net result of the reign was that while France grew larger, she also became more compact. At the beginning Louis had been hemmed in by half-hostile neighbours, and could scarcely call himself master a hundred miles from the capital; at the end of it he had added to the Crown the northern parts of Picardy, Artois, the Duchy of Burgundy, Franche Comté, though but for a time, Provence, Roussillon and Anjou, and had secured for ever the grandeur and independence of France. Near the end of his reign (A.D. 1481) Marseilles became at last a French port, ready to play an important part in the development of the Mediterranean interests of the kingdom.

In sum, Louis XI is the true founder of the French monarchy in its later form, as the government of a nation ruled by absolute power. The people, seeing all authority in one man's hands, naturally regarded him as the source of all their miseries; they hated and feared him alike; in their secret imaginations he was painted as a being scarcely human, and of demoniacal malignity. They did him injustice: with all his faults, Louis was a great King, and not a cruel one; yet the popular instinct had a truth in it; and the cry of thankfulness which went up from every hut in France when his death was known, must be remembered also when we sum up the notable deeds of Louis XI.

CHAPTER VI.

ANNE OF BEAUJEU, AND THE FIRST PERIOD OF CHARLES VIII. A.D. 1483-1494.

IN one breast alone survived the spirit of Louis XI: and, fortunately for France, this survivor now governed the kingdom for eight quiet years. Those who deem the late King to have been a great monarch may well point to Anne of France, his eldest child, the wife of Peter of Bourbon, Lord of Beaujeu. She was now twenty-two years of age; a woman of rare sagacity and prudence, in which her father rejoiced greatly; for such a daughter seemed to him to be one of the triumphs of his life. He admired her as much as he despised and neglected his feeble son, who now, at the age of fourteen, ascended the throne. To her and her husband the dying King left the care of the boy. Though by French law he had already reached his majority, still his sister had inspired him with such a just fear of her, that for nearly ten years she was virtual Queen of France. In her, the first and perhaps the best of that series of remarkable women who hold high place in the annals of the rulers of France, nature triumphed over the Salic Law. The dislike of Charles VIII, who chafed under her masterly control, the absence of an actual testament devising the charge of the realm to her, the illwill of the royal Princes, of the Noblesse, of the States General;—all these things were against her; yet she bore them all down, quelled insurrection, defended the frontiers against foreign princes, made peace at home, lessened the

public burdens, and gave the country time to breathe and recover strength. Then, when at last Charles VIII shook himself free from her wholesome influence, and went his disastrous way, she gave up her task, showing her ability not least by the quiet skill with which she withdrew from public life.

History says little of Anne of Beaujeu, 'Madame la Grande,' as she was rightly styled. But she deserves the highest honour for having given tranquillity to France, for having fulfilled the last and wisest wishes of Louis XI, and for having guided the kingdom for eight years, between the fury of the nobles and the folly of the King. At the end, she watched and helped to carry through the great intrigue by which Charles VIII won that splendid prize, Anne of Brittany; when this was achieved, she bade farewell to power, and returned to the simple duties of her home. She was a true and noble lady, of kingly wisdom and politic skill. Her very success has doomed her to the neglect of posterity: she was neither tragical nor wicked; and the historians of the time have passed her by almost without a word. She dealt sharply with Philip of Commines after the death of Louis XI, as indeed he justly deserved; and the historian has meanly avenged himself on her by omitting from his *Memoirs* the years of her admirable government, and even the very mention of her name.

When Charles VIII came to the throne, the natural reaction of the nobles against the despotism of the late reign was ready to break forth: and the first task of Anne was to defend the monarchy from it. As rivals she had the two princes of the blood-royal, the Dukes of Bourbon and Orleans¹. Of these, Bourbon was indolent and weak, and gave little anxiety; Orleans, the heir-presumptive to the Crown, was careless and immersed in pleasures; wherefore these Princes hindered her but little. The tools and friends of the late King, odious to all, she allowed to perish, for she had no interest in their defence. The greater nobles seemed to be about to shake themselves

¹ Louis of Orleans, afterwards Louis XII.

free from the royal yoke; they met in high heart in the States General¹ at Tours (A.D. 1484) when strange things were heard, old claims exhumed, new methods attempted, and nothing achieved. These famous Estates of 1484, of which so much has been said, were in fact only a part of the general reaction against the rule of Louis XI; except in so far as they afforded an example of three chambers composed of elected members², they in no way advanced the political life or liberties of France. They met, heard harangues, listened to unwonted language as to the ultimate sovereignty of the people, and of their right to elect the King. The Estate of the nobles claimed its old privileges, freedom from military service, and the odious rights of the chase: the Duke of Orleans was named head of the King's government. The Estate of the clergy asserted its rights, as defined by the Council of Basel, and by the guarantees of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges; the Third Estate bewailed the misery of the people, the oppression of the Papacy, the curse of wandering bands of soldiers, the severity of taxation, and so forth. But what came of it all? Anne of Beaujeu, whose name is as studiously omitted from the acts of the States General as from the page of history, retained her ascendancy over the King's mind, and ruled serenely, indifferent to the utterances of the great Assembly. The States were dissolved; their decrees were written on the sand.

The Duke of Orleans, whose lively manners and love of pleasure had attracted the young King, in spite of his sister's warnings, now grew too powerful; and she tried to seize him in Paris. He escaped, and busied himself in forming a new league with Francis of Brittany, the Archduke Maximilian, and Richard III of England. Combinations repeat themselves; it was the League of the Public Weal, or its faint shadow, reproduced after the lapse of twenty years. But the conditions of such combinations are never the same: and thus, while in the League of 1464 the centre of opposition lay on the Flemish

¹ See note on pp. 63, 64.

² See Martin, *Histoire des Français*, vii. p. 170.

frontier, in 1485 the centre lay in Brittany; and the fortunes of the French monarchy waited for a while on those of that great duchy. Anne, with the clear gaze of a statesman, saw how this was; and decided that ere long Brittany must be brought into harmony with the kingdom. We shall see how well she succeeded: for though she took as much pains to conceal her own share of power as others take to show their authority, and though consequently the details of the period are obscure to trace, the net results are clear, and the gain to the monarchy so great that Anne of Beaujeu has a right to be reckoned among the founders of the royal power in France.

There can be no doubt that those who formed the Court in her day, as well as the mass of the people, were quite content under her rule: she abated taxation, brought down the curse of mercenaries; and the gratitude of France rewarded her by making it impossible for her enemies to form any solid party against her. When the nobles appealed for help to Richard of England, she had Henry of Richmond ready at hand to keep him in check: she lent that able Englishman money and men. First, by the simple menace of his presence on the Breton coast she frightened King Richard into inaction; and then, in August 1485, she sent forth her candidate for the English throne: the battle of Bosworth was fought, and Richmond became Henry VII. All danger from that side was thus averted; and Anne of Beaujeu could boast that she had given tranquillity and firm government to England as well as to France. One of the first acts of the new Tudor sovereign was the conclusion of a truce, and then of an alliance, with Charles VIII.

The Estates of Flanders willingly gave Maximilian plenty of trouble; and that prince, flying with uncertain aim from end to end of Europe, was little likely to become formidable to France. Even in Brittany, the centre of opposition, Anne was able to raise up a strong party dividing the duchy: the nobles hated Landois, a man of the people, the able and odious minister of Francis II, the Duke; at last Landois was taken and hung; Francis was reduced to quiet, the Duke of Orleans besieged and captured in

his castle of Beaugency, his strongest supporters exiled, specially the younger Dunois, son of the old Bastard of Orleans, the soul of the league against the Crown: and all this before the confederation had time to grow into definite form and consistency.

But directly it was too late, Maximilian, ill-timed ever, ever unsuccessful, once more appeared on the scene. He marched into Artois, breaking the third treaty of Arras, while the confederates of the south at the same time made open revolt. But Anne was prompt and strong; Maximilian was easily held in check in the north, while the young King, full of delight at the new and exciting sport, rode at the head of a well-appointed army into the south: the confederates submitted at once, for the revolt was supported by the nobles only; the cities everywhere welcomed Charles as a deliverer. This first expedition of Charles VIII gave him that taste for the pleasures of easy adventure in warfare which soon led him to the Italian invasion.

Meanwhile the sagacity of Anne saw that, while north and south could easily be appeased, the real danger lay in the west. There the Duke of Orleans, joined by the Prince of Orange, had made common cause with Francis II of Brittany, and threatened to invade the very heart of France. But Anne, true to her vigorous policy of always taking the offensive, poured troops under La Trémoille into Brittany, took place after place, and presently fell in with the confederates at S. Aubin du Cormier, as they were endeavouring to relieve Fougères, then closely beleaguered by the royal troops. On the 27th July, 1488, was fought a great and obstinate battle, which decided the fate of the monarchy in its relations with the duchy of Brittany. The victory of the French was complete. It is said that four thousand Bretons and confederates were slain, and as many taken prisoners. Among the latter were the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Orange, with many other lords and knights. This one blow broke up the whole league; Orleans was imprisoned in the great tower at Bourges; Maximilian was compelled to respect the terms of the treaty of Arras; and finally, a treaty signed at Sablé in Anjou (August, A.D. 1488) closed the war.

The Duke of Brittany submitted; he died almost immediately after signing the treaty which compromised the independence of his duchy. Thus ended this little struggle, 'the crazy war'¹, as it was scornfully called: it shewed a state of things very different from that which prevailed in 1465, when Louis XI could hold his own against the princes and nobles only by employing all the arts and cunning of weakness. Now, almost without an effort, their great coalition crumbled into dust.

Francis II, last Duke of Brittany, left no sons, but two daughters, Anne and Isabel. The younger died in 1490, and Anne of Brittany became sole representative of that great House. Who should win her and carry off the prize, now became the most prominent question in Europe. The gallant Maximilian was the fortunate suitor. It is said that though Anne had never seen him, the reports of his bravery, character, and good looks, as shown by his portrait, had won her heart. She was married to him by proxy, with every binding form, in 1490; and had the gallant King of the Romans gone straight into Brittany to claim his young bride, he might easily have secured her and the great duchy; then his powerful arms would almost have surrounded the kingdom of France. But Maximilian ever grasped at more than he could hold, his schemes being larger than his capacity or his means; so that, instead of being in Brittany at the critical time, he was far away on the Danube, intent on the recovery of the hereditary Duchies of Austria after the death of the great Hungarian Matthias Corvinus. He won back Vienna, but he lost Brittany.

The French armies pressed ever more and more into Brittany. When the marriage by proxy with Maximilian, which was kept a profound secret for several months, became known, the Lord of Albret, the second suitor for the hand of the Duchess, seeing that his suit had failed, proposed to console himself by wresting from her some portion of her domains, and with this view he attached himself to Charles VIII, giving up to

¹ 'La guerre folle.'

the King the castle of Nantes, the fall of which was followed at once by the submission of the town. In April, 1491, Charles made a triumphant entry into the place. Maximilian could do nothing to help the powerless 'Queen of the Romans,' as Anne of Brittany was now styled. The war in the East still raged, Flanders was in revolt, Henry VII of England refused to aid him. The policy of Anne of France triumphed on every side.

The Duchess had shut herself up in Rennes, with such forces as she still had at command. But her prospects were desperate; before the end of November she was obliged to make terms with the French King. A public treaty was signed, while underneath the cover of it secret negotiations went on. It was represented to her that Charles her suzerain had never given his consent to the marriage with Maximilian, and that the marriage was therefore void; that Maximilian was neglecting her for his own interests; that she would do well to look for another defender and mate. In the King's secret counsels it was agreed that he himself should seize the prize. True, he was already married, or at least as far married as Anne herself was. There was a little lady of eleven years, Margaret of Austria, Maximilian's daughter, to whom, years back¹, he had been espoused. She was being brought up for him at the French court. But Brittany outweighed all the dower of little Margaret; and indeed Anne of France was clear-sighted enough to see that Brittany, removed from the one scale to the other, would be a grand acquisition, would take away a standing menace on the west, and would enable the monarchy to secure Artois and perhaps Franche Comté, in spite of all resistance. So it was planned that Charles should repudiate Margaret, Maximilian's daughter, and should carry off Anne his bride. It was a double insult to the King of the Romans. Charles, in the presence of his presumptive heir, the Duke of Orleans, and of others of his court, was solemnly married to the Duchess at Rennes. It was stipulated that Brittany should belong to the survivor of the pair;

¹ See above, p. 97.

but that if Anne outlived Charles, she should be bound to marry the successor to the throne of France; and this actually took place when the Duke of Orleans became King as Louis XII.

Thus was Brittany at last united to the crown of France. It did not however form an integral portion of the monarchy till 1515, when the Princess Claude, daughter of Louis XII, and sole heiress to the duchy, who the year before had married Francis, Count of Angoulême, ascended with him the throne of France.

The Papacy hastened to send such dispensations as might be needed. Brittany acquiesced, but war again began to move among the confederate princes round about. They seemed to feel that a new age was coming, in which this central and now compacted kingdom of France would seek to lead all Europe. The troops of Maximilian took Arras and some Picard towns, Franche Comté revolted, English Henry VII attacked Boulogne, Ferdinand of Spain threatened Roussillon. But Charles VIII yielded here and there: Henry he bought off; it was said of that thrifty monarch that he took money first from England that he might make war, and then from his enemies that he might make peace, and so profited at both ends. To Ferdinand Charles ceded Roussillon and La Cerdagne; to Maximilian he restored the dowry of Margaret, the repudiated and slighted princess. But withal he secured Brittany, and kept the core of the nation sound.

This was the last public act of 'Madame la Grande.' She knew that the young King chafed under her wise rule, and that his ideas were now opposed to hers. He had given way to his liking for the Duke of Orleans, and was beginning to listen, in his vain-glorious humour, to those who would tempt him into Italy. Quietly and by degrees the Princess Anne withdrew from a position that was rapidly becoming untenable. She ceased to perform any longer her queenly tasks, and returned contentedly to her quiet duties as a wife. These she tranquilly fulfilled for many years, dying not long before the fatal battle of Pavia, that striking proof of the folly of the Italian ambition

of the French kings, and of the wisdom the Princess had shown when she set herself against the first beginnings of it.

She left France stronger and healthier than it had been for ages. Taxes were low, cultivation flourished; no foreign invasion or wandering mercenaries ruined the husbandman's fields; the oppression of the noble class was abated. The King had a flourishing exchequer and well-appointed army. We shall see how the folly of Charles VIII, who seemed to be utterly devoid of a right judgment, squandered these great advantages on a visionary ambition.

The earlier age of French war-history is ended. Henceforth the great nobles, if they revolt against the Crown, will rest for support on some other European power: the risks for France will no longer come from Flanders or Brittany, but from Spain and Italy. The relations with this latter country will be the chain to bind France to her new destinies as one of the great European monarchies of modern history.

BOOK II.

THE AGE OF THE ITALIAN EXPEDITIONS.

INTRODUCTION.

WE enter on a period in which France played a chief part in the creation of those international European relations which we are wont to call the Balance of Power. The starting-point of her intervention in general politics was her interference in Italian affairs, which not only brought her into collision with Germany and Spain, but also subjected her to all those influences which Italy with her manifold fascinations of art and skill, of learning, luxury, and subtle political action, could exert on the susceptible nature of the French. Though the share of France in the general relations of European history has often been fully and clearly explained, her subjection to Italian influences has perhaps not received so much notice as it certainly deserves. The power exerted by the genius of France on others, and the position she claims as a leader of opinion in Europe, has appeared so striking that we have failed to realise the great influence which the characteristic qualities of other nations have exerted on her.

And yet France has received as much as she has given. Nor is this strange. That vivacity and sympathy, that sprightliness of mind, clearness of idea and expression, bright and logical, witty if rarely humorous, that cleverness which under-

stands, and that dexterity which can reproduce the thought of others; all these qualities make her equally well-fitted to receive and to give.

In the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries alike, France owed much of her intellectual life to other nations; to Italy and to England. In the fifteenth century she had fallen far behind: her long wars, the clash of interests within her borders, the ruin of her prosperity, had all hindered her natural growth; the influences of the Renaissance had scarcely penetrated to her; her cities had none of the life and energy of the German towns; though she had a fertile soil and an ingenious people, neither one nor other had had fair play or a good chance of development.

But now in the end of the century France set forth on a kind of voyage of discovery, and lighted on the new world of Italy, a paradise ablaze with all the glories of intellect and art, and warm with the sunny pleasures of sense. The effect was electrical; she awoke to a strong desire for culture, which showed itself first of all in the royal family and the court. Francis I is rightly styled 'the King of Culture.' The Italian ladies who married French princes influenced her deeply. France developed a taste for Italian intrigue-politics; and thanks to her relations with Italy, she cast in her lot with the Latin nations and not with the Teutonic, when the great questions of the Reformation were in due time presented to her for answer, as to the other nations of Europe.

'Italy is the tomb of the French' is an old saying, for which history has provided plenty of justification¹. But it may well be doubted whether the influences of Italy on France, which seemed to have an affinity for what was least valuable in her national growth, may not have been even more destructive of her true happiness than the wars waged in the Peninsula were of her soldiers.

¹ Bourrienne, Mémoires, i. p. 121: 'Convaincue de ce fait, malheureusement confirmé par l'histoire, que l'Italie a toujours été le tombeau des Français.'

If we take the list of those words which crossed the Alps in the sixteenth century and found a home in France, we cannot fail to see at a glance what was the texture of these Italian influences. We shall find a number of court-terms, expressing the fact that the ladies brought with them their home-ideas from the courts of Florence or Rome. There are the names of games and pastimes, from the pleasure-loving idle foreigners. Terms of art appear of course in great abundance. There are also war-terms, words of commerce, and many uncomfortable and even discreditable linguistic adventurers, slang terms, thieves' patter, scornful diminutives and nicknames. Hardly a single noble thought finds expression among these words; the culture of art, the depravity of morals, the degradation of man's scheme of life,—these are the matters which are fully represented by these travelled foreigners; these the main elements of influence with which Italy in her beautiful corruption affected France at the end of the fifteenth century¹.

¹ For a complete and classified list of such Italian-French words, see Brachet, *Etymological Dictionary of the French Language* (English edition, 1873), Introduction, pp. xxx-xxxiii.

CHAPTER I.

THE BEGINNINGS OF FOREIGN POLICY OF FRANCE.

A.D. 1494—1498.

MORE than thirty years before the expedition of Charles VIII to Naples, Cosmo dei Medici held a conference with Pius II respecting the crown of Naples, and the Italian relations of France. That statesmanlike and wary Pontiff¹ showed the Florentine what dangers would result from a friendship with France: and the events of 1494 proved how far-sighted he was. An Angevin sovereign in Naples, he said, 'would certainly not advance the liberty of Italy': the French once there would subdue Sienna; the Florentine people would play into their hands; 'the Duke of Modena was more Gallic than the French themselves; the lesser princes were that way minded; Genoa and Asti were completely French; were the Pope also to take the same side, the whole Peninsula would become French: in supporting Ferdinand of Aragon he was defending Italy².'

Even at that time he might have added that the Italians had ceased to be soldiers; and that there was no one to rely on. All military work was done by German and Swiss landsknechts and other mercenaries: war had become more and more a pretty game, in which little or no blood was shed³: the foreign condottieri, the captains who sold themselves and their men to the petty Italian powers⁴ had a very pleasant life, and drove a flourishing trade.

¹ Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 497, note (ed. 1846).

² *Comment. Pii II*, iv. p. 96, quoted from Spondanus by Hallam.

³ See Guicciardini, A. 1495; lib. i. f. 36 (1580).

⁴ Chief among these was an Englishman, Sir John Hawkwood. (The

While Louis XI lived there was no likelihood of serious interference; it was different under his ignorant and ambitious successor. When the Count of Maine bequeathed to the Crown of France his claims and rights, Louis had promptly taken possession of Provence, as being a solid gain and coherent to the kingdom; on the other hand he had taken no steps to assert his claim to Naples, and left that shadowy inheritance to allure his unwiser son.

At this time Italy was far before all the world in material wealth and intellectual light: wars had ceased; the feudal nobles to a large extent had been absorbed by the cities; the power and splendour of the great burghers exceeded all that had ever been seen in Europe. Who does not know that description of Italy in the year 1490, which forms the introduction to Guicciardini's graphic account of the expedition of Charles VIII? 'Never had Italy enjoyed so great prosperity, or proved herself in so desirable a state, as that in which she was securely taking her ease in 1490, and the years immediately following. For she was in utmost peace and tranquillity, cultivated as much in the more hilly and barren districts as in the plain lands where the fertility was greater; subjected to no lordship save that of her own people; teeming with inhabitants, and wealth, and also made exceeding glorious by the magnificence of many princes, and by the splendour of many right noble and fair cities, and by the seat and majesty of Religion; she was full of men most distinguished in the administration of public affairs, and of high and noble genius in all the sciences and in every art, whether liberal or industrial'.¹ Still, this supreme bliss of cultured ease was not secure: in fact the state of Italy at this time was uneasy, for the relations of the greater powers in her had changed. Formerly Milan and Naples had balanced

name is written as *Aucud* by contemporary Italians, showing that the vulgar pronunciation of the name was the same then and now). Of him Hallam says (though indeed but little is known of him) that he was 'the first distinguished military captain who had appeared in Europe since the destruction of the Roman Empire, the first real general of modern times.'

¹ Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, i. f. 1 (ed. 1580).

Venice and Florence, the friends of France: but the changes in the latter half of this century had led Florence, under guidance of the Medici, to look askance at the French policy. At Naples the rivalry between the Angevin and Aragonese claimants had ended in the founding of a line of Spanish sovereigns by Alfonso the Magnanimous. But the misrule of Ferdinand had left behind a legacy of ill-will at Naples; and his son Alfonso II had all the qualities required to kindle that ill-will into a flame. Florence, only half-dazzled by the splendour of Lorenzo dei Medici, who was at this time a really absolute monarch, and had contemptuously crushed the ancient institutions of the Republic, was moved to her very depths on the death of that prince by rival factions, among which the grand figure of Savonarola, the republican friar, prophet, and politician, towered for a while predominant. The city, seeing that the Medici had opposed France, naturally turned for support to Charles VIII: God, said the patriot-friar, would be with the King if he would defend the liberties of Florence. Genoa held to her ancient friendship for the Angevin claimant of the throne of Naples; Milan had ceased to support the Aragonese side, and under the rule of Lodovico Sforza 'il Moro,' leant for support on the French alliance: Savoy, which held then, as she still holds, the keys of Italy from the side of France, was little more than a French dependency.

Thus stood Italian politics. There was much to allure an adventurous and thoughtless prince, who was just beginning to feel his independence, and to desire to exert his power. The Angevin claim on Naples had descended to him¹: Lodovico invited him to Milan: the patriots at Florence stretched out their hands to him. The King's favourite and adviser Stephen de Vesc, who had lands in Provence, was the medium through whom certain 'clerks of Provence' approached the King with pleas for intervention based on the wills of the first Charles of Anjou, brother of S. Louis, and of other Angevin princes:

¹ See Table, I. p. 120.

Stephen 'nourished his master in this language'.¹ The King, who was light and unwise, decided for going: 'but there was none save himself and two lesser folk who found it good.' The two lesser folk were this Stephen de Vesc, who hoped for a duchy in the kingdom of Naples, and the financier Briçonnet, who looked forward to a brilliant ecclesiastical career.

The light mind of the King was filled with far-reaching schemes: it was an age of many unlimited plans, and some marvellous successes, surpassing the tales of romance. Charles lived in a dream of chivalry: he knew nothing of war, and thought to call out his feudal levies, ride through Italy, secure Naples, push on to quell the Turks, and then return home, his brow wreathed with laurel, hailed as conqueror and saviour of Europe and Christendom.

Rarely has so great a change in the world's politics been enterprised so lightly. Here was an act, destined to revolutionise the relations of Europe, rouse new antagonism, bring together the three newly-compacted powers of France, Spain, and Turkey, compel the interference for centuries of Germany in Italy; and he who undertook it was 'a very young man, weakly of person, self-willed, little surrounded either by prudent men or good chiefs, and without ready money.' He adventured it very lightly, with 'a merry company, great plenty of young gentlemen, but much lack of discipline'.²

While Columbus was opening out (A. D. 1492) a new world, and laying the foundations on which the fabric of commerce should presently be built up, Charles set out on this reckless voyage of discovery across the Alps; and the astonished Frenchmen found that almost at their doors there was a world of boundless horizon. The whole of modern society rests on the combination of politics with commerce; and we have in these two contemporary events, in the discovery of America and

¹ Commines, VII. i. (ii. p. 298).

² Commines, VII. i. (ii. p. 292).

the interference of France with Italy, the beginnings of the modern European political system.

Charles VIII set out for Italy in August 1494, and returned home again in the October of the next year. His forces were large; and considering the disorganised and unwarlike state of Italy, very formidable.

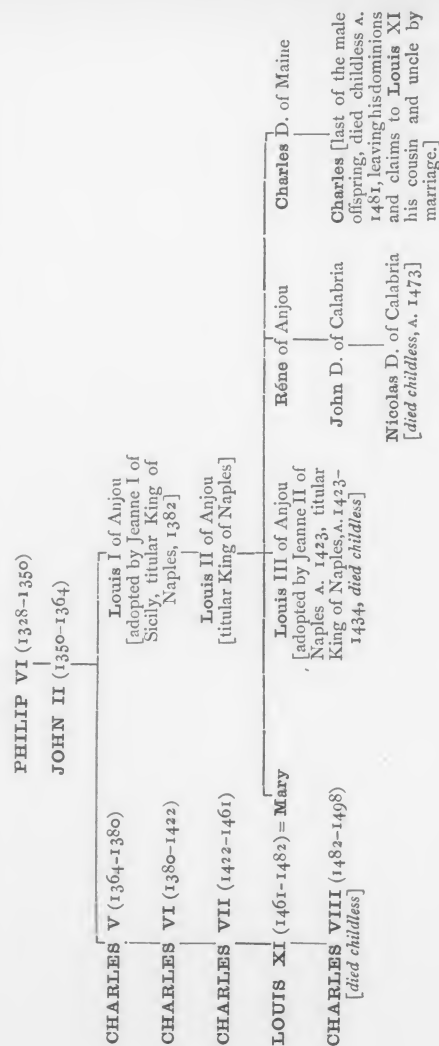
He trusted neither in his alliances in Milan and Venice, nor in the tendencies of Genoa, nor in the enthusiasts of Florence: he had ordered a fleet to cruise along the coast to support him, and his army was completely reconstructed. The three branches of infantry, cavalry, and artillery are now seen in separate organisations: it is the framework of the modern army that for the first time appears in Europe. In all it amounted to two and thirty thousand men, when it descended on Lombardy: the heavy battalions of Swiss infantry, and those of the German Landsknechts which presently joined him, gave it solidity such as no army in Italy had had for many centuries: there was the light French infantry, chiefly Gascons, with their formidable bows and arbalests; then came the grand 'companies of Ordinance' of France herself, some ten thousand horse; the artillery was splendid, and such as Italy had never beheld¹; being thirty-six bronze cannon, and a crowd of culverins and other lesser pieces, which for lightness and effect far surpassed all that had hitherto accompanied the march of an army².

Following this gallant force, so noticeable as the first of the many French armies that have crossed the Alps into Italy since that time, and surrounded by the hundred gentlemen and four hundred archers of his household, splendid troops, splendidly equipped, rode the young King, perhaps the most ill-formed man in all the

¹ Guicciardini is deeply impressed by them: 'pezzi molto più espediti, ne d'altro che di bronzo, i quali chiamavano cannoni'—with iron balls, not stone, drawn on carts by horses, not by oxen; quick in transport, easily planted, firing very rapidly—'questo più tosto diabolico che humano instrumento.' Guicc. A. 1494, lib. i. f. 25 (ed. 1580).

² The sum total of the force, all told, that entered Rome, is reckoned at from fifty to sixty thousand. For details as to this first of modern armies see Sismondi, Républiques Italiennes, vii. 383, 384.

TABLE I.—THE CLAIM OF CHARLES VIII TO THE CROWN OF NAPLES.



company. The Italians, when they saw him, were shocked at his ugliness: it outraged their sense of propriety, their keen artistic feeling for beauty. 'He was more like a monster than a man,' says Guicciardini¹. They nicknamed him the Cabozucco, because of his huge ugly head, and also, in part, by reason of his obstinacy. We have a clear description of him from a very observant Italian eye-witness²: 'His head was big, his nose hooked and large; his lips rather flat, chin round with a kind of little ditch in it, his eyes great and starting out of his head; his neck too short and wanting in stiffness; his chest and back were broad'—he concludes from what he saw of him that his body was composed of 'poor paste'³: he was short of stature and misshapen. 'He was not without some acquaintance with Art, yet hardly knew his letters; he was ambitious, but unfit for rule, being ever surrounded by his favourites, with whom he preserved no dignity or majesty; he hated toil and tasks, and when he did attend to business was of no prudence nor judgment . . . desired glory, but rather with a rush than with wise counsel; liberal, but without discernment, measure, or consideration; obstinate, not constant:' thus is Charles described, at the time of his expedition⁴.

This was the Prince who rode so lightly into Italy, that Pope Alexander VI declared⁵ that he came in not with arms to conquer so much as with chalk to mark up his lodgings in the different towns at which he halted. Italy was utterly unprepared for war: she made no resistance worthy of notice: the southward march of the French was one long triumph, in which the invaders and the invaded mutually wondered at each other.

It will not be in the scope of this work to enter in detail into the foreign expeditions of France. It must be enough if we

¹ Guicciardini, A. 1494, lib. i. f. 23 (ed. 1580): 'D'aspetto . . . bruttissimo . . . pareva quasi più simile à mostro che à huomo.'

² Barthelemy Cocles, of Bologna. Quoted in Preface to Commynes, Collect. Univ. x. pp. 157, 158.

³ 'Composé de mauvaise pâte,' says Barthelemy.

⁴ Guicciardini, ubi supra.

⁵ Nardi, Vita di Malespina (A. 1597) p. 18, and Bacon, Nov. Org. I. xxv. It was a well-known saying; see Ellis and Spedding's Bacon, i. p. 162.

give them in brief outline, and trace their consequences on the French character and history.

The King lay several weeks at Lyons: for if his schemes were heroic, his acts were quite the contrary; there he wasted his health and all his resources of money in dissolute living: at last, when pest broke out, he moved on, and crossed, after some hesitation, the Monte Ginevra; the Swiss, under the Duke of Orleans, had already defeated some troops landed by Alfonso II of Naples at Ripallo, and were showing so menacing a front that the Neapolitan army was afraid to attack the territory of Milan. The royal army passed through the north of Italy as in triumph: at Asti, where the King repeated the debauches of Lyons, he was attacked by a loathsome disease, and hung for some days between life and death. Each step he took in Italy was marked with cruelty, contempt for the inhabitants, ignorance, and folly: unable to comprehend the refinements of Italian politics, he blundered absurdly; and thought himself, wherever he went, the conqueror, not the friend, of those who welcomed him: for on the whole Italy did give him a hearty welcome. But the savage ferocity of his troops, their rapacity, and his own readiness to display himself as the triumphant victor, though at first it made his passage easy,—for the Italians were too much astonished and terrified to resist,—paved the way for his ignominious expulsion at the end. Lodovico 'il Moro' hurried back to Milan, as soon as he saw the French well on their way towards Pisa, and, his nephew Gian Galeazzo having died,—by poison it was whispered,—proclaimed himself Duke of Milan in his stead, and busied himself consolidating his own power, and preparing for the overthrow of his French allies.

They meanwhile were received with transports of joy by Pisa: the citizens, weary of the Florentine yoke, hailed him as a deliverer; and he promised to 'do them justice, and was pleased that they should have their liberty.' Nevertheless he placed a garrison in one of the citadels which the Florentines had built to overawe the town. While at Pisa, he had received a strange

embassage. The Florentines, excited by the near approach of the French, had already given vent to their long-pent irritation, and taking advantage of the absence of Piero dei Medici, who had gone to make terms with Charles, had proclaimed a Republic, branding the Medici with the name of traitors. From the new republican magistrates, whose movements were really guided by the impulse of Savonarola's genius, now came an embassy headed by the great Dominican himself. It was a strange meeting: neither the speech nor the thoughts of the Italian friar were intelligible to the ignorant and wretched creature whom he saluted as God's envoy. The King answered with some vague expressions of good-will: and after a few days, still full of the idea that he was a great general and conqueror, he entered the admiring city. Great was the amazement of the citizens when they heard him declare that he proposed to recall Piero dei Medici and establish him as his lieutenant in Florence, and also to impose a fine on the city for its revolt. But the magistrates stood firm, and the King, after a stormy scene, yielded; abandoned the Medici, accepted a subsidy of 120,000 ducats, and undertook to restore to the Florentines all the strong places he had occupied in their territories. He broke at once his word to Pisa, and promised to hand her over to her more powerful rival. Then he moved onwards towards Rome.

On the night of the last day of 1494 he made his entry into the Eternal City: the 'barbarians,' the 'Gauls,' entered by the Porto del Popolo in presence of an astonished crowd, which for six hours watched this strange host defile by torchlight into the city. Alexander VI, after some resistance, yielded to so great a force, and Charles, though he paid all outward respect to the Pontiff, treated Rome completely as a conquered city. When at last, after nearly a month's sojourn, he moved on for Naples, he took with him as a legate, or indeed as a hostage, the Pope's infamous son, Cæsar Borgia, 'who seemed to have been born only that there might be in the world one man wicked enough to carry out the designs of his father Alexander¹.'

¹ Guicciardini, i. § 4.

But none the less he left behind him at Rome, as he had done at Milan, at Pisa, at Florence, an implacable hostility, of which he was utterly unconscious, but which only waited its time.

Terrified by his approach, Alfonso II fled from Naples, leaving the gloomy heritage of his many crimes to his son Ferdinand II, who almost alone among the Italian princes of the age had shown vigour and capacity, many noble qualities, and a patriotic spirit; almost alone he had endeavoured by manful resistance to stem the flood of French invasion. Charles VIII scattering the forces of Ferdinand, who had gallantly but in vain tried to defend the line of the Garigliano, came on to Naples; the Neapolitans having threatened Ferdinand's life, that Prince escaped to the island of Ischia, while Naples, smitten with that same unreasoning delight which had seized all the cities of Italy, opened her gates to the liberator, to the invincible prince whom in their warm imaginations they regarded as the champion and assertor of their liberties against domestic tyranny. How often has the Peninsula made this mistake! how many bitter lessons had she to learn, ere she could not only say but believe that 'Italy shall stand alone!'. At this time, even as long after as the days of Napoleon, the Italians soon learnt what was meant by French liberation.

Charles VIII made entry into the fair city (A.D. 1495) as if he had been the world's conqueror: we are told that 'he deemed himself another Charlemagne², and was duly crowned, and that he wore the insignia of imperial power³, as though he were set on the recovery of Constantinople. Thus, 'beyond the example of Julius Cæsar, having conquered ere he saw⁴, Charles almost without an effort became lord of Naples, and seemed omnipotent in Italy. Men said that the Sultan Bajazet trembled because of him, so wonderful was the report of his prowess that reached the East: an insurrection broke out in Greece; for the

¹ 'Italia farà da se.'

² La Vallée, *Histoire des Français*, ii. p. 260.

³ Commynes, VII. xvii. (ii. p. 397), if we may adopt the reading 'alloit en manteau imperial'; but the passage is obscure.

⁴ Guicciardini, A. 1495, i. p. 38 (ed. 1580).

moment everything seemed to beckon on the King of France to yet higher fortune and imperial enterprise.

But even while all wore so bright an aspect, the King's position had already become untenable: before entering Naples he had learnt enough to rouse anxiety and suspicion; Alexander VI had refused to grant him the investiture of that kingdom, and was busy at the task of building up a league against the invader with Ferdinand of Aragon and the Republic of Venice; and, as if to smoothe the way for communications between Pope and Sultan, Zizim, brother of Bajazet, a refugee and prisoner at Rome, said to have been kept there because the Grand Turk had bribed the Pope to hold him fast, now perished of poison, which all said was administered to him by the Pope's agents. Charles had meant to use Zizim as a pretender to the throne of Constantinople¹, hoping thereby to paralyse the Moslem power; then he intended to take advantage of the division thus caused, and to establish himself on the Bosphorus, as the descendant and representative of the Latin Emperors. Cæsar Borgia, whose father Alexander VI had sent him as a kind of hostage and guarantee of faith with Charles VIII, had also given his friend the slip, and escaping from his honourable captivity had returned to Rome.

Charles had gone rashly on, farther and farther from his base of operations, while at every step he had alienated some friend or made some enemy: all the elements of revolt and resistance now began to stir behind him. While French pride and arrogance were disgusting the Neapolitans, who are so warm and so quickly moved to love or hate, and with contemptuous ignorance were rendering insecure the ground they stood on, the rest of Italy, offended with the foreigners, was preparing to cut off their retreat. Venice formed and led the league: Lodovico il Moro purchased the investiture of Milan from the Emperor Maximilian, and at once went with Venice; Alfonso II, Ferdinand of Naples, the Emperor, the Pope, all joined them; those two

¹ Zizim had already twice (in 1481 and 1482) attempted to dethrone Bajazet.

great sovereigns who already (A.D. 1492) had combined their power, and were welding Spain into one powerful monarchy, Ferdinand and Isabella, also gladly acceded; and Charles VIII found himself face to face with the coming antagonist of France, the new Spanish power: the difficult line of march which connected him with home grew daily more precarious. Spain undertook to throw an army into Sicily: the Venetian fleet to watch the coasts, and render retreat by sea impossible; while to the north and south the allies prepared to penetrate into France, and shake her monarch's power at home.

In face of this formidable coalition, the King's position was one of utmost peril; he could not stay where he was; he therefore decided to leave half his force in Naples, and with the other half to march hastily homewards. In May the French set forth, passed through Rome, found the gates of Florence shut in their face by Savonarola, were welcomed at Pisa, because Florence had refused them entry, gathered up all the garrisons left in the strongholds along the way, recrossed the Apennines successfully, though with a great effort; beat at Fornovo (July 6, 1495) a large and incoherent host, sent out to bar their way—the King himself behaving with conspicuous courage—and pursued their march as far as to Asti. Here Charles halted; for, hard by, cooped up in Novara by the Germans and Italians under Duke Lodovico, lay his kinsman, Louis of Orleans, the other claimant of Milan. Things looked very ill, in spite of the brilliant victory of Fornovo: Charles was too eager for pleasure to make any serious effort to disengage his cousin Louis. Negotiations began: Charles abandoned Pisa to the Florentines, whereon Florence declared herself his friend; and Lodovico was quite satisfied with the position he already held, and with the cession of Novara, which the King did not attempt to relieve. The town was evacuated by the Duke of Orleans, and peace signed on the 10th of October, Charles engaging himself not to support the claims of Louis of Orleans on Milan, and on the other hand retaining his own claims on Genoa. The way out of Italy being opened by this convention, Charles hastened

back to France and reached Lyons early in November, where 'he cared only to amuse himself and make good cheer and tourney.' While he idly sojourned there his only son, the little Dauphin, died, and Louis Duke of Orleans became heir to the crown of France¹.

Meanwhile, in spite of chequered fortunes, in which their superiority in the field was still maintained, the French were gradually pushed out of Naples, where Gilbert of Montpensier and Stewart of Aubigny had been left, the first as Viceroy, the second as Constable of the kingdom. The French captains, driven from Naples and the coast, kept up a partisan warfare in the interior, being supported by a considerable faction among the inhabitants: had Charles VIII been a man of any vigour of conduct, he might still have asserted his claims to that crown with a chance of success. As it was he squandered time and treasure², giving out all the time that he was about to return to Italy, to punish Lodovico at Milan, and to help his friends and soldiers at Naples: but he did not stir. At last Ferdinand of Naples shut up the King's lieutenant Montpensier in the little town of Atella in the Basilicata, where after a time he was forced to capitulate: dissension, want of food, and the sense of neglect made farther resistance impossible. The French were all taken as prisoners of war to Naples, and thence the poor remainder—two-thirds had died of pest—came wretchedly by sea, some twelve hundred of them, home to France. A small body of three hundred Swiss who had loyally clung to the French in spite of all misfortunes and mismanagement, came with them, 'showing in their faces how much they had

¹ Commynes, VIII. xx. (ii. p. 539), gives us a curious trait. The king put on his mourning for the boy, 'comme la raison le veult; mais peu luy dura le deuil: et la Royne de France . . . mena le plus grant deuil, qu'il est possible que femme peust faire, et longuement luy dura ce deuil, . . . mais au Roy son mary dura peu ce deuil . . . et la voulut reconforter de faire danser devant elle. Et y vindrent aucuns jeunes Seigneurs et Gentilz hommes, que le Roy y feit venir en pourpoinct pour dancier, et entre les aultres y estoit le Duc d'Orleans,' now the heir to the throne.

² Commynes, VIII. xx. (ii. p. 538): 'De soy le Roy ne faisoit rien. Et qui les eust fournys de sommes d'argent, à heure, dont on a despendu six fois le double, jamais n'eussent perdu le royaume.'

suffered, and all were ill': they looked more like skeletons than men. They brought home with them the curse of contagious diseases, contracted in Italy.

So by the autumn of 1496 the French had been entirely driven out of Italy; and the first great warlike expedition of modern times was at an end. Quite unconscious of the principles at work, yet feeling that the enterprise had in it some mysterious quality, some element of novelty and strangeness, Commynes never fails to tell us that it was 'a mystery of God'; that 'God led it and not man.' The splendid outset and the contemptible end; the swift turn of the wheel of fortune from the Imperial mantle at Naples to the discreditable convention at Novara; the want of skill and prudence in the King; the dreams of the Italians, the easy triumphal advance, and the toils and perils of the return, all these things seemed to the old historian to indicate the hand of God, leading the wayward monarch as He would. And in truth this invasion of Italy was as significant of a new age as was that other invasion just three centuries later, when the fresh martial vigour of the Revolution poured over into the Peninsula. There was the same glad reception of the French by the Italians; the same promises of liberation, of freedom, and the same complete deception. Charles VIII and Napoleon were equally willing to throw over their Italian friends, and to betray their confidence, if it seemed to their political advantage so to do: we may set the abandonment by Charles of Pisa to Florence over against the transfer of Venice by Napoleon to the Austrians.

But the man who had set these things in motion, this parent of the disasters of Italy, recked nothing of what he had done. He idly passed from place to place, with merry jousts and tournaments in every town, 'and thought of nothing else'.¹ His favourites pulled some this way and some that, and so went a year and a half. Then came some small differences with Ferdinand and Isabella in Roussillon, which Charles had given up to them long before. He succeeded in checking their for-

¹ Commynes, VIII. xxiii. (ii. p. 567).

ward movement, if indeed they meant seriously to threaten Languedoc. The matter was ended by a truce.

At the end of these affairs a strange seriousness fell on him. 'He turned his thoughts towards living after God's commandments and setting straight Justice and the Church, and ordering well his finances. He desired to live solely of his domain, which was plentifully great if well managed, and to levy on his people only the twelve hundred thousand francs which had been granted him at Tours by the Three Estates for the defence of the realm. Also he reformed the abuses of the religious orders, and listened gladly to good preachers: moreover he did much charity at the last. He established a public audience, at which he heard all who came, specially the poor, and sometimes gave two good hours to it.' He reproved the misconduct of his servants¹, and seems to have regretted the faults and licence of his own life.

One claim to distinction this poor King enjoys: he was the first who introduced into France the arts of Italy. At the Castle of Amboise on the Loire he set himself to employ those artificers, sculptors, and painters, whom he had brought from Naples, beginning the 'greatest building that any King had attempted for a century past'—the 'enterprise of a young prince, and one who thought not upon death, but hoped for length of days.' In which he was sore deceived, for death was already lying in wait for him. One day in April, 1498, he went with Anne of Brittany, his queen, to see men playing tennis in the castle ditch; but, passing through a dark and dirty gallery on the way thither, he struck his head against a broken doorway. At first he seemed unhurt, for he stayed a long time watching the players and chatting with the bystanders. Suddenly, however, he fell, and lost all power of speech. They laid him down in the squalid gallery, stretched on a mattress, till he died some nine hours later.

He had been but a poor King for France. Still, he was

¹ Commynes, VIII. xxv. (ii. 587, 588).

gentle of nature, and showed a real desire at the end of his life to do what was right. The people, easily touched by gracious speech and act, lamented him as a friend. 'He was so good that kindlier creature was not to be seen,' says Commynes¹; 'no man was ever so humane and gentle of speech. I think he never said a word to hurt any man's feelings.' And yet he had treated Commynes with the severity he deserved; and his testimony is therefore not that of a partisan.

He had had three children, but all died before him in early childhood. There were but few princes of the blood-royal surviving when he expired. His heir was Louis of Orleans, grandson of the brother of Charles VI, and accordingly three generations away from the Crown. Still, he was at once recognised as King without a murmur. The principle of hereditary succession was triumphantly established in France.

¹ Commynes, VIII. xxvii. (ii. p. 595).

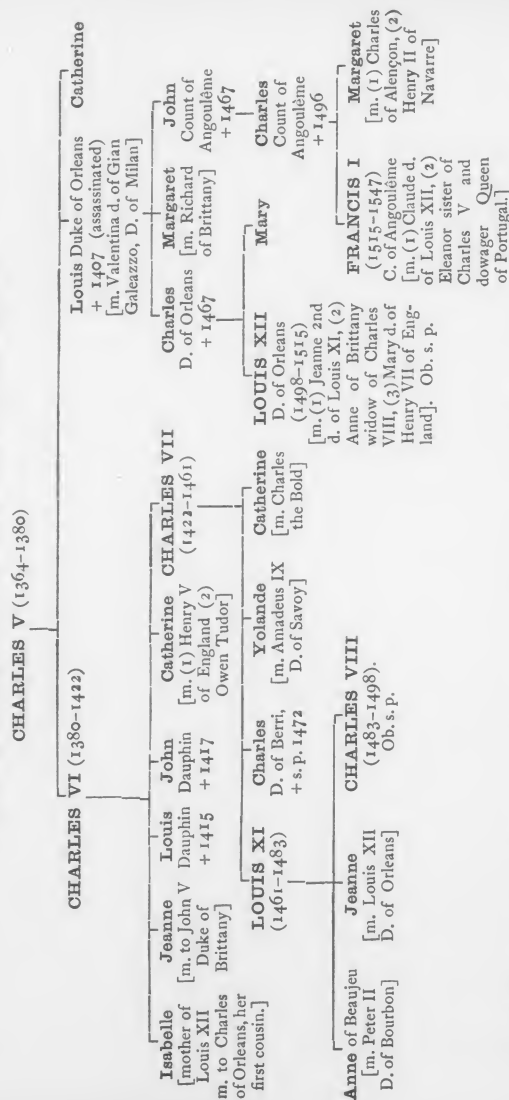
CHAPTER II.

FURTHER RELATIONS WITH ITALY. REIGN OF LOUIS XII. A.D. 1498-1507.

LOUIS OF ORLEANS, who was at Blois when Charles VIII died, hastened down to Amboise, made the arrangements for the King's funeral, and returned quickly whence he had come. When the due time for his coronation arrived, the six lay peers could not all be mustered, and the King was obliged to call in three nobles to fill the vacant seats. It is singular also how the Princes of the Lilies had withered away. There was no male heir to Burgundy. Bourbon was sixty years old and had no son; Brittany and Anjou were in female hands; the other princes of the royal stock were but children. The Queen, Anne of Brittany, made show of great grief. She clad herself in black, though white was royal mourning; for two days she ate nothing, nor slept, and declared she would follow the King to the grave. When his old favourite and counsellor Briçonnet came to comfort her, he found her crouching in a corner of her chamber. She answered only with sobs. Yet her true mourning was not for the King's person, but for his dignity and his crown, which now she must put off. For her ruling quality was ambition; and at the age of twenty-one she knew that the world was before her, and wasted no time on grief. No sooner were her comforters gone than she rose up, and began to busy herself in behalf of the independence of her great Duchy, which, according to the terms of her marriage-compact with Charles VIII, was to remain with her on his death. She at once re-established the

TABLE II.—PEDIGREE OF CHARLES VIII, LOUIS XII, AND FRANCIS I.

(For the earlier Pedigree of the House of Valois see Vol. I. opposite p. 190.)



The Count of Orleans, an arrière-fief of Hugh Capet, was given as apanage (1) by Philip VI to Philip his fourth son in 1344, and (2) by Charles V to Louis his second son in 1392; this created the House of Orleans-Valois, which brought the fief back to the crown on the accession of Louis XII in 1498. Next, Louis XIII again detached the Duchy and gave it to his brother Gaston, who died childless in 1660. The Duchy then passed to Philip, brother of Louis XIV, who founded the house of Orleans-Bourbon, which came to the throne of France in 1830.

Chancellerie of Brittany, which Charles had suppressed, thus assuring to the Duchy an independent administration. She left Amboise, returning to her Bretons, among whom she again began to exercise acts of sovereignty; she struck money, issued edicts, convoked the Estates of the Duchy. In fine, she played her cards so well that ere Charles had been dead two months she had promised once more to become Queen of France, as soon as Louis XII could free himself from the wife he already had.

That wife was Jeanne, sister of the late King, a worthy and pious woman, but plain. Louis had ceased to live with her; they had no children. There was no excuse for a divorce; nor can it be justified in any way. But right had to yield to 'reasons of state'; and as Alexander VI, the reigning Pontiff, desired to advance the fortunes of Cæsar, his favourite son, he readily granted the required divorce. Cæsar, who brought the Bull into France, was rewarded by being made Duke of Valentinois¹, with a large pension, a bride of the great House of Albret, and ready promises of support in his Italian schemes, where he aimed at founding an independent principality for himself in the Romagna. All obstacles, including the poor Queen Jeanne, being thus easily removed, a splendid marriage followed. It was a piece of scandalous and cruel trafficking, but it was useful for France. Anne of Brittany, according to the terms of her contract with Charles VIII, in which it was written that if the King died she should marry his heir, now once more became Queen of France by marrying Louis XII (A.D. 1499).

She secured her own retreat in case of any mishap: the terms of her marriage-compact with Louis were more stringent than those of her agreement with Charles VIII had been; her Duchy remained as an independent State; on her death it should pass to her second son or to her eldest daughter, or failing these to her own heirs; nor should the Kings of France have any hold thereon².

¹ He is henceforth called 'Duc de Valentinois' in French histories.

² Preuves de l'Histoire de Bretagne, tom. iii, quoted by La Vallée, Histoire des Français, ii. 269.

With these fortunate auspices Louis XII began his reign. His character is not quite easy to trace: there was so much good nature with such obvious callousness of heart, such admirable rule at home, with such narrowness of views and errors of judgment abroad; such humanity on one hand and harshness in war on the other; such an insignificant and self-indulgent life before he came to the throne, and so notably public-spirited a career after he succeeded. These apparent contradictions are all to be seen clearly marked in his character. It is most probable that his fame for good or ill is bound up with the characters of the men nearest his person: the good at home may be largely due to his great minister George of Amboise; the evil abroad to his consort Anne. Our difficulty is increased by the unworthiness of the historians of his time; they are mere panegyrists of princes and great captains. When they do not chronicle fighting-bouts, they turn to description of feasting-bouts; they give us few and meagre hints as to the characters of men, or the home-life of peoples; little about art or science or knowledge. It is singular how their eyes are closed against the great movements of the time; they cannot hear the mutterings of the storm of the Reformation, they know little of the marvels of discovery daily reported from afar. The keel of Columbus once more touched the western shores in the very year in which Louis XII came to the throne, but who of French historians or memoir-writers of the day notices the fact? Alexander VI in 1493 had divided the world by a line drawn from North to South down the Atlantic, and with high hand granted all Eastern discovery to Portugal, all Western to Spain¹. Yet France heeds it not, engrossed in her schemes against ill-fated Italy, and unconscious that the Papacy was claiming a world-empire such as had never before been dreamt of.

As a younger man Louis XII had been lazy, frivolous and debauched. Much of his later career was affected by these faults; and even to the end of his life he was a great eater and

¹ The line was first drawn 100 leagues west of Azores: the Pope at a later time moved it 270 leagues farther westward.

drinker¹. He leant on favourites to save himself trouble; he never took the pains to understand even the simplest lines of the somewhat intricate web of Italian politics in which he did not fear to entangle himself.

One sees something of all this in his face. He was a strange-looking man; there seemed to be hardly any upper part to his head; his forehead was very low: he had a big blunt ill-shapen nose, with huge lips, loose and flabby, under it. There was not much flesh on his face; yet the general effect was that of a stout man, thanks to the largeness of his pendent cheeks and features, compared with the smallness of his forehead. It is a friendly humorous countenance: the general impression it leaves is that of a kindly and sensible man, but one heavy of nature and self-indulgent.

We so seldom meet with a monarch who really cared for his people, that the heart is drawn towards this humane and easy-going prince. It is touching to notice his desire to be his country's father, to watch his tears when the deputation of the Estates of Tours in 1506 saluted him *Pater Patriae*. Heartless he seemed and was in the matter of his divorce, the meek face of the much-wronged Princess Jeanne, a saint in public esteem ere she died, must have haunted him sometimes. But towards his people, and towards the nobles around him, he was kind, feeling, and generous. 'It would but ill become the King of France,' said he, 'to avenge the wrongs of the Duke of Orleans.' Consequently, he confirmed all the officers of his predecessor in their places; even Louis de la Trémoille, who had made him prisoner at Saint Aubin², was received into favour, and became one of the worthiest and most trusted servants of the Crown. In former days he had been opposed to Anne of Beaujeu, and had felt the weight of her strong hand; she had kept him in prison

¹ When Louis XII once complained that Ferdinand of Aragon had twice deceived him, that false prince retorted with exultation, 'He lies, *the drunkard*! I have cheated him more than ten times!'

² See above, p. 107, and *Mémoires de la Trémoille*, ch. viii. Collect. Univ. xiv. p. 155.

three years. Nevertheless, no sooner was he king than he invited her and her husband to Blois, treated them with the greatest kindness, and even did for them things which seemed likely to injure the unity of the state. Louis XI, when he gave his daughter to Peter of Bourbon, had stipulated that if the great Duchy of Bourbon eventually came to him, and if after that he were to die without heirs male, that important fief, though it was really a female fief, should not descend to the daughters, but should revert to the Crown. And now, as Duke Peter had no sons, but only a daughter Susanne, this event seemed to be imminent. Louis XII might have hoped soon to have grasped this Duchy; on the contrary he renounced his claim to set aside the female line; and these great estates accordingly fell to Susanne, who, marrying her cousin Charles, afterwards the famous Constable Bourbon, carried them all over to him. To this honourable transaction, as well as to the intrigues of Louise of Savoy¹, may be traced the treason of the Constable, which marks with so dark a line the history of the reign of Francis I. The Parliament of Paris, perhaps more foreseeing than Louis XII, long resisted before it would register the act of renunciation.

But though the King could pardon and make friends of those who had wronged him and were still alive, he could not reconcile himself with the memory of his great predecessor Louis XI. That monarch, following his general policy, had steadily depressed the House of Orleans; and Louis XII, as representative of that House, represented a distinct reaction against the tendencies of the former reign. Repression at home and non-interference abroad had been the principle of the policy of Louis XI; and now Louis XII seems to have been minded both to interfere in external affairs and to abate the autocratic tendencies of the monarchy at home. He wished to rule humanely, and to lift his people out of the mire; he was not afraid to allow the great feudal Houses once more to lift up the head; he declined to

¹ See below, p. 156.

interfere in clerical elections. Under his benign and sunny rule people, clergy, nobles, all rose to a higher sense of their duties and position. Had his reign been followed by that of a prince equally large-spirited, we might have had to write down Louis XII as the founder of true constitutional life in France.

His kindliness shewed itself also in other ways. When the players at the Basoche in Paris satirised him to his face, and brought him on the stage, ill and calling for a drink of molten gold, he only laughed and let the thing pass by. When it was a question of money to be raised, he tried every expedient rather than add one penny to the burdens of his people. He had promised to solace the poor folk, and he did so effectually. It was wonderful to see the country-people flocking round him, and running for miles to see him wherever he went; they made a kind of worship of it, struggling and fighting to get near him, so as, if possible, to touch his robe or hand¹. He was, as a Venetian ambassador said, 'a child of nature'; there was something wonderfully fresh, natural, and winning about him². He accordingly disliked persecution, and when the primitive inhabitants of the upper valleys of Dauphiny were suffering from the oppression of certain zealous churchmen, he sent thither a commission to enquire into the matter. His officers reported that the simple mountaineers were good believers; and the King gladly commanded the churchmen to hold their hands.

That he might know how to rule aright, he read diligently, almost daily, in Cicero's Books of Offices: as one result, he had the state of justice in the realm much at heart, and in 1499 caused a grand Ordonnance, the result of the labours of his Great Council³, to be issued at Blois. He also set an excellent

¹ S. Gelais, *Histoire de Louis XII*, pp. 225-227; quoted in *Collect. Univ.* xvi. p. 352.

² L. von Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, i. p. 68.

³ The Great Council had been established by Charles VIII in 1497, and confirmed by Louis XII in 1498; it was intended to be a counterpoise to the Parliament of Paris, and also to assist the King in matters of reform of justice. It was composed of the Chancellor with twenty counsellors and the *Maitres des Requêtes de l'Hôtel du Roy*; its sessions were styled 'Estates,' but they were very different from the States-General.

example of frugality at Court; he much reduced the customary gifts to courtiers, and brought the whole finance of the land into good order; his expenses came to only half as much as those of Louis XI. Yet he also reorganised the fighting-power, and created a strong army¹. He stopped all pillage and extortion by soldiers, and made peace throughout France; no civic stir vexed the growth of towns, no high-handed prince defied the King, or took the law into his own hands, or raised the standard of private war. So greatly did the well-being of the people advance, that one-third of the realm is said to have been brought under cultivation in his day.

Like Charles VII, Louis XII might have been styled 'the well-served.' He had favourites, but they were fortunate accidents for France, so far as her internal happiness was concerned. Chief of these was George of Amboise, Archbishop of Rouen, 'the properest man to be made Pope that ever I saw,' says Fleuranges², 'whether in matter of sense, or of good conscience, or of manner of life'. He was an old and tried friend of the King, in evil and good fortune alike; so long as he lived he was the true ruler of France, and his rule was prudent and kindly. The only man with whom at first he shared power was the Marshal Peter of Gié, of the great Breton House of Rohan, who, unlike most ministers of the age, had held his own under Louis XI, Charles VIII, and lastly for some eight years under Louis XII. But George of Amboise and the Queen, after the King's illness in 1504, determined to punish the true patriotism of the veteran, the trusted friend of their kings, and compassed his fall in the interests of the House of Austria³: from that time Amboise ruled alone till his death in 1510.

But neither Louis XII, nor his ambitious minister, nor his proud Queen understood the true interests of France abroad. Louis seemed to care more for his claim on Milan than for his kingship at home. Amboise, as has been said of Wolsey, whom

¹ See below, p. 141.

² *Mémoires de Fleuranges*, Collect. Univ. xvi. p. 37.

³ See below, pp. 148, 150.

he resembled in many points, guided all his foreign policy by his ambition to be Pope; while Anne of Brittany, haughty, obstinate, and narrow of views, was no Frenchwoman: 'the air of France did not agree with her'; and she too neglected the true interests of her husband's crown. No wonder that the easy King, with his small intelligence and his ignorance, was led astray. Under their guidance, and with help of a very baleful friend, Cæsar Borgia, he committed blunder on blunder, plunged France into disastrous war, swerved from side to side, attacked his best friends, trusted the untrustworthy, and at last handed over to his ill-fated successor the luckless heritage of Italian ambitions and interference. Abroad he seemed to have an instinctive dislike to all free people or free institutions: his hatred for Venice is like the bitterness with which Louis XIV regarded the burghers of Amsterdam: he did all the harm he could to Florence and Pisa, to Genoa, to the Swiss.

His First Italian War.

No sooner was the King wedded to Anne of Brittany than his mind returned to those Italian questions which had so much occupied him of old. When Charles VIII had pushed on into lower Italy, Louis had lingered in the Milanese; now the Milanese became the key of French policy. No longer the Angevin claims on the kingdom of Naples, but the somewhat shadowy claim of Louis of Orleans on Milan engrossed all thoughts. We must see what that claim was worth.

Louis, Duke of Orleans, younger brother of Charles VI, married, in 1389, Valentina Visconti, daughter of Gian Galeazzo, Duke of Milan¹; and in the marriage-compact it was agreed that if heirs male failed to Gian, the descendants of Valentine should succeed to the Duchy. This case had occurred. The male line of the Visconti came to an end, and Louis XII, grandson of Valentine, now claimed the Ducal

¹ See Table II. p. 132.

throne. He styled himself at his coronation not only King of France, but King of the Two Sicilies, and of Jerusalem, as well as Duke of Milan, thus combining in his person the claims of both branches of his family, and proclaiming to Europe the vast breadth of his ambition.

This claim of Louis XII on Milan was met by several competitors: (1) King Wenceslas when conferring this great fief (in 1395) on Gian Galeazzo Visconti had by an Imperial Bull expressly declared that it should not descend to women; and now the Empire claimed the Lordship of Milan, as having escheated to its grantor on failure of male heirs; (2) the Sforza family had been in possession, and both Louis XI and Charles VIII had recognised their position by making alliances with them; (3) the proud city itself declared that she too had a right to be consulted as to who should rule over her; and (4), lastly, as a fact, Milan was under the government of that successful usurper, Lodovico, surnamed *Il Moro*; he was a prince of mark, vigorous and not unkindly, though his government was oppressive and his taxation heavy¹. Milan from her position was a great temptation to her neighbours. The French overshadowed her from one side, the Swiss from the other; a strong power holding Milan threatened the whole Valley of the Po, and might become the most formidable of Italian princes. To win this position was the aim and ambition of Louis XII.

Nor did the moment seem ill-chosen. The French were not weary of Italian expeditions: 'they were a kind of festival'² for the lively, noble, and wild 'adventurer'; they were a benefit to France, so far as they turned the eyes of these turbulent classes from her, and left her at peace. For a twelvemonth Louis XII occupied himself with negotiations and intrigues; it is the time at which France plunged into that great whirlpool of

¹ Lodovico *il Moro*, was uncle of Gian Galeazzo Maria, Duke of Milan, whom he made away with and succeeded in 1494. He was the younger son of Francesco Alessandro Sforza, had married the daughter of Philippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, and succeeded him as Duke in 1450. The surname '*Il Moro*' is said to come from his cognisance, a mulberry-tree.

² L. von Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 67.

foreign relations, in which her King was before long to make so many blunders. It was wonderful how the Italian princes turned round: the foes of Charles VIII mostly became the allies of Louis XII. The House of Borgia, we know, was already friendly. The divorce, so readily granted, had carried with it high hopes for Cæsar; the French would help him to his Romagna principedom. He and his father Alexander VI therefore smiled on the proposed conquest of Milan. Florence and Venice¹ were both French in sympathy; Savoy threw open the majestic portals of Italy. The Emperor Maximilian, who naturally would have opposed the attack, or might have tried to get, by means of it, a firmer footing on Eastern Italy, was, as usual, engaged elsewhere, for he had led a great Germanic army into Eastern Switzerland² at this very time, and had not only ignominiously failed, but had so completely exhausted himself as to be quite powerless. Louis also made treaties with Philip of Austria, with Ferdinand of Aragon, with Henry VII of England; and finally he took care to send emissaries to Luzern to the Swiss, who closed a bargain for the hire of twelve thousand of their formidable mercenaries.

The King's army gathered at Lyons, the natural resting-place before one plunges into the heart of the great mountains. It was composed of fifteen hundred lances³, or about eight

¹ Venetian envoys in 1499 came to Étampes to negotiate the arrangements for the fall and partition of the Milanese.

² We have a delightful account of this expedition from honest Bilibald Pirckheimer, who commanded a force of Nurembergers in this little war. See Pirckheimer's Works (ed. 1610, pp. 63-92).

³ The cavalry, main part of an old French army, was thus organised. Charles VII established his *Compagnies d'Ordonnance* in 1425. Each company was one hundred lances, each lance had with him five men; so that each full company was 600 strong. There were fifteen companies; his whole force nominally amounting to 9000 horse. To these must be added a host of volunteers, who sometimes equalled the regular troops in numbers. It was a great honour to be one of the King's *Gens d'Armes*; they were all gentle (to the time of Louis XII), and were in fact the old *Ban* and *Arrière-ban*. In later days a company was 150 strong—50 men-at-arms and 100 archers. Under Francis I there were eight men to a lance; but the proportion varied. The *Gens d'Armes* were heavy-armed soldiers, mounted on big-boned horses called '*destriers*.' The archers, pages, valets, knifemen, in attendance were light troops. Each company was under its

thousand horsemen in all, of the twelve thousand Swiss, and of a fine artillery. The host was commanded by Aubigny and Trivulzio. The King expected to receive reinforcements on his way, otherwise this army would seem to be singularly weak. Three hundred lances (sixteen hundred horse and four thousand Swiss were sent to aid Caesar Borgia in the Romagna. It was also agreed that the Venetians should vex the Eastern frontier of the Milanese.

No sooner had the army appeared in Lombardy than all towns opened their gates; the nobles who led the army of Lodovico abandoned him; Milan rose against him; he fled to Tyrol, while the French entered the city almost without a blow. The King's success was as rapid and bloodless as that of his predecessor. Trivulzio, as being an Italian, and therefore likely to be acceptable to the inhabitants, was made Governor of Milan; and Louis XII, while he stayed there, won high esteem by good laws and justice well administered. But he soon returned to France, and Trivulzio, instead of ruling prudently, violently attacked the Ghibelline or dominant party in Milan.

Early in 1500 things were ripe for revolt. Lodovico returned with a great host of Swiss ruffians; the French garrisons were swept away; and Trivulzio, not without great difficulty, extricated himself from Milan and withdrew to Mortara. On this retreat the famous Bayard, having pushed back the Italians, in the heat of pursuit followed them into Milan, and was taken there and brought before Lodovico, who treated him with great courtesy and let him go free. Bayard, the most prominent figure of the war-scenes of this age, the prince of French cap-

tain, and had a lieutenant and other lesser officers. The growth of light cavalry was very slow, and is connected with the advance of artillery. At first the chief light troops were mercenaries. Stradiots or Albanians. As for infantry, Louis XI had an army of 6000 Swiss and 10,000 French foot. Charles VIII and Louis XII added more Swiss and German Landsknechts. After the Peace of Madrid Francis I reorganised the infantry; made each 'ensign' consist of a body of not more than 400 men. He introduced the name of legions, and wished to raise seven legions of 6000 men each. But it did not work. The word Regiment (apparently used as equivalent to legion) came in about the middle of the sixteenth century.

tains, came of a Dauphiny family renowned for its prowess. His ancestors and kinsmen had shed their blood at Azincourt, at Verneuil, at Montleheri, at Guinegate; he himself lived only for the battlefield, and there found his rest. He was born at the castle of Bayard, some sixteen miles from Grenoble, and early shewed his eagerness for a career of arms. His uncle the Bishop of Grenoble got a place for him as page to the Duke of Savoy, by whom he was afterwards 'given' to Charles VIII. The record by his panegyrist, the 'Loyal Serviteur,' of his start in the world is very fresh and pretty. His uncle came to Bayard, and offered to take the boy, who was then fourteen years of age, back with him. Thereon all was in ferment. The tailor of the township was sent for, and all night long the good man sat up working at 'velvet, satin, and other things needful to clothe the good knight.' The bishop found a lively little roan; the boy mounted, dressed in his new clothes; his mother was called down to see him start. She brought a little purse, with six crowns of gold in it, and one in lesser coin, for him; also a little valise with the needful linen. She gave him two crowns for the servant of the squire under whom he might be placed. And, above all, between her tears, she charged him simply and eloquently to bear himself wisely and well; to love and serve God, to be courteous to his peers, and merciful to the poor; to tell the truth, to be sober and free from envy or flattery or talebearing; to be loyal, loving, and liberal. The lad made grave reply, beyond his years; and then, his uncle the Bishop calling him, he rode away into the world a happy, lively boy. 'Finding himself astride of his well-bred roan, he deemed himself in Paradise,' and went off, forgetting the kind and aching hearts he left behind in the dull little castle of Bayard.

At Mortara Trivulzio was reinforced by a large body of Swiss and French, under La Trémoille and George of Amboise. Meanwhile Lodovico had re-entered Milan in triumph, and had seized Novara, where the French army blockaded him. On both sides were large bodies of Swiss: a most unseemly chaffering and

bargaining went on, the mountaineers threatening to abandon their friends if they did not pay them more. They were clearly unwilling, then as later, to be found on both sides in the day of battle, though they were ready enough to take the money of both. The result was that the Swiss in Novara agreed to betray Lodovico, which they did by feigning to come out of the town to fight the French, and then by capitulating without a blow. The unfortunate Duke was found disguised among them; he was carried to France, treated with the utmost harshness by Louis XII, and imprisoned at Loches. There he languished till death released him ten years later. He was an industrious and eloquent person, kindly and gracious; but vain, false, and passionate. On their return to their homes, the Swiss, carrying great wealth with them, secured Bellinzona, which up to 1499 had belonged to the Duchy of Milan; and the town has been Swiss ever since.

The allies of France, Venice, Florence, and Rome, got their shares of the plunder. Venice received Cremona and an additional strip of territory; Florence asked and got leave to crush the independence of Pisa. A force of Swiss and six hundred French lances were sent to besiege the town, but the Pisans overwhelmed their would-be foes with caresses and provisions; and the impulsive Frenchmen abandoned the attack, leaving Pisa free. She was but reserved to prove still more clearly in 1509 how shameless and heartless the policy of Louis XII could be.

Cæsar Borgia, the third ally, now rose to the height of his fortunes. With French aid he mastered the Romagna, where the people were thankful to be rid of their petty tyrants. Pitiless as his rule was towards all who were in any way his rivals or obnoxious to him, the condition of the ordinary citizen improved under his eye; the administration of his government was good and enlightened. His manners were delightful and winning. Louis XII could not believe that so agreeable a man, with such charming manners, could possibly be cruel and heartless. No cat purring by the winter fireside could be softer

or gentler, or seem to think less of her claws and the mice. Macchiavelli saw in him the strong man destined to pluck Italy out of the hand of the foreigner. To such a man all things, he thought, could be forgiven. Cæsar balanced himself adroitly, unscrupulously, even gracefully, as long as his father lived; and had he not been stricken down with illness when the catastrophe overtook Alexander VI, in 1503, his acute admirer thinks he would have established himself as a temporal prince. But his illness came at that moment, and he was unable to contest the Papal election; strong-handed Julius II being made Pope speedily overthrew him. Cæsar escaped to Gonzalvo of Cordova, the Spanish commander in Italy, who sent him a prisoner to Spain, where he died. And thus ended the intrigues, the crimes, and great ambitions of the Borgias.

Nothing can be more intricate, confused, and sometimes resultless than the trafficking and negotiation of this age. It was a time of strange and unexpected whirlings of the political wheel. One cannot discern any real policy in the moves of Louis XII, or anything better than low cunning in the tricks and intrigues of Ferdinand the Catholic, that falsest of princes. Cardinal George of Amboise, who chiefly controlled the French King, however wise and prudent at home, was an unsafe guide abroad. He had been the connecting link between Louis and Cæsar Borgia; and had reckoned on that strong man's help whenever Alexander VI might die, hoping thereby to become Pope, and proposing to repay Cæsar by aiding him in his grand schemes of Italian domination. But Maximilian saw through him, and did his best to thwart his plans. He had little wish to see a French Pope: he may even have had dreams of securing the hold of Germany in Italy by himself grasping the tiara, though he did not put the wild idea into words till a later time. Throughout, we must not look for anything higher than selfish ambition and a desire to grasp one's neighbour's territory. The system which presently steadied itself into the Balance of Power was still in its infancy: and statecraft, seeking to outwit others, was as yet the

only rule. There were no principles to guide the movements of princes; the acquisition of this or that province, with no regard to the natural limits of nations, was the aim which each Prince set before himself, and for which he fought, intrigued, and lied. It is clear therefore that defenceless Italy must be the country which would attract most attention. Her unhappy condition, her well-marked subdivisions, the balance between her little principalities, all tempted the foreign 'barbarian.' The Frenchman, the Spaniard, the German, the Swiss, all struggled to get firm foothold on her soil. The natural points of attack were the Piedmontese districts, Genoa, and Milan, for the French; the Milanese, for the Swiss also; the Lombard plain and Venice, for the Germans; Naples with Sicily, for the Spaniards. The blunders of Louis XII were chiefly caused by his too great ambition. He stretched too far for his strength, not limiting himself to northern Italy; and, by grasping at Naples or Venice, enabled the Germans or the Spaniards to secure themselves firmly in the Peninsula.

His Second Italian War.

Thus, for example, what could have been more short-sighted or baser than the Treaty of Granada, by which, in 1500, Louis XII and Ferdinand the Catholic agreed to despoil the unfortunate Frederick of Naples of his possessions by a trick worthy of a gang of petty thieves? It was agreed that Louis alone should attack Naples, the treaty being kept secret; then Frederick would be sure to call in Ferdinand to his aid. Ferdinand would come, and being admitted into the strongholds of his luckless friend as a deliverer, would seize them forcibly and then divide the spoil with Louis. It was agreed that Louis should have Naples, the Terra di Lavoro, and the Abruzzi, with the title of King of Naples and Jerusalem; while Ferdinand should have Apulia and Calabria, as Duke. Meanwhile, to make all safe, Ferdinand sent to his kinsman Frederick to assure him with an oath that he would defend him. Unfortunately Frederick, as 'il Moro' of Milan had done before, ap-

pealed to Bajazet II for protection; the weaker princes liking better to call in the Turk, than to fall defenceless victims to their Christian enemies. This was made a pretext for war; Louis and Ferdinand raised forces for a crusade, the former declaring that he would conquer Naples, as an outpost against the infidel. He had, by assiduous negotiation, secured the neutrality of Maximilian; the young Archduke Philip of Austria, who was in the Netherlands, which were now rising into a power in Europe distinct from both Germany and Spain, wished only for quiet prosperity. Frederick, abandoned and betrayed by all, could make no resistance, and submitted to Louis; he was carried into France, where he died. The French and Spaniards divided his kingdom, as they had agreed (A.D. 1501). But the thieves very soon began to fall out. Louis of Armagnac, Duke of Nemours, Viceroy for France, was unequal to his task. A petty war began; the French forces, never large, were weakened; yet for a while they not only kept the Spaniards at bay, but drove them out of almost all the mainland. Long negotiations went on in France, guided by the Archduke Philip. He made a treaty; but Ferdinand, who had gained time enough, refused to ratify it; his reinforcements had reached Naples; the French army was beaten, and lost all but Venosa and Gaieta. Then Louis raised money by sale of offices, beginning that deplorable system which afterwards became so conspicuous an element in the finance of Francis I, answering to the same abuse in the Papal Curia. He also contracted a loan,—for he would do anything rather than inflict taxes on the French people,—and with the proceeds raised two armies, one for Roussillon, which failed to make any impression; the other for Naples, to relieve the desperate remnant of the French force standing at bay at Venosa. This army, led by La Trémoille, had reached the Papal States, and had begun to treat with friendly Alexander VI, when that Pontiff's career was suddenly cut short. Julius II was elected Pope; and a new age seemed likely to open for Italy. Meanwhile La Trémoille pushed on and reached the Garigliano, where he found the vigilant Gonzalvo awaiting him. For two

months the Spaniards barred his passage; his army melted away under influences of the terrible climate. At last the French commander was forced to retreat; then Gonzalvo fell on his weak and demoralised troops, and won an easy victory. The disaster was decisive. All the artillery was lost; the frightened relics of the army fled to Gaieta, where they soon capitulated. Louis of Ars, the kinsman and teacher of the famous Bayard, still held out in Venosa. At last he too had to abandon that stronghold; he made a heroic retreat, and brought his men safely back to France. The Borgias were gone; the French had lost all they had aimed at in the South; they had no friend in Italy except Florence.

The visit of the Archduke Philip to France had had one singular result. The French court was the centre of home-intrigues as well as of foreign negotiations. On the one side was Anne of Brittany, who was jealous of Louise of Savoy and her son Francis of Angoulême, the heir-presumptive to the Crown, and who was supported at first by George of Amboise in a policy opposed to the national sympathies and aspirations of France. On the other side was the Marshal of Gié, the old and tried servant of the Crown, who, Breton though he was, desired to preserve the unity of the kingdom, and who was anxious for the welfare of young Francis of Angoulême. For a time the Queen's party prevailed. The lazy King, led by his chief favourite—'laissez faire à Georges,' he used to say—agreed that his little daughter Claude should be betrothed to Charles of Austria, the eldest son of Philip, who was destined, as Charles V, to prove himself the most powerful prince and greatest statesman of the century¹. The proposal was in reality hostile to both France and Spain, and grateful only to Germany; and yet for awhile it seemed certain of success.

¹ In 1500 had died Don Miguel of Portugal, the only child of the eldest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. Hereby Charles of Austria became heir, as eldest son of the second daughter, to all the great inheritance of Don Miguel. How different might have been the development of European politics had Spain and Portugal thus united been clean dissevered from Austria and the Netherlands!

This proposed marriage was the basis of the three Treaties of Blois which mark the year 1504, treaties which contained the germ of the League of Cambrai, and in fact of the new school of modern European politics. The high contracting parties were the Emperor Maximilian, his son Philip for the Archduke Charles, and Louis XII. Ferdinand, though Charles was his grandson¹, stood aloof: he did not desire the further aggrandisement of the Austrian House.

Now these three treaties were framed thus:—

(1) The first to punish Venice and the new Pope Julius II, by seizing the mainland possessions of the former, and interfering with the Papal territories north and east of the Appenines.

(2) The second to secure the Imperial investiture of Milan to Louis XII, and, in case of failure of heirs-male, to Claude his daughter, after she had been espoused to Charles of Austria.

(3) The third stipulated that Louis should give as dower to Claude (but not till after his own death) Milan and Brittany, Genoa, Asti, Blois, and, if he died without sons, even Burgundy.

The blunders in these treaties were so apparent that one can only wonder that even Louis XII allowed himself to be so completely misruled by his masterful spouse, with whom 'the air of France did not agree.' By the first treaty Maximilian secured his foothold in Italy; just as in 1500 the Treaty of Granada had handed Naples over to Spain. It is clear that Louis could only

¹ TABLE III.—THE RELATIONSHIPS OF CHARLES V.

Maximilian I, Emperor Elect and Archduke of Austria	=	Mary of Burgundy	Ferdinand, = King of Aragon	Isabella, Queen of Castille
Philip the Handsome, Arch- duke of Austria and Duke of Burgundy		=	Joanna (2nd daughter), Queen of Spain	

CHARLES

(1 of Spain, V as Emperor),
who became (i) King of Spain (with his mother) 1516; (ii) Arch-
duke of Austria; (iii) Heir to the possessions of the House of
Burgundy (Netherlands and Franche Comté); (iv) King of
Naples and Sicily; (v) Suzerain over the New World; (vi) Em-
peror (and therewith Suzerain over Milan, &c.) 1519.

be safe in Milan, if he supported his natural ally, Venice, against her natural antagonist the Emperor. Instead of this he proposed by this first treaty to establish Maximilian in Italy at the expense of Venice. By the second and third treaties the absolute dismemberment of France was provided for: and a most powerful rival was to be established to the East, North and West of the kingdom, so as to revive all the memories of those past evils against which Louis XI had struggled so pertinaciously and with so much success. Fortunately, the follies of sovereigns, when they oppose the general tendencies of their age, are neutralised by forces stronger than themselves: and so it was with these three absurd and monstrous Treaties of Blois.

The next year (1505) Louis fell into the toils of crafty Ferdinand. The death of Isabella in 1504, who left her kingdom to her husband, and not to her daughter Johanna, had caused the jealousies between Ferdinand and Philip the Handsome to break out into open strife. The old monarch, seeing that Louis was inclined to befriend his son-in-law, proposed to make his peace with France. Louis agreed; and a treaty was signed by which the French King gave up his claims on Naples, stipulating that he should receive a considerable sum of money, and that Ferdinand should espouse Germaine of Foix¹. The kingdom of Naples was in fact her dowry; if she died childless, it was to return to the French crown. Whether in consequence of this treaty, or because of the general anxiety shown by all France on the subject, or because of his alarming illness, Louis began to think better of his promise that his daughter Claude should marry Charles of Austria. Thinking that he was dying, he made a will forbidding the alliance: and the old Marshal of Gié, fearing lest the Queen should force on the matter, carried off the young princess, and watched over her till the King, to the joy of all men, recovered. For this act the old soldier was dismissed into honourable exile; but he carried with him the gratitude of France, and gave time for public opinion to find means of expression.

¹ Niece of Louis XII.

That expression came, early in 1506, on the convocation of the three Estates at Tours. It was a kind of intrigue of the whole country joined with the King, against the influence of Anne of Brittany. As in the days of Louis XI the States General of 1468 were convoked to enable the King to retain Normandy¹, so now Louis XII called his three Estates together to help him out of his engagement with Philip of Austria. They were not, strictly speaking, States General, for there were no proper elections held; the third Estate was represented by deputies sent by different public bodies, courts of justice, civic and other corporations. They met at Tours; for the Loire was then far more the centre of the kingdom than the Seine, and the French Court had not been established at Paris for a century. The King was at Plessis-lez-Tours; there deputies from the Estates, who were quite unanimous, sought him out; and, after saluting him as 'Father of his Fatherland,' besought him on their knees to bestow the hand of his daughter on 'Francis, then present, who is a thorough son of France².'

The King, in tears, the deputies weeping also, replied through the Chancellor that he would consult the lords of the blood-royal and his Council, professing that the matter was new and strange to him; which was a gratuitous falsehood. He then dismissed them, and on a later day summoned them again, and announced to them that their wish was granted, and that the betrothal should take place forthwith. Accordingly, two days afterwards, Francis of Angoulême, a boy of eleven years, was betrothed to Claude of France, a child of six. The peril was averted; the assembly broke up with joyful hearts; and thus 'Fortunate Austria' just missed one of the most splendid matches which could have been inscribed on the triumphant marriage-roll of her House.

¹ See above, pp. 64, 65.

² 'A savoir qu'il vous plaise donner madame votre fille unique à Monsieur François, ci présent, qui est tout François.'

CHAPTER III.

THE PERIOD OF THE TWO LEAGUES.

A.D. 1507-1515.

BUT we must turn to less prosperous affairs: for we are coming to the time of the League of Cambrai.

His Third Italian War.

The tendencies which led to that League date from the repression by Louis XII of the popular rising and Republican institutions of Genoa in 1507. That town, goaded to fury by the impertinence of the young nobles¹, and encouraged by Julius II, by the Venetians, and by the Emperor-Elect Maximilian, had overthrown the government of the aristocracy. Now the nobles had set up the lilies of France in public places, and had vaunted that they were under French protection; accordingly when they fell, the other party hoisted the Imperial eagle, and tore the lilies down. Hereupon Louis XII hastened to strike a vigorous blow: for the loss of Genoa endangered his foothold at Milan; Genoa being the second doorway for France into Italy². He swiftly crossed the Alps, then the Appenines; Genoa surrendered at discretion. The French King treated the

¹ Jean d'Autun, *Hist. de Louis XII*, p. 47, A. 1506, gives a graphic account of this revolution, writing however as a partisan of the Nobles.

² Pinerolo was the first.

place with much severity (he was benign nowhere but at home), he executed the chiefs of the republican party, and heavily taxed the city; declaring that the Lordship of Genoa was united to the royal domain, and should henceforth be ruled directly by France. The effect on Italy was electrical. Julius II at once sought the friendship of Louis, who in return helped him to seize Bologna, that coveted prize of papal ambition, a northern outwork of the temporal power. The town had long been dissevered from the States of the Church, and had hitherto leant on France. But here, as elsewhere in Italy, Louis never knew his friends from his foes, or, rather, seems equally to have despised and disliked them all. Ferdinand of Aragon sent his congratulations, and promised the powerful minister Amboise the fulfilment of his high ambitions; he assured him he should be the next Pope.

Maximilian, standing aloof from all this movement, descended from his mountains to attack Venice, and reached Trent, where, as usual, he was arrested by lack of funds. Venice called on Louis for help, proposing that they should together attack the Imperial army at Trent; but the King refused: then the Senate, left alone, and aware of the ominous stipulations of the Treaties of Blois, made a private truce with the Emperor, without naming the King of France. Glad of a pretext, Louis saw in this omission an insult which could not be overlooked. The haughty Republic was highhanded, rich, and prosperous: her aristocratic and solid policy was but too persevering and successful; her influence at sea overwhelming, her power on shore too near the Milanese border: her rule was much beloved by her subjects 'by reason of her even-handed justice.' All the powers around, a ring of wolves, glared on the fair city with angry or covetous eyes. On the south of her territory the Papacy wanted the cities Venice had won when Cæsar Borgia fell: along the south-eastern coast lay her convenient ports, Brindisi, Otranto and Gallipoli, which Ferdinand coveted; on the north stood Maximilian claiming the old shadowy rights of empire over Vicenza, Padua, and Verona, keys of the descent from the

Germanic Alps into the plain of the Po; to the west Louis XII, preferring his claims as Duke of Milan before his true policy as French King, wished to restore Cremona, Bergamo, and Brescia to the Milanese: as Archduke of Austria, Maximilian hoped to lay hands on Treviso and Friuli, which connected the inland with the sea: finally, Ferrara and Mantua were jealous of their great neighbour, and each counted on getting some share of the spoil.

Things being thus disposed, Maximilian, whose high intelligence always discerned his own eventual interests, though his weakness hindered him from carrying out his schemes, proposed to Louis that the stipulations of the first Treaty of Blois should now be renewed and enforced. Louis, ignorant of politics, and blind to his true interests, was in the humour to listen. His right policy clearly would have been to secure himself at Milan, then, in alliance with Venice and the Swiss, to hold the Germans at bay, giving them no chance of establishing themselves in Italy; on the contrary he now attacked and weakened his best friend, the Queen of the Adriatic, and ere long was destined to offend and alienate his Swiss neighbours. Nor, perhaps, was Julius II less neglectful of his higher interests and duties: he sacrificed the independence of Italy for the sake of some small increase of Papal territory; and bought the Romagna towns by letting Germany, France, and Spain rend asunder the fair robe of Italy. Many Frenchmen saw clearly what a blunder was about to be committed: the great council remonstrated warmly against the Treaty; Louis de la Trémoille, in his *Memoirs*, tells us it was 'very pernicious to the French: for under shadow of it many great wrongs were inflicted on the King of France by means of this feigned accord or patched-up peace'.¹ Still, in spite of all warnings, the treaty of Cambrai, a conspiracy of selfish princes against a free state, was signed by the Cardinal of Amboise and Margaret of Austria, a worthy representative

¹ 'Paix fourrée.' *Mémoires de Louis de la Trémoille*, Collection Universelle, xiv. p. 176, 177.

of the old Burgundian dynasty¹, on the 10th of December, 1508.

Venice was to be driven from all her mainland possessions, which should then be divided between the Pope, the French King, the King of Aragon, and the Emperor: the Emperor should invest Louis XII with the Duchy of Milan, for himself, for Claude of France and her husband (if Louis had no male heirs), and, in case of the death of Claude, for her sister and her descendants. A money payment to Maximilian was of course included.

In order to raise funds again without burdening his people of France, Louis now condescended to commit a great political crime. He sold to Florence for a hundred thousand ducats permission to attack and destroy her rival Pisa—to crush that independence for which the Pisans had so gallantly struggled and had preserved as friends of the French monarchy. Venice first, and now Pisa, the best allies of France in Italy, were thus lost to her. The new system of European politics was consecrated by this act of shameless baseness.

Louis wasted no time: he gathered an army of twenty thousand foot and eight or nine thousand horse in the Milanese: it had been agreed that he should be first in the field: as the chroniclers say, in order that, if he succeeded, the others might come on and share the spoil, while, if he failed, they need not be entangled in his ruin.

A fine army was pushed forward by Louis, composed of French, Lombards, and Swiss. One great innovation marked it; the French infantry was now better organised, and led

¹ Margaret of Austria, daughter of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy, had all the strength which ought to have belonged to her brother Philip the Handsome. From infancy upwards she was the butt of the shafts of misfortune. She just missed the thrones of France, Spain, England: affianced as an infant to Charles VIII, cast off at the age of thirteen; married at eighteen to the Spanish Infanta, who died; then to Philibert the Handsome of Savoy, who died also, as did her much-loved brother Philip. Then she threw herself into political life, and undertook the care of her two nephews, Charles and Ferdinand. To successful statecraft she added good government, and an enlightened love for the arts and sciences. She was a poet of no mean order.

by good captains, who, at the King's order, gave up the command of their 'gens d'ordonnance,' their men-at-arms on horseback, to take charge of the foot soldiery. It was the beginning of a great change in modern warfare, rendered necessary by the Swiss mercenaries, who, fighting afoot with their long pikes, were daily proving themselves more and more formidable to cavalry. But at the time of the League of Cambrai the French infantry needed much reform. The 'Adventurers,' as they were called, are described in an Ordonnance of Francis I as 'vagabonds, lazy, abandoned, malign, flagitious, given up to every vice, robbers and murderers, violators, blasphemers, deniers of God'.¹ They wore long shirts, which often they did not change for three months together. How wild they were can be seen from their horrible treatment of the fugitives in the grotto of Longara in this present war. The inhabitants had taken refuge in a great cave above their village; and as the entrance could not be forced, the Adventurers, not unlike their countrymen long after in Algeria, heaped wood, straw, and hay against the entrance of the grotto, and stifled the fugitives, who all perished except one youth, who at the inmost recess of the cavern had found a little crack, through which some fresh air entered.² Bayard, whose whole nature revolted at such brutality, caught two ringleaders, 'one of whom had no ears, and the other had but one,' and hung them up before the entrance of the grotto; and so made such reparation as he could.

With these forces Louis XII presently crossed the Adda unmolested; and finding the Venetians, who had pushed forward to observe his movements, too strongly posted at Treviglio, nearly due north of Crema, he turned southwards, thereby flanking their position, and threatening their communications with Cremona. But the two Venetian generals, princes of the great Orsini family, the Counts of Pitigliano and Alviano,

¹ 'Avanturiers, gens vagabonds, oiseux, perdus, méchants, flagilleux, abandonnés à tous vices, larrons, meurtriers, violateurs de femmes et de filles, blasphémateurs et renieurs de Dieu.'

² Mémoires du Chevalier Bayard in the Collection Universelle, xv. pp. 153, 154.

were under special orders from the seignory of Venice not to risk a battle, but only to harass and hinder the forward movement of the French. Fearing therefore to be cut off, they hastily broke up from Treviglio, and marched, by a more direct road, parallel to the French. And so, when they had gone some short way, they found themselves (14th May, 1509) at the village of Agnadello, which they had succeeded in reaching before the French, but only so that their rear under Alviano touched the van of the foe. Alviano, tempted by the goodness of the position, a dry torrent-bed, and then vineyards with ditches round them, stood at bay, and sent back to Pitigliano for supports. That prudent old man, mindful of the Senate's orders, ventured nothing and lost all. The first French attack was repulsed: but Alviano was not strong enough to follow up his success: and as the day wore on his colleague moved farther off, while the main force of the French was ever coming up. At last, the Venetians were driven back with terrible slaughter, their position forced, their leader, artillery and baggage taken. Had the main force of the Venetians supported the early success of Alviano, the fortunes of the war of the League of Cambrai might have been completely changed from the outset. As it was, all the mainland submitted. Brescia, Crema, Bergamo, opened their gates: in these the Ghibelline nobles were hostile to Venice, and gladly sided with the revolution against her. Peschiera was pillaged, and its two commandants hung by the express order of Louis XII, who showed himself as cruel in Italy as he was humane in France. Cremona fell, and in fifteen days the French part of the programme was carried out. The French army distinguished itself for cruelty and brutality, and vied with the Swiss mercenaries in robbery and pillage. The King pursued the fugitives to within sight of Venice herself, and by way of bravado fired five or six shots into the city.¹ He soon afterwards returned to France. This was the moment of the highest reputation of Louis XII; France was completely under his hand, and guided by Cardinal Amboise,

¹ So says Brantome, Collection Universelle, xvi. p. 46, note.

seemed ready to give the law to Europe. Firmly seated in the Milanese, she overshadowed all Italy.

The other conspirators now saw that they too might advance: Ferdinand of Aragon entered the Neapolitan and other southern ports; the Pope seized the Romagna cities; the Imperialists took Friuli and Istria, and, a little later, the great cities of Verona, Vicenza, and Padua. And thus each got all he had bargained for: Venice could but contract her power, till the storm had blown over, wait, negotiate, and watch her opportunity from the safe shelter of her lagunes.

Nor was that opportunity slow to come. Even before the outburst of war, Julius II had sent warnings and proposals to her. Now the Venetians sent envoys hither and thither, except to the King of France, whose hatred for them they seemed to return with proud self-reliance. The Emperor would not listen; crafty Ferdinand temporised¹; the Pope heard them with a friendly smile. He had won his Romagna towns, Imola, Faenza, Forlì, and had therefore no wish to let the foreigner do more harm to Venice. With a good heart, the vigorous Republic came forth again, retook Padua, and kept it through a long and terrible siege, at last forcing the Emperor to withdraw and send back his French allies. The Venetians recovered Vicenza, and threatened Verona; Maximilian, once more powerless, appealed to France to defend his conquests.

Thus things stood, when Julius II made peace with Venice, and began to look round him for allies against Louis XII. He negotiated with the foreign kings; but that was only in order thereby to neutralise their influence, sowing discord among them; it was on the Swiss mercenaries that he really leant. Now that he had gained all he wanted on the northern frontier of the States of the Church, he thought that he might safely undertake the high duty of protecting Italy against the foreigner: he would accomplish what Cæsar Borgia had but dreamed of doing, he would chase the Barbarian from the sacred soil of culture.

¹ 'Lequel légèrement changeoit d'opinion, quand il cognoissoit son avantage.' Martin du Bellay, Collection Universelle, xvii. p. 69.

We can plainly see that Italian patriotism had completely changed its character: there had formerly been an enthusiasm for a high standard of morality and a patriotic love of Italy; but this had been rudely snapped when Savonarola perished. He and many illustrious predecessors had sought to regenerate her by attacking her follies and frivolities; by holocausts of vanities, by appeals to penitence, by fervid sermons and proclamation of the Republic of God. But now foreign policy and intrigue took the place of native patriotism and virtue; and Italians came to believe that not their own self-sacrifice and prowess, but the employment of Swiss mercenaries, was the first stage towards the regeneration of Italy. Savonarola himself had led the way, by calling in Charles VIII; then came Macchiavelli, the disciple of Savonarola; and then Cæsar Borgia appears as Macchiavelli's pattern prince. Thus Italy descended: she must turn her eyes from the lofty ideals of the Florentine friar to the worldly statesmanship of a Julius II, perhaps the most completely secular prince who ever sat in S. Peter's chair; she must balance herself between the Barbarians, or buy their help: her culture, her art, her intelligence, seemed to her to be so many excuses for the absence of all those more rugged virtues, which go to build up a nation's independence: she would remain, split up into a number of small centres of enlightenment, the admiration of the world; but the price she would pay would be her three centuries of national impotence, three centuries of servitude under the great monarchies around her. And so her fate was sealed: enthusiasm gave place to calculation and policy; policy soon sank into intrigue.

But the heaviest blow that befell France at this time, heavier even than the dissolution of the League of Cambrai, was the death of George of Amboise. Though he would never hold more than one piece of preferment, the Archbishopric of Rouen¹,

¹ Hence a poor contemporary joke, at the time of his struggle with Marshal Gié, who was of the House of Rohan,—that *Rouen* and *Rohan* were by no means one.

he died exceedingly wealthy, having gathered much in both France and Italy. Yet he had always spent his money readily and splendidly; he was a great builder and patron of Art, which owes to him a fresh development in France. He brought men from Lombardy, architects, painters, sculptors: they added richness and ornamentation to the French taste, but did little or nothing for its ennoblement. The flavour of antiquity, the classical reminiscences, which mark the cinque-cento revival of Italy, married themselves to the more severe and pure French Gothic, and a great expansion of artistic feeling in sculpture, in glass¹, in construction, may still be traced to the work of this period. Painting had, on the other hand, no worthy representatives: nor did the painters and masterpieces brought in from Italy kindle any spark of genius in France.

Art might do without her patron: but the political future of France could not go right without his guiding hand. We approach a dark time in the history of this period.

Julius II was unwearied; he would see the end of the French in Italy ere he died. He 'thanked God,' when he heard of the death of the Cardinal of Amboise, 'that now he was Pope alone!' so much had the shadow of the great minister oppressed him. He at once set himself to secure the Swiss, and found a ready and capable agent in Matthew Schynner, Bishop of Sion in the Valais, who hated the French, and was very influential with the Helvetic Leagues. Schynner had offered his services to Louis XII; but that monarch, too thrifty in his dealings to suit the Swiss, had replied that he asked 'too much for one man'; whereat the offended bishop turned to the Pope; and the Swiss, feeling also that the French market was low, readily became the willing instruments of the Pontiff's great schemes, the 'Protectors of the Holy See.' Bishop Schynner was rewarded for this traffic with a cardinal's hat.

And now, deprived by death of the guiding hand, Louis XII began to follow a difficult and dangerous line of policy: he

¹ The workers in glass were so good that they were sent for to Rome to decorate the Vatican, under supervision of Bramante and Raphael.

called a National Council at Tours, and laid before it, as a case of conscience, the question whether he might make war on the Pope. The Council at once declared for the King, distinguishing, as well they might under Julius II, between the temporal and the spiritual in the Papacy, and declaring that any papal censure that might be launched would be null and void. Above all, an appeal was made to a General Council. There was constant reference in the minds of the prelates to the Council of Basel, which had been so favourable to the Gallican liberties. And yet the appeal to a General Council was not in truth so much an echo of the past, as a voice of the future. It was the first of those appeals from the Papacy to the general mind of Christendom which marked the earlier part of the sixteenth century, and led up to the Reformation. But, after her characteristic wont, the part played by France was political and not religious: she has ever subordinated her religious feelings to her political needs.

Meanwhile war went on in Italy. A broadly-planned attack on the Milanese, on Genoa, and Ferrara, concerted by Julius II with the Venetians and Swiss, had come to nothing. Now the warlike pontiff—one knows his grim face from Raphael's picture, and his nervous grasp of the arms of his chair, as though he were about to spring forward into action—took the field in person. At Bologna he fell ill; they thought he would die; and Chaumont of Amboise was marching up with the French at his heels to surround and take him there. But by skilful treating with the French general Julius gained time, till a strong force of Venetians had entered Bologna. Then the Pope rose from his sick-bed, in the dead of winter, and marched out to besiege Mirandola: he planted his tent within gunshot of the town, and after the place had capitulated, as the gates had all been walled up, crossed the frozen moat, and was carried in a litter through the breach that had been made by his guns. Bayard soon after attacked him, and all but took him prisoner. A congress at Mantua followed: but the Pope sternly refused to make terms with the French: the war must go on.

Then Louis took a dangerous step. He convoked an ecclesiastical council at Pisa, and struck a medal to express his contempt and hatred for Julius II: on the front he declared himself King of Naples, on the reverse ran the legend 'Perdam Babilonis nomen'.¹ The Pope had gone back to Rome, and Bologna had opened her gates to the French; the coming Council, which should depose Julius, was proclaimed through Northern Italy. But, though the moment seemed favourable, nothing but a real agreement of the European powers could give success to such a step. And how far men were from such an agreement Louis was soon to learn; for Julius, finding that the French did not invade the States of the Church, resumed negotiations with such success that in October 1511 a 'Holy League' was formed between the Pope, Venice, Ferdinand of Aragon, and Henry VIII of England. Maximilian wavered and doubted; the Swiss were to be had—on payment.

At first Louis showed a bold front; in spite of this strange whirl of the wheel of politics from the League of Cambrai to the Holy League, he persevered, giving the command of Milan to his nephew, Gaston of Foix, Duke of Nemours, a man of twenty-three years, the most promising of his younger captains. He relieved Bologna, seized Brescia, and pillaged it; and then pushed on to attack Ravenna; it is said that the booty of Brescia was so great that the French soldiers, having made their fortunes, deserted in crowds, and left the army much weakened.

With this diminished force Gaston found himself caught between the hostile walls of Ravenna, and a relieving force of Spaniards, separated from him only by a canal. The Spaniards, after their usual way of warfare, made an entrenched camp round their position. The French first tried to take the city by assault; but being driven back, determined to attack the Spanish camp. The canal between them was shallow: the French hastily waded through, and marched, in the face of a

¹ C. S. Lieb wrote a book on this coin. For an account of it see Klotz, *Historia Nummorum Contumeliosorum*, pp. 135, sqq.

fierce fire of artillery, straight at their enemy's lines. The French guns, skilfully planted so as to support them, galled the Spanish soldiery, who were cooped up in narrow quarters: at last they could bear it no longer, and broke out from their entrenchments, against orders. This was fatal for them; after a furious struggle—'Since God made heaven and earth, no assault more cruel and hard has been seen than that of French and Spaniards, on that day'¹—the French prevailed, and took the camp: the day was won. But Gaston, whose young blood was up, could not bear to see two stiff battalions of Spaniards which had broken through their enemies' lines moving off in good order: with a handful of followers he fell on them to bar their way. But he and his all lost their lives in this mad assault: and the death of the young Prince more than balanced the great victory of the day: for with Gaston, as Guicciardini says, perished all the vigour of the French army. When the soldiers gathered together rejoicing at their victory, with clarions and trumpets bravely sounding, they sought everywhere for their well-loved young captain to congratulate him. All at once a voice cried aloud 'Gaston is dead.' Then deep silence fell on the jubilant host, followed by the sound of strong men sobbing and weeping. When Louis XII was told it, he cried out,—for he loved his nephew warmly,—that he would rather have lost Italy than Gaston!

And indeed it was the turning-point of his fortunes in that land. Though Ravenna was taken, the French could no longer support themselves. Their communications with Milan were threatened by the Swiss: they left garrisons in the strong places and fell back. The Council of Pisa also had to take refuge at Milan. When the Swiss came down from their mountain-passes to restore the Sforza dynasty, the harassed council broke up from Milan, and fled to Lyons; there it lingered a while, but it had become contemptible; anon it vanished into thin air.

¹ See the spirited account of the battle in the *Mémoires du Chevalier Bayard*, Collection Universelle, xv. p. 287-314.

The Pope retook Bologna, Parma, Piacenza; the Medici returned to Florence; Maximilian Sforza was re-established, while the Grisons Leagues received the Valteline as their reward: the English annoyed the coast without any decisive result: they had failed at S. Sebastian, had fought a sea-battle, and had been defeated off the Breton coast, where the English ship, the Regent, and the French *La Cordelière*, coming to close quarters were burnt, together with their crews, to the horror of all onlookers. Ferdinand seized Navarre, which henceforward became Spanish to the Pyrenees. Before winter, not one foot of Italian soil remained to the French. Julius II, the formidable centre of the Alliance, died at this moment (1513): he had caused his own statue in bronze, representing him as a Caesar in armour, to be set up in Bologna¹; he had been a soldier and a patriot, but certainly no meek and peaceful servant of the Cross. The allies secured the election of a Medicean Pope, Leo X, a pontiff hostile to France, and certain not to reverse that side of his predecessor's policy.

This is an age of incalculable changes: the weathercock of politics whirls round from side to side. Ferdinand negotiated with every one and cheated all who could be cheated: Louis, finding himself menaced on every side, suddenly turned about and offered his friendship to Venice, which he had so foolishly alienated just before; natural tendencies overbore all resentments on both sides, and a treaty between them both guaranteed the Milanese to Louis, and gave him a strong force of Venetian soldiers. Meanwhile, Ferdinand had come to terms with Maximilian and boyish Henry VIII, who was eager to get rid of his father's traditions of non-intervention, and had framed a scheme for the overthrow of France. The French King, instead of staying at home to defend his frontiers, was eager to retake Milan, and to join hands with the Venetians: it was just like the opening of his reign over again. But the Swiss round Maximilian Sforza defended him without fear or treachery; and

¹ They pulled it down and made a cannon of it when the Papal party was driven out of Bologna.

catching the French troops under La Trémoille in a wretched position not far from Novara, attacked and utterly defeated them (1513). The French withdrew beyond the Alps; the Venetians were driven off with great loss by the Spaniards, who ravaged their mainland territories down to the water's edge. For the short remainder of his life Louis XII had no leisure again to try his fortunes in Italy: he was too busy elsewhere.

For after defeating and slaying Sir William Howard, the French fleet under *Préjean* ravaged the English coasts, but were driven off with much loss; meanwhile Henry VIII crossed unmolested to the Continent, and landed at Calais: his ships menaced the shores of Brittany. Thence he marched southward with Maximilian in his train¹; some said that the King of the Romans was the real if not the nominal commander of the English army. They besieged *Therouenne*; a French army, under the Duke of *Longueville*, tried to victual and relieve the place; but being surprised by the English not far from *Guinegate*, its cavalry took to flight, and overthrew the infantry: *Longueville*, *Bayard* himself, and other captains of name, were taken prisoners as they tried to rally the panic-stricken army. The rout was complete; there had been no fighting, there was almost no slaughter: in derision the victors called it 'the Day of Spurs.' Thus left to itself *Therouenne* yielded: and the allies went on, against Henry's wish, to besiege *Tournay*, which town Maximilian coveted. A large part of the English force had been sent back, to meet the danger now menacing England from the North. For James IV of Scotland, a firm friend of Louis XII, according to the traditional policy of the two countries, now tried a diversion in favour of France: but he had scarcely crossed the border, when he was met by Lord Howard, and defeated and slain on *Flodden Field* (Sept. 9th, 1513).

Meanwhile the Eastern borders of France were in great peril: the formidable Swiss Leagues, flushed with their victory at Novara, welcomed into *Franche-Comté* by Margaret of

¹ The Emperor became the King's soldier, and condescended to take pay; 100 gold crowns a day.

Austria, and strengthened by a mixed force of Swabians and Austrians, attacked the Duchy of Burgundy and besieged Dijon. La Trémoille, who commanded there, had hardly any troops: he knew the Swiss well, began to treat with them, flattered them in their belief in their high destiny as the arbiters of Europe, offered them a great sum in crowns, and, in fine, persuaded them to sign a treaty, which professed to redress all that was unjust in Europe. La Trémoille promised that Louis should abandon his Council (it had already disappeared), should make peace with the Pope, should cede the Milanese to Maximilian Sforza, should pay the Swiss 400,000 crowns. On these conditions the invaders consented to make peace with Louis and withdraw: the other powers of Europe might join the treaty if they would. All sides cried out against this sensible treaty, which was in fact nothing but a plain statement of the condition to which things were actually coming. The treaty was not ratified; still Louis thought it well to buy off the Swiss: he was also reconciled with the Papacy, and abandoned his pretensions to the Milanese in favour of his daughter Renée, whose mother, Anne of Brittany, had wished to marry her to one of the Archdukes, probably Ferdinand of Austria, grandson of aged Ferdinand of Aragon. But Queen Anne did not live to carry out her plans: she died early in 1514, lamented by the King, by her Bretons, by the poor, and by her artist-friends; but not at all by France, or by any one who had the welfare of the kingdom at heart.

Her death cleared the way for many things. The King's eldest daughter, affianced eight years before to Francis of Angoulême, was now at once married to him, and the two were invested with the Duchy of Brittany, which was at last in the way to be actually united with the French Crown. Moreover, sincerely as Louis mourned his Breton spouse, he still, in spite of age and sore infirmity, hoped for an heir; and all the courts of Europe were before him to choose from. It seemed as if he was certain to marry either Margaret of Austria or Eleanor, sister of Charles and Ferdinand: the marriage-compact was

even drawn up. But Henry VIII and Leo X were alarmed at the danger; all Europe would fall before so powerful a coalition. The Duke of Longueville, a prisoner in England since the Day of the Spurs, who had much commended himself to the English, who at this time delighted in French fashions, had become a close friend of Henry; he bethought him to suggest that the lovely young princess Mary Tudor, the King's sister, would be a far better match for Louis than either of the others. Wolsey agreed, the Pope approved; Louis, when sounded, liked the proposal. Another sudden whirl of the wheel of politics followed. Treaties were signed, and the marriage speedily arranged. Mary of England had already been affianced to Charles of Austria, so that it was a double blow to Ferdinand the Catholic. The Duke of Suffolk brought the fair maiden over to France; at Abbeville the marriage took place. It was a most unequal union, Louis XII being fifty-two years old, and she very young; he prematurely old, vexed with disease (some called it gout), repulsive to look on, with his 'moist lips and slouching gait,'—she in all her English freshness of youth and loveliness. To reconcile her to her fate, Henry promised that she should be allowed to choose her next husband for herself, as in the end she did. The marriage was unfortunate for the King: for years he had kept himself alive by careful diet, early hours, a simple life; now, to please his bright little queen, he stayed out late at dances, gave tournaments and shows, and broke through all the regularity of his dreary life. His physicians remonstrated in vain. Before he had been married more than three months, his health failed; he grew daily weaker; dysentery set in, and he had no strength to resist; so he died on New Year's Day, 1515. The young Queen, acting promptly on her brother's promise, which she had indeed earned, bestowed her hand on the Duke of Suffolk, 'a man of low origin,' who had commended himself to her young heart, when he escorted her over to marry the French King.

When the body of Louis was carried from the Tournelles at Paris to Notre Dame, the ringers went through the streets

clinking their bells, and crying in a dolorous voice, 'the good King Loys, Father of his People, is dead¹'; and a great sadness fell on all.

His reign produced a rapid growth of material prosperity and ease in France; it also saw an advance in architecture, and the introduction of Italian art, which found but little response from French artists; it produced an erudite, pedantic literature, and a love for classical antiquity which has clung to the French people, and has much influenced her literature, her institutions, and even the great crises of her political life. Finally, this reign, in the main inglorious, saw the beginnings of that system of centralised justice and of bureaucratic official life, which have since made France the chosen land of lawyers and employes. Even as early as the middle of the sixteenth century this characteristic was sufficiently prominent to be noticed. Seyssel, writing of the state of France, says that 'there were, he thought, more officers of justice in France than in all the rest of Christendom put together;' and that these offices were the perquisite of what he calls the second estate, the 'fat and comfortable classes².' This last characteristic was not due to the Italian tendencies and influences; all the other developments sprang chiefly thence. Nor were these influences at all on the wane; they rather were destined to increase and be more concentrated in the coming reign, when the Medicean House at last allies itself with the later Valois kings of the Angoulême branch, and introduces, not as a result of war, but by a peaceful invasion, a whole host of Italian habits and ideas into the very heart of France.

¹ Fleuranges, Collection Universelle, xvi. p. 169.

² Seyssel, Grande Monarchie de France, c. xv. pp. 18, 19.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FIRST PERIOD OF THE REIGN OF FRANCIS I.

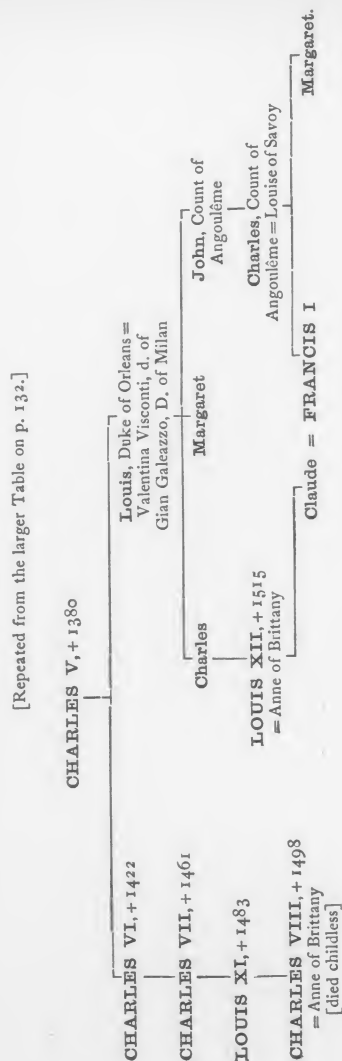
A.D. 1515-1519.

FRANCIS, Count of Angoulême, was but twenty years old when he heard of the death of the kindly King. Eagerly had he watched for it; great had been his fears, when Louis XII took to himself a young wife; but now all these perils were past, and the bright youth welcomed the news as a 'fair new-year's gift¹.' He was but a distant cousin, who had married the late King's daughter. The House of Valois had been slowly and steadily crumbling away; and now Francis, nearest heir to the throne, was grandson of that Count of Angoulême who was the third son of that brother of Charles VI, the Duke of Orleans, whom John the Fearless of Burgundy had caused to be foully slain in Paris in 1407². High-spirited, chivalrous, and ambitious, Francis thirsted for the glories and joys of kingship; he had little care for its duties and responsibilities. His accession would have been a great epoch in the annals of the personal monarchy, had he been more cool and more persistent. His were all the tastes and ideas of a despot; but fortunately he had little of the skill required to make a despotism formidable. He was wanting in that resolution and force of character which in moments of crisis show the hero; nor had he that permanence and persistency which in long years of endurance form the basis of true greatness. His reign is a protracted and severe struggle, carelessly adventured and fitfully carried out.

¹ Louis XII died on New Year's Day.

² See vol. i. p. 494.

TABLE IV.—THE RELATIONSHIPS OF FRANCIS I TO CHARLES VIII AND LOUIS XII.



Two victories only brighten the long period : one at the opening, one at the end of the reign. Marignano heralded with a blast of trumpets as men thought, the coming hero ; Cerisoles gilds with a gleam of barren success the closing years of an unfortunate epoch. For the rest, the reign is not prosperous ; nor is the monarch great.

He had a foolish and headstrong mother, Louise of Savoy ; left a widow at eighteen, she gave herself up completely to her son, whom she adored. Her conduct after the battle of Pavia, when her stronger qualities had play, shows that she had plenty of power and energy. Unfortunately her strength only served to spoil her son. She has left us her journal. It is the curious record of a narrow intellect ; it teems with trivialities, being a family chronicle which takes little heed of the outer world, for the writer's mind is centred on the one object of her pride and love. She notices a portent here and there ; she expresses her hatred of finance officers ; she registers the visits of her son, ' her Pacific Cæsar, who gained his first experience of mundane light at Cognac, 12 Sept. 1494¹ ' ; or she records his one great triumph at Marignano, and styles him, ' my son, the glorious and triumphant Cæsar, subjugator of the Helvetians² ' . Such adulation was very sweet to the young monarch, whose brilliant bearing and belief in his own knightly prowess contrast strongly with his want of steadfastness, of honesty, of power of endurance. He was tall, strong, handsome, ' a fair prince, if ever there was one in this world³ ' . But his was never a good face ; and it became sensual and coarse, as we see him on the canvas of Paul Veronese, who drew him in his later days⁴ . He had many of the good and evil qualities of that chivalry which he admired so much. He was fearless, impulsive, and had a high ideal

¹ Mémoires de Louise de Savoye, Collection Universelle, xvi. p. 410.

² Ibid. p. 421.

³ Mémoires du Chevalier Bayard, Coll. Univ. xv. p. 363.

⁴ Holbein drew him (the portrait is at Hampton Court) : even then his narrow little eyes and large cheeks have an ignoble and selfish aspect. The ' Marriage of Cana in Galilee ' in the Louvre was not finished till 1563, and is therefore not properly speaking contemporary.

of honour, which, however, did not come to much in actual wear and tear of life. He celebrated his accession by a characteristic tournament, in which he himself held the lists; and regarded his great victory of Marignano as the triumph of chivalry over commonalty; and the night he passed watching on the field as his vigil before knighthood. He received the accolade after the battle from Bayard, the 'knight without fear and without reproach.'

He was selfish and self-indulgent. When the finances had become deeply embarrassed, he ordered that retrenchment should take place everywhere, except in the King's 'menus plaisirs,' his own 'lesser pleasures,' on which from the beginning he had wasted great sums. He was a man of artistic tastes without a moral groundwork. He might be, as von Ranke calls him, 'a King of culture'; yet his love of art was subordinate to his indulgences; he cared for it rather because of its beauty, than of its truth or nobleness.

Like Art herself, the King was plastic and soft. He could easily be moulded by a stronger will; and, standing as he did between his 'good and his evil genius,' his sister and his mother, he unfortunately listened to the voice of the stronger. That voice was never raised on the side of humane or good government. To his mother and her scandalous minister Du Prat, as much as to the King's weakness, is due whatever was amiss, and it was much, in this long reign. He came to the throne full of autocratic ideas, and eager to reverse his predecessor's policy. Louis, he thought, had yielded too much of his royalty, had been too kind to the nobles, to the Parliament, to the clergy, to the people. In the reign of Francis there was no weakness of that kind: no States General were convoked; the opposition of Parliament, of the University, of the Sorbonne, was outborne with determined obstinacy. The Concordat was a grievous blow aimed, one way or other, at the constitutional life of France.

It was not without good reason that on his death-bed Louis XII had cried out that 'that big boy would spoil all'; for he foresaw clearly from the disposition of Francis that the

true interests of the kingdom and people would receive but scant attention under the new reign. Accordingly, the reign of Francis I is a distinct reversal of all the home-policy of his predecessor. As Louis had been wisely sparing of gifts to the nobles, because he refused to plunder the peasants for their behoof, so we hear that 'never had there been king in France whom the noblesse so much rejoiced over as they delighted in Francis¹.' It is significant of the degradation of the proud feudal aristocracy, that they hailed the accession of this young king, not because they expected him to be weak, so as to give them a hope of recovering their lost territorial independence, but because they believed he would be lavish of gifts, for which they had thirsted in vain under Louis XII; just as they were ever well-pleased with the Italian expeditions, however ruinous to France, because they brought them rich spoil, fresh pleasures, new excitements.

Francis took as his device a salamander in the fire, with the ominous motto 'Nutrisco et exstinguo'; it seemed to forecast his future, moral and political. No prince had hotter passions, none was ever so much in the fire of warlike strife. Destiny marked him out as antagonist of men greater and more powerful than he. In his struggle against the preponderance of the Emperor Charles V he, to some slight extent, occupies a position answering to that of William III in his heroic resistance to the overbearing schemes of Louis XIV.

Rarely has prince enjoyed so great a reputation with so little justice: refined in tastes, brilliant in the battle-field, he dazzles the eye, till we cannot discern the true man; his meanness, falseness, gross sensuality, abjectness in misfortune, are hidden behind his splendid outward bearing and chivalrous deeds. It may be that as Heeren says, 'France saw in him an epitome of herself²'; if it be so, it was not the best side of French character

¹ Mémoires de Bayard, Coll. Univ. xv. p. 363.

² Heeren, Political System of Europe and the Colonies, p. 28 (ed. 1857). Von Ranke also (Französische Geschichte, i. p. 96) uses much the same language.

which he portrayed: her quick intelligence, her taste, her love of fighting, her immoral tendencies, her bright wit, her likings for absolute government, her power of subordinating her religious feelings, strong as they have sometimes been, to her political interests,—these qualities we may see displayed in Francis; but there is in him nothing of her thrift, her mental culture, her ambition to lead opinion, her skill in fashioning into the clearest and best form those ideas which her language is so well fitted to disseminate through the world.

Francis showed himself singularly incapable of dealing with the two great powers which arose in his day, Charles V and the Reformation. Against Charles, that modern statesman, he could set only intrigue and Italian cunning, varied with ill-planned disastrous wars: the Reformation he only smiled on so far as it seemed to be an onward movement in literary skill and culture; otherwise he showed no sign of understanding its importance, or of foreseeing the terrible heritage of civil war it was about to leave to France for the remainder of the century.

He quite mistook the political strength of France, and wasted it on foreign expeditions and schemes, on Naples, or Milan, or the candidature for the Empire. And yet to an intelligent statesman the true policy was writ large, and easy to read: each effort of France abroad brought failure and disgrace; each attempt of the foreigner to penetrate to the vital parts of the kingdom was easily and honourably repulsed. To make France 'a great central fortress in Europe'¹ would have been the King's true function; had he consolidated her strength, fostered her industry of loom and field, fortified the critical places on her frontiers, he might have become the arbiter of Europe. But his temper and that of those round him made so cool and prudent a policy impossible. It was an age of young princes: to send a challenge to Charles, to have a wrestling bout with Henry, to be foremost in the intoxicating joys of court and camp, these were the characteristic aims and acts of the young monarch;

¹ As von Ranke says Louis XIV desired to render it.

on these he fretted away his real strength, and left to the poor remainder of his royal race a legacy of impotence in general politics and discord and shame at home.

At first Francis prudently interfered with none of his predecessor's officers; but after his consecration at Rheims and solemn entry into Paris, 'he wished to put in order the estates and affairs of his realm'.¹ His first and second appointments were of singularly ill-omen for his government; for first, he made Antoine du Prat his Chancellor, 'one of the most pernicious men that ever lived,' for twenty years the arbitrary instrument of royal lawlessness and injustice; and secondly, he named Constable of France the Duke Charles of Bourbon, who afterwards deserted France and fought against him on the fatal field of Pavia.

He fell in gaily with the temptation which had beset his two predecessors, regarding it as a part of his inheritance to assert his claims to Milan and Naples. They had gathered nothing but shame; he would enter in and possess the land. Valentina Visconti, the wife of Louis Duke of Orleans, was his great grandmother; from her descended to him through his cousin Louis XII the disputed claim on Milan: that he had married Claude, his predecessor's daughter, added no real strength to this claim, though it gave to him and France the undisputed possession of Brittany.

Maximilian Sforza, eldest son of Lodovico 'il Moro,' had first become Duke of Milan in 1512, and had been established firmly in the next year. But he was ill-prepared for the storm now about to break on him. Maximilian the Emperor-Elect and Ferdinand of Aragon were but nominal protectors; his only true strength lay in his Swiss mercenaries. Francis began at once to prepare for war; he made peace with Henry VIII of England; renewed old friendships with the Venetians; won over the important republic of Genoa, which Charles V would one day make the connecting link between Austria and the Spanish kingdom; negotiated with Charles, the young Arch-

¹ *Mémoires de Martin Du Bellay*, Collect. Univ. xvii. p. 41.

duke, his future rival and bane, promising to give him in marriage his sister-in-law, Renée, second daughter of Louis XII, who later in life defended Calvin and Marot, and became the most illustrious of Huguenot ladies: Francis also promised Charles that he would help him, when the day came, to secure the vast heritage of his two grandfathers, Maximilian and Ferdinand. It was, in a somewhat vague form, the first of those many treaties of Partition, which have marked the political history of Europe from that day to the present time.

Francis now gathered together in Dauphiny an army¹ of six thousand Gascon foot soldiers, four thousand French 'adventurers²,' and from eight to nine thousand 'lands-knechts,' infantry from the level lands of Germany, as distinguished from Swiss mercenaries, who in the language of the time, were styled 'the Germans of the mountains³'; with them rode a body of cavalry, nobles and gentlemen of France, perhaps two thousand five hundred of them⁴. At their head was the spirited young King, with his Scottish archers, twenty-five in number, gaily dressed, and closely surrounding his person; then there followed a hundred men-at-arms, who kept the watch; then four hundred French archers in a handsome uniform; then one hundred Swiss; then, lastly, the guards of the gate: all these formed the royal body-guard.

Against such formidable levies the Holy League was hastily renewed: the Spaniards checked the westward movement of the Venetians, taking Brescia, Verona, and Vicenza; Leo X set his forces in motion; the Swiss occupied the mountain-passes towards Dauphiny, from Mont Cenis to Mont Genève; Genoa seemed to be the only undefended point at which Francis could

¹ Fleuranges, Collection Universelle, xvi. p. 177, says that there were 26,000 landsknechts, 10,000 adventurers, 10,000 Gascons, 2500 gens-d'armes, 1500 light cavalry. He doubtless much overrates the army.

² See above, p. 156.

³ The true form of the word is landsknecht, not lanzknecht, as some have thought.

⁴ Reckoning that a 'lance fournie' at this time had with him five horsemen, this would make a force of cavalry, heavy and light, of 2500 x 6 = 15,000, which is probably an extreme statement.

enter into Italy. But they all failed to foresee the energy and enthusiasm of their young antagonist. With help and guiding of friendly mountaineers, the whole army with horse and guns penetrated, over unheard-of obstacles, across the Cottian Alps, south of Mont Genève, emerging thence on the Italian plains. Here, as afterwards, Peter of Navarre did excellent service by directing all the engineering works needful for the passage. He had been taken prisoner by the French at the battle of Ravenna; and being neglected and left unransomed by Ferdinand the Catholic, had attached himself to the fortunes of France, becoming one of their ablest and most faithful officers: his great engineering gifts were of the highest value to them both now and at the siege of the Castle of Milan¹. At this time he also had organised the artillery, which, if we may trust the account of 'the young Adventurer²,' included a kind of mitrailleuse, a gun two feet long, which could discharge fifty bullets at once.

Bayard, who, here as ever, was foremost of all, though he held no high command, surprised Prosper Colonna, the general of the League, as he was dining at Villafranca, and made him prisoner. The Swiss, seeing themselves outflanked, after throwing a force into Novara, which nevertheless soon had to capitulate to Francis, fell back on Milan, where lay 'that good prophet, the Cardinal of Sion, who all his lifetime had been mortal foe to the French, as he showed clearly enough at this time³.' But even his eloquence could not hinder division among the Swiss: Ferdinand was a slack paymaster, while Francis came money in hand: he halted at Marignano, 'a little town some ten miles to the south-east of Milan, on the direct road to Rome⁴,' to see how his negotiations went. There he

¹ He was eventually retaken by the Spaniards, and strangled in 1528.

² Fleuranges (Collection Universelle, xvi. p. 178): 'Une façon d'artillerie, que le jeune Adventureux avoit appris, et n'estoit pas plus longue de deux pieds, et tiroit cinquante boulets à ung coup, et servit fort bien.' Cp. also Guicciardini's reflexions on the improvement in French artillery under Charles VIII, A. 1494, lib. i. f. 25 (ed. 1580).

³ Mémoires du Chevalier Bayard, Collection Universelle, xv. p. 376.

⁴ Fleuranges, Collect. Univ. xvi. p. 189.

could join hands with the Venetians, and watch the movements of his antagonists at Milan, at Pavia, and at Rome. Lautrec, who had been sent forward with five hundred men-at-arms to guard the treasure, fifty thousand crowns, was on the very point of paying over to them the whole sum they demanded as the price for which they should abandon the League and withdraw to their mountains, when news came that the whole face of affairs was changed. A fresh army of Swiss had come down to Milan, eager for war and pay; and the Cardinal had lost no time: he mounted on a chair in the courtyard of Milan castle 'in the midst of them, like a fox preaching to the hens¹,' and eloquently urged them to fight. They must continue to be the arbiters of the world; they must still make kings and popes tremble before them; and, most winning theme of all, so doing they would carry off a prize of countless booty. Then the 'Bull of Uri' and the 'Cow of Unterwalden' the two great mountaineer-horns of the Swiss, sounded long and loud: and the whole host, carried away by the impulse, rushed out of Milan gates; the Cardinal went with them, to fan their warlike temper and share their triumph. Yet in spite of his influence, the men of the 'High Cantons,' Zurich, Uri, Bern, Unterwalden, halted outside the gates, and to the number of some fourteen thousand², turned their faces homewards, and marched away. The rest, undeterred, rushed onwards towards Marignano.

The French, taken almost at unawares, had little time to prepare for battle. The Swiss attack was sharp and determined: and the King's artillery was in very great peril. The French defence was stubborn till nightfall, when the darkness saved them. They had been driven back to their park of artillery in the centre: it was thought that they were quite broken; and a messenger was sent to Rome to Leo X, with tidings of a Swiss victory, to his great joy. The King, within a stone's cast of his enemies, sat most of the night on horseback, and

¹ Fleuranges, *Collect. Univ.* xvi. p. 190.

² So says Fleuranges, *ibid.* p. 192.

only¹ snatched some uneasy sleep on a gun-carriage. At first he was almost alone, and at the mercy of his foes, had they but known it. His men lit a fire, but he bade them put it out, lest it should be a beacon to the Swiss. He had with him no infantry; and only some five-and-twenty men-at-arms, who served him manfully: but as night wore on others gathered to him; and when day broke he was in a condition to defend himself again². Skirmishing had gone on all night; and as soon as it was day, the Swiss pressed on to complete their victory. The French centre, however, stood firm: the King, seconded by his men-at-arms, fought with vehement courage: 'without the Gendarmerie, which bore the brunt, all might have been lost³.' An attack on the King's flanks met with no better success: the heat of the morning, the long march of the day before, the want of food, all told more on the attack than on the defence: at last, at ten o'clock, Alviano, the Venetian commander, who had marched with all haste to succour Francis, came up; and then the Swiss knew that they were beaten.

There was no pursuit, the French being too weary; the broken army, having lost its best captains and its veteran warriors, retreated sullenly to Milan, and with them the crest-fallen Cardinal: thence, as things looked ill, and mutiny broke out in the Swiss camp, he fled for refuge to the Emperor Maximilian in Germany.

Thus opened the new era of French history with a great and splendid victory: the Pope was aghast when the Venetian ambassador brought him tidings, which sounded doubly harsh after the hopes of the day before: Charles, the young accomplice of Francis, sent congratulations; Henry of England was full of jealousy at the brilliant success of his rival in the eyes of Europe. The Swiss 'returned home,' says Erasmus,

¹ Fleuranges says (*Coll. Univ.* xvi. p. 199): 'Le mist sur une charette d'artillerie, pour soy ung peu reposer.' And Du Bellay, *Coll. Univ.* xvii. 58, says, 'Cotcha le Roy . . . sur l'affust d'un canon.'

² Fleuranges, *ibid.* pp. 198, 199.

³ Du Bellay, *Coll. Univ.* xvii. p. 58.

'ragged, gaunt, disfigured, wounded, with flags torn, and funeral dirges for festal songs'.¹ The 'hares in armour,' as they had called the French², had beaten and crushed them: their domination over the fortunes of Europe was at an end. It had been a 'battle of giants'—but the long pikes of the gaunt mountaineers had been pushed back by the gay gallantry of the French gentlemen. Bayard had entered into the very spirit of the struggle when he rushed at them, shouting, 'Swiss, traitors, cursed villains, get you back to eat your cheese in your mountains, if you can'.³ It was, as has been said⁴, the last great battle of the old romantic world, the last triumph of feudal chivalry over burgher infantry as represented by the Swiss. Here as elsewhere, Francis is the knight-errant, not the statesman; we see it when, before the battle, some counselling retreat, he exclaimed 'he would fight alone rather than give way before such a peasantry'⁵: and again in his craving the accolade from the sword of Bayard, and in his curiously inaccurate letter to his mother⁶, in which he talks of the gentlemen who 'broke lance so well, sparing themselves as little as hot and angry wild boars.' This brilliant outset lured him on to many falls.

Pavia yielded on the news; Milan also: the Swiss were allowed to go home in peace; Maximilian Sforza surrendered: he was to be kept in honourable guard in France, with a good pension for his sustenance: he was sent to Paris, where he died unobserved and forgotten in 1530. His father, the greater Lodovico, had had a parallel career of success at Milan and captivity in France, under Louis XII.

¹ Erasmus to Ammonius, 2 Oct. 1515. Brewer, State Papers, 7 Henry VIII. ii. part 1, p. 265.

² Francis' letter to his mother: 'Ne dira-t-on plus que les Gendarmes sont lièvres armés.'

³ Gestes de Bayard, iii. 1, in Cimber et Danjou, Archives curieuses, I. ii. p. 158: 'Suisses, traîtres et villains maudits, retournez manger du fromage en vos montagnes si pavez.'

⁴ Professor Brewer, State Papers, Henry VIII, II. i. p. xlv.

⁵ Vieilleville, i. p. 295; quoted by La Vallée, ii. p. 296.

⁶ Given by Laval, Desseins et Professions Nobles (1613), and in Collect. Univ. xvii. p. 442.

Francis soon showed, at home and abroad, how little he understood or cared for the true interests of his country. In this, as in all other things, he was the opposite of his predecessor, who had subordinated everything to the well-being of France. After Marignano, in full flush of his triumph, Francis had an interview at Bologna with Pope Leo X: the wary pontiff quickly caught the inexperienced conqueror in his toils. The aim of Francis was to secure his position in Italy by an alliance with the Pope and the Swiss. With the latter he concluded a Perpetual Peace (Nov. 1515) which, strange to say, proved worthy of the name; for it lasted as long as the French monarchy. With the Pope also things went smoothly. Leo gave up his claims to Parma and Piacenza, purposing of course to resume them at the first moment possible; the young King promised in return to secure the Medici as Lords of Florence and Urbino. Then, with all show of respect and affection, the King took leave of the Pontiff: du Prat, the Chancellor, being left behind to draw up a treaty, by which the two princes should cement their friendship over the prostrate body of the Gallican Church.

Great was the amazement in France, when it was known that the 'Pragmatic Sanction' of Bourges (A.D. 1438)¹ had been abolished to make room for a 'Concordat,' whereby the King presented to the Pope the wealth of the Church, while the Pope handed over to the King its independence. The Pragmatic Sanction had declared that decennial Councils of the whole Church ought to be holden; had raised the authority of such Councils above the Papacy; had abolished annates, reserves, expectations, rich sources of Papal income; and had carefully secured to the Church of France the right of free election to all high ecclesiastical preferments. Pope after Pope had aimed at the abolition of this charter of Gallican liberties. Pius II got from Louis XI in 1461 a promise to revoke it; but the King did not keep his word: Paul II in 1467 received another

¹ See vol. i. p. 554.

assurance from the wily monarch, but this too proved equally ineffectual: Julius II at the Lateran Council denounced all who supported it: it was reserved for Leo and Francis to sweep it away. The Concordat substituted in its place had two main conditions: the first in the King's favour; he got all appointments to benefices, excepting such bishopricks and abbeys as enjoyed any special privilege from the Papacy. The second condition was for the Pope; the old claim that Councils should be above the Papacy was dropped; the Pope was to have once more the forbidden annates. Thus Leo grasped for himself a temporal advantage, and sold for it a spiritual power to Francis. Italy was sacrificed to the Pope, and France to the King.

This Concordat was a great act of royal autocracy, both in itself and in the way in which it was concluded and forced on France. It declared that there should no longer be an independent clerical aristocracy; and when the Parliament of Paris refused to register it, they were told that the King would suffer 'no Venetian Oligarchy'—they were forced to receive it: when the University protested with vehemence, he threw her best men into prison, and showed his contempt for learning as well as for law. Though these august bodies were obliged to yield in this case,—for they had no constitutional fighting-ground,—they still resisted wherever they could, until at last, in 1527, the King, of his own power, took from the Parliament all cognizance of ecclesiastical affairs, and handed them over to his great Council. The resistance, renewed from time to time, was broken against the rock of royal autocracy: the Concordat, like the 'Perpetual Peace,' lasted as long as the monarchy endured. The wealth and high dignities of the Gallican Church were henceforth closely bound up with the royal power: in all, above six hundred great benefices were handed over to the King, to be given according to his will. To this revolution may be attributed the rise of that remarkable series of political Churchmen who henceforward play so striking a part in French history; to it France in some degree owes that dissoluteness of manners which marked

her clergy, their subservience to the royal will, their bland acceptance of royal vices, and inability, when the storm at last fell on them, to defend themselves against the attacks of the Revolution.

One might have thought that when this 'new Cæsar,' this 'subjugator of Helvetians,' reached France again, his career would have answered to this brilliant opening. He came home triumphant; the French people, easily dazzled, welcomed him with joy; his nobles were satisfied with glory, and liked their pleasure-loving, open-handed lord; the clergy knew nothing of the coming blow, and were loyal and content. But Francis had no heart for the stern business of good government, or painstaking justice, or prudent economy: money to spend on war and amusement seemed to him the chief affair. So he left the charge of government to his mother, and she leant on her unprincipled friend Du Prat. He, by harshness, by contempt of law, by violation of justice, by aggravated taxation, became the true despot of France, a Richelieu without his breadth of vision and singleness of aim. To him is due the expansion to fatal dimensions of that error of Louis XII, the magistracy by purchase. Louis had done it to relieve the poverty of his poor people; Francis did it tenfold, to minister to his own disgraceful pleasures. The new officers brought justice into contempt, and swelled the long list of privileged persons who bore no share in the state's burdens. It has been remarked on the other hand, that in the end these bought offices became a secure form of property, which could be left by will or sold, and thus tended to give a solidity and independence to the judicial class, which has added much to the dignity and power of the law in France¹.

So it fell out that the years after Marignano, instead of carrying on the growing prosperity of the country, were years of decadence. The popular hatred fastened on Louise of Savoy and Du Prat; but the King was quite as much to blame: blunder after blunder was committed; and while the power of Charles steadily

¹ La Vallée, *Hist. des Français*, p. 299.

rose throughout this time, that of his rival as steadily fell. Things went ever wrong: the candidature for the Empire in 1519 was a mortifying failure; the treatment of Charles of Bourbon, and indeed of the whole Bourbon family, neither generous enough nor severe enough, was very damaging; the interview of the Field of the Cloth of Gold was a solemn farce: the Italian policy was weak, and the Italian campaigns ruinous. It is an unfortunate decade, closing with the crowning mishap of Pavia.

In 1516 the King of Spain, Ferdinand the Catholic, died, leaving the boy Charles of Austria, now in his sixteenth year, to succeed to all his vast and scattered dominions, and almost illimitable claims, fettered only by the nominal partnership of his insane mother. At first the French monarch was friendly, and stood by the understanding he had come to with Charles before Marignano: the Treaty of Noyon, which aimed at settling all differences between Francis and Charles as to Naples and Navarre, and the Treaty of Brussels between Maximilian, France, and Venice, helped to stave off for a time the inevitable rivalry and warfare, though they made it all the more certain to follow in the end. The policy of Chièvres¹, tutor and mentor of the young Spanish King, was eminently pacific: he wisely aimed at the most important matter first; the King must secure his own throne before he thought about his neighbours: wherefore so long as Chièvres lived, Charles made no war. Francis, too, in all probability despised—and it was not an uncommon feeling at the time—the weak ugly boy, who seemed so quiet and inoffensive, and who showed but little sign of the vigour and sagacity of his later days. Charles was one of those men who ripen late, unlike his superficial and showy antagonist, who was at his brightest on the day of Marignano, and seemed to learn a little duplicity but no wisdom from the strife and mishaps of his later life. Francis was unconsciously

¹ William of Croy, Lord of Chièvres (a Hainault village), was one of that great family which had been so important under Philip the Good of Burgundy; he died of poison in 1521, and then war soon followed.

the champion of a great cause, of the freedom and independence of Europe, threatened by the overbearing power of Spain and Germany combined: but no such great thought ennobled his own mind or lifted his aims out of pettiness; some trivial cause, some momentary passion, seem ever to be the power which set him in motion.

The beginning of the great struggle draws near; the old Emperor-Elect Maximilian was failing, and the two young princes began to deal with the Electors. Maximilian would gladly have persuaded them, at the Diet of Augsburg in 1518, to name his grandson Charles King of the Romans; but though the majority seemed willing, the opponents stayed action by appealing to the technical constitution of the Empire, and declaring that under an Emperor-Elect (Maximilian had never been crowned, and never styled himself 'Emperor,' but only 'Emperor-Elect') there could be no King of the Romans.

Meanwhile changes were coming on in other directions. The Turkish power seemed daily to grow more threatening on the Mediterranean, though its attacks on the vitals of Christendom by the valley of the Danube had not yet begun. The Moslems were aiming at domination in Persia and Egypt, and on the Levant shores; the old commercial routes were blocked by them. The fear of the Turkish cruisers had much impaired the trade of Venice with the East, the old connexions seemed to be snapping, and the new route to the East by the Cape of Good Hope was being forced into favour.

There had also been some signs of distrust of England: Francis, in 1518, visited his harbours along the open sea, especially that of Havre, which was newly constructed at his command; and the Scottish rivals of the English crown hoped that a French navy would be created to rule the narrow seas. 'For God's sake and your honour's,' wrote Andrew Bishop of Murray to him, 'so act that you may become master of the sea.' It looked as if the ambition of Francis was tempted to begin that rivalry by sea which in later ages was the passionate desire and the greatest disappointment of the French people.

But Francis was inconsequent, and these movements only led to fresh dealings with England.

There Wolsey at this time had reached the zenith of his power. The Treaty of London (Oct. 1518) between France and England, by which France bought back Tournay, and the little Dauphin Francis was affianced to Mary the baby Princess of England, was his work. The influence it was thought England might exert at the next Imperial election, and the unbounded confidence Henry VIII placed in his Minister, led superficial lookers-on to believe that the great Cardinal was the arbiter of Europe, and England the centre of that new 'Balance of Power' which was already deemed to be essential to the welfare of the world.

CHAPTER V.

THE RIVALRY OF FRANCE AND AUSTRIA.

A.D. 1519-1529.

First Period.

HENCEFORTH, for the rest of French history, we come face to face with the great rivalry between the Gallic and Germanic races, as represented by the two Houses of France and Austria. With lulls and temporary changes (as when the House of Austria drew closer to France, abandoning its traditional policy, in the reign of Louis XV), this rivalry has continued from the election of Charles to the Imperial throne to our own days. It continues still in grim reality, though the champion of the Germanic name is not the same; and it may yet work woe and desolation in Europe. In 1519 Maximilian, most splendid of dreamers and weakest in action, ceased to vex, amuse, and harass Europe with his great enterprises and petty outcries for money. This strange and stately compound of great and little qualities now gave up the long struggle of his Imperial life, and passed away almost unregretted. The Empire, over which, while he yet lived, there had already been much indecent chaffering, was now openly in the market for the highest bidder. 'I will have it,' cried Francis, 'even though it cost me three million of crowns; and I swear that three years after my election I will be in Constantinople, or in my grave.' Henry VIII had also dreams of ambition; or perhaps thought

it well to be on the spot so as to be able to throw weight into this or that scale. But Cuthbert Tunstal, whom he had sent into Germany in 1517, had honestly told him that it was a delusion¹; and the King did not become a serious competitor for the throne.

Nor, had he been wise, would Francis have entered the lists in his own person. Had he thrown in his weight with one of the secondary powers, with Louis the boy-king of Hungary, or Frederick the Wise, he would probably have secured his election: this would have given him a firm footing in Germany, with no small reputation for disinterestedness, and, above all, it would have kept out his formidable rival. But Francis was dazzled by the brilliant prospect of being the lay head of Christendom, the defender of the Faith against the Moslem, the founder of a grand universal monarchy. It may also be said in fairness that the Electors were not inclined to choose a weak prince, partly through fear of the Turk, against whom they desired a strong bulwark, and partly from a growing feeling that Germany must have a powerful head, to carry on its consolidation. So it ended in a trial of strength between Charles and Francis.

To weigh these princes against each other might seem to be the true way of judging between them; but the Electors at first seemed likely to be swayed only by the meanest motives, by promises and bribes. Charles was young, being now nineteen, untried, silent; he showed no sign of greatness, he was an absolute foreigner in Germany, and could not speak any High Dutch, but only Flemish; he seemed, as a contemporary said, to be 'a poor lad; one knows not if he will ever be seen in Germany.' Again, he was too much occupied with his many domains; he showed no military ardour. What could he do against the Turk? Lastly, he was technically excluded by being King of Naples. On the other hand, Francis was at the very height of warlike reputation. He who had crushed the Swiss, those hitherto invincible warriors, would

¹ Maximilian had offered to sell him the Purple for a round sum of money!

alone be able to beat back the Turk. Moreover he brought with him the support of England and of the Pope. He had close connexions with several German princes, such as the Dukes of Gelderland and Württemberg. And, lastly, his was a well-filled purse. Those who were of the party of progress, who cared for the new opinions or for the literary and artistic culture of the Renaissance, were likely to be favourable to Francis, while Charles in temper and education¹ was probably thought to be likely to favour the older scholastic teaching, and to go with the monks and the opponents of the new learning.

So at first Francis seemed to carry all before him. The Elector of Trèves was his good friend; so, too, was the 'Palsgrave,' the Elector Palatine; Hermann Archbishop of Cologne was apparently on his side; the Pope brought over the Elector Archbishop of Mainz with a promise of the dignity of Apostolic Legate for Germany; nor were bribes wanting. Albert of Mainz seemed likely to secure his brother the Elector of Brandenburg, the two usually pulling together. Armed forces seemed to be gathering up, long negotiations, warfare, bribery, intrigues, went busily on, in a huge entanglement of manifold hopes, doubts, uncertainties. The decision lay chiefly with Frederick of Saxony, who kept himself clear, and was regarded in Germany as the one true man in all the Electoral College. German feeling grew up against foreign dictation; and when it was known that the Pope had definitely interposed to bar the election of Charles, alleging that Papal Act which excluded the King of Naples from the Imperial throne, the Germans felt that this was a blow aimed at their freedom of choice. From that moment the chances of the foreigner² faded, till, when the Electors met, it was seen at once that he could not be chosen. At first they thought of Joachim of Brandenburg; then they

¹ His tutor was that most virtuous of scholastic monks, the ex-professor of Louvain, afterwards raised by Charles to the Papal tiara as Adrian VI.

² In fact a foreigner, if ever there was one; but in theory Francis entered the lists as a German Prince, because he was Lord of the old kingdom of Arles, which was under the Empire. Arles passed over with its heiress to Charles of Anjou in 1251; thenceforth it went with Provence; and with it on death of Charles of Maine, its Count, in 1481, fell in to Louis XI.

offered the crown to Frederick of Saxony, who not only refused it, but feeling that a decision must be come to, declared for Charles of Spain. Charles was then elected King of the Romans without a single dissentient voice¹. From henceforth he is known to history as Charles the Fifth² (5th July, 1519).

Had Francis I understood his own interests or the interests of France, he would have rejoiced at this defeat, and it would have set him to strengthen and develop his country. With her grand central position, her intelligent and high-spirited people, France under wise and cautious government might well have stood forward as the bulwark of the liberties of Europe. But Francis thought only of external triumphs, in which he exhausted in vain the strength which, well directed, might have secured the equilibrium. For a time, however, Charles could not attend to other matters, for the ground seemed to be giving way under his feet. Spain, angry at his election to the Empire, was in full revolt; and the 'new opinions' which had been openly preached in Germany for the last three or four years, had so spread throughout the land that all men's minds were in a ferment.

Francis however spent this precious time in the vain and lavish splendours of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, a camp in a plain between Guines, which was in the hands of England, and Ardres, which was French. Here, by way of a demonstration against his fortunate rival, he entertained Henry VIII with all magnificence, and at a ruinous cost. The two Kings showed amazing confidence in each other. Francis, with but two gentlemen and a page, rode early one morning into Guines, and finding the English King a-bed, waited on him as he dressed; while Henry, returning the friendly visit, saw some wrestling, and, fired with a boyish and English love of play, challenged his brother King to try a fall with him; Francis, though his legs were slender in comparison with those of stout-built Henry, was broad of shoulder, and very active. He stood up with the English King, and threw him easily. But, though there was so

¹ Dumont, p. 296.

² Hitherto only Charles I of Spain.

great a show of friendship, the whole thing was mere acting: no result followed from it. On the contrary, Henry, just before setting out for Calais, had had an interview at Canterbury with Charles V, who was now close friends with Wolsey. He was fascinated by his nephew, or, perhaps, was seriously desirous of holding the balance between the rivals. His obvious thought was expressed in that motto, 'He whom I favour wins,' which was set up in his tent at Guines.

While Henry thus balanced between the rivals, there was another potentate who also was hesitating and calculating chances. Leo X ardently hoped that the two princes would come to blows, for between them he thought to win Parma, Piacenza, and Ferrara for the States of the Church. After much wavering he turned his back on the weaker, his old friend since the days of the Concordat, and attached himself to Charles, partly because he thought him the more likely to help him to these territories, and partly because the religious troubles of Germany were growing serious even in his worldly eyes, and he hoped that the Emperor would check them. And in fact the Decree of the Diet of Worms which condemned Luther was issued directly after the Pope had intimated that he was prepared to ally himself with Charles. The cause of the great Reformer, the cause of all the literary world at the time, of many convents, especially of the Augustinian rule, of the lawyers, who resisted the Papal exactions and claims, of many among the clergy, even some bishops, of the leaders of the knighthood, of some even among the princes, and of a compact mass of burghers, and surging multitude of peasantry, was debated and considered before 'a Prince,' as von Ranke says¹, 'who understood neither our speech nor our thoughts.' No wonder if his judgment as to the new opinions depended on matters quite external, on the prospects of war, and on the worth of a Papal alliance.

And war was not far off. While Francis I had claims on Navarre, on Milan, and on Naples, in any one of which he might

¹ Deutsche Geschichte, i. p. 325.

soon come into collision with the young Emperor, Charles, on the other hand, as Duke of Burgundy, laid claim to the Duchy, and to that district on the Somme which had cost such wars and trouble in the days of Charles the Bold: he also had a word to say as to the kingdom of Arles and Dauphiny. The light-hearted Francis struck the first blow. Unprepared as he was, with his treasury exhausted by useless festivals and prodigal pleasures, his towns ill-equipped for defence, his soldiers scanty, still, thanks to the unrivalled central position of France and her great wealth, he was able to set four armies afoot: he burned to avenge himself on his rival. In April 1521 he ordered his army of the North under Alençon to cross the frontier, and that of Gascony under Bonnivet, to enter Navarre. Lautrec was despatched to Milan to defend that Duchy against the Spaniards and Imperialists, supported by Rome. The Spaniards speedily drove the incapable Bonnivet out of the Pyrenees. In the north, Robert de la Marck, Duke of Bouillon, head of the family of the old Boar of the Ardennes, angry at the Emperor's treatment of him, threw himself into the arms of France, sent defiance to Charles, and attacked Luxemburg. Here, had Francis been strong and resolute, was a great opening for him. The Bouillon fortresses ran well up towards the heart of the Netherlands; from them Francis might threaten Brussels. But little was done. When Charles heard that Alençon had crossed the frontier he cried, 'Thank God that I have not struck the first blow, and that the King of France wishes to make me greater than I am! . . . either I shall become a poor Emperor or he a poor King¹.'

The Count of Nassau speedily drove the French back, and laid siege to Mezières, which was saved by the gallantry of Bayard and Montmorency, who gave the French army time to come up. When Nassau heard of its approach he raised the siege, sent his heavy artillery for safety to Namur, and marched towards Guise. The King from the sources of the Somme

¹ Lettere di Galeazzo, i. p. 93; quoted by La Vallée, ii. 316.

arranged the order of his army, giving the van to the Duke of Alençon, to the great anger of Bourbon, who as Constable of France claimed the place of honour, and as a successful soldier deserved it. The King kept him near his own person. Hard by Valenciennes the Emperor and the King drew near to one another: the Imperialists failed to hinder the French from crossing the Scheldt at Neufville. Louis de la Trémoille and Chabannes both urged the King to press the retreating Imperialists; but Francis hesitated, and they escaped. Du Bellay declares that had the advice been followed the Emperor that day would have lost 'honour and fortune¹.' Charles fell back to Valenciennes, where he was in such despair that he fled that night with a hundred horse to Flanders, leaving his army to its fate: 'that day God had given us our foes into our hands; but we would not accept the gift, which afterwards cost us dear².'

The French took Bouchain and Hesdin; but English envoys coming up to treat for peace between the Princes, the advance was stayed: the Emperor should withdraw from the siege of Tournay, and from the Milanese; the French should do the like: the English King was named umpire between them. But now news came that Bonnivet had taken Fontarabia in Biscay; and war began again, though Francis withdrew to Amiens, and made no farther attempt on the Flemish frontier.

The chief burden of the war henceforth lay on the Italian side. Here Lautrec, brother of Françoise of Foix, the King's mistress, was in command: the fatal system of appointing favourites' favourites begins. Lautrec was utterly unfit for his charge; for he was a good soldier, but a miserable governor: severe and undiscerning in his punishments, he roused the hatred of the Milanese, and found himself with an ill-paid, ill-equipped army face to face with the ablest leaders of the new League³ now formed against Francis, Prosper Colonna for the Pope, and Pescara for the Emperor; in vain Lautrec

¹ Du Bellay, Mémoires, Coll. Univ. xvii. p. 147.

² Ibid. p. 148.

³ 'En ce temps, la Ligue entre le Pape Leon et l'Empereur estoit du tout jurée et confirmée, en laquelle entrèrent le Seigneur Federic de Gonzague Marquis de Mantoue et les Florentins.' Ibid. p. 172.

appealed to France for money to pay his troops; promises were rife, but no supplies came. He was swept out of Milan, and retreated towards Como, while the Cardinal dei Medici (afterwards Clement VII) entered the city with Pescara; the papal army sacked the place, and made a vast booty; they were allowed ten days to do it thoroughly. Throughout the winter the Imperialists continued strengthening themselves, while Lautrec still remained without money to pay the Swiss mercenaries, on whom he chiefly relied. In the spring, as he moved on Lodi, he found the Imperialists barring his way at La Bicocca, a country seat enclosed in a great moat, with room within for twenty thousand men: while he halted his Swiss came to him with the alternative—pay us or part with us; and he, as a middle course, offered to assault the Bicocca next day; he did so accordingly and met with a crushing repulse. This was the end of his Italian command and of the French occupation of the Milanese: the Swiss sulkily went home, and Lautrec withdrew across the Alps to Lyons, where he found the Court, and was welcomed with very black looks by the King. Being fierce-tempered, and chafing at his wrongs, he at once complained to Francis of his reception: 'No wonder,' replied the King, 'since you have lost me so fine a heritage as the Duchy of Milan.' 'But,' Lautrec rejoined, 'His Majesty it was that threw it away by sending no pay for the troops; the men-at-arms had served for eighteen months without a penny, and the Swiss had become utterly unmanageable.' Then the King said, 'But I sent you four hundred thousand crowns on your demand.' To Francis' astonishment Lautrec declared that he had never seen one penny. Hereon the old Lord of Semblançay, who had charge of the royal finances, was sent for: he acknowledged that he had received the King's command for the sum, and had collected the money, but that the Regent, the King's mother, had taken the whole of it from him. Francis in fury hastened to his mother's apartments: she declared she had only taken money that had long been due to her, her own savings; and the old Lord of Semblançay, who denied this, was called on

to make his words good. He fell into the terrible hands of Du Prat, who was jealous of his authority over the finance; a long trial followed; the King chose a packed commission, and after long delay this faithful servant of the crown, at the age of sixty-two, a man whom all esteemed and honoured, and to whom Francis himself had delighted to give the name of 'Father,' perished on the gibbet¹. Woe to him who crossed the path of Louise of Savoy or of Du Prat! Deep and deserved was the hatred which this iniquitous judicial murder roused throughout France.

But far more serious for France were the effects of this bad woman's passions, as they affected the Constable of Bourbon. Trouble had been brewing here too for some time, and we must look back a few years. Charles of Bourbon-Montpensier, head of the younger branch of the great House of Bourbon², was the most prominent and powerful feudal prince in France, one who so long as Francis remained childless could even aspire to the throne: he was in the prime of life, of high mettle, well-tried at Agnadello and Marignano, profuse and splendid in expense, haughty, highspirited. He was descended on the female side also from S. Louis; his wife, Susanne of Bourbon, his cousin, and heiress of the elder branch, was granddaughter of Peter II of Bourbon, the Lord of Beaujeu, and of that great lady Anne of France, who had ruled the land so well, when Charles VIII was a minor. It had been settled at their wedding that each should make a general donation of all his or her goods in favour of the survivor. Thus placed at the head of this great House, Charles kept almost regal state at Moulins. Though Francis at first seemed willing to favour him, and gave him the Constable's sword, he soon began to cool. In 1520 at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, Henry VIII had bluntly said, when he saw the pride and prominence of the young Constable, that if he had such a subject in his kingdom his head would not be long on his shoulders! Francis seems to

¹ Du Bellay, *Mémoires*, Coll. Univ. xvii. p. 227-229.

² See below for his pedigree, Table I, vol. iii.

have taken this to heart; and besides, he had fallen far in arrears in paying the Constable his due, and was deep in his debt; that was enough to set the selfish King against him; so when war came in 1521, and he made four great military governments, Champagne, Picardy, Milan, and Guyenne, though Bourbon had raised at his own cost an army of eight hundred horse and six thousand foot, Francis would not trust him with one of the commands, and refused him his right to lead the vanguard. This annoyed Charles exceedingly, and after the campaign he withdrew home, just in time to be present at his wife's death-bed. Then indeed his troubles began. There had been long feud between the royal ladies, Anne of France and Louise of Savoy; it now came to an outburst. Louise, advised again by Du Prat, threatened to claim the heritage of Susanne, and at the same moment offered her hand to the Constable, who rejected it with scorn. 'Never,' he cried, 'will I marry a shameless woman.' It must be ever uncertain whether Louise had really loved or hated him; but from that moment, if love there had been, it was turned to hate. A great trial began, conducted with all the arts Du Prat knew so well. The high-tempered Prince was harassed on every side: the King would not pay him his due, and treated him as an enemy; Louise was likely to wrest from him his splendid possessions. In the August of 1523 the Court-party triumphed; the Parliament of Paris, to escape the odium of the actual judgment, passed the case over to the King's Council, meanwhile sequestrating all the Constable's goods.

When he had taken Hesdin two years before, the Constable treated the servants of Charles V with marked attention, and had won the friendship of the House of Croy. This now bore its fruit. The actual steps in the intrigue are unknown to us: but the result was that Charles and Bourbon became friends, and the negotiations spread on to Henry VIII. A secret partition-treaty followed: Bourbon was to re-establish the ancient kingdom of Arles, Dauphiny, and Provence, with his great domains adjoining, Auvergne, the Bourbonnais, and other

places, the strongest district in central France: here his rear would be protected by the Alps, held on the other side by his friend the Emperor. Charles V claimed for his share the Duchy of Burgundy, Champagne, and Picardy; and to Henry VIII was to fall the old English inheritance to west and south. It was a revival of the schemes of the old war of the Public Weal. In fact, Bourbon awakened the old echoes by declaring that he desired to redress the ill-government of the King. While this was being planned, the French King was at Lyons preparing busily for his great expedition into Italy. He was told by persons whose information could not be neglected, that Bourbon was deep in treason, and he went in person to Moulins to see him. There he found him ill, or feigning illness: and on receiving assurances of fidelity, and a promise that he would follow to Lyons the moment he was well enough to leave his bed, he bade him farewell at Moulins and returned. This act of confidence cost him dear: directly Bourbon could move, he fled, without attempting to raise the country round him, dreading rather to be shut up in France; he wandered with one faithful comrade through the Auvergne mountains. Thence he came down to the bridge of Vienne, but did not dare to cross it, though it was not guarded, lest he should be recognised; he therefore passed over the Rhone in a boat. On the Dauphiny side he found the roads full of soldiers marching towards Italy; wherefore he turned to his left, despairing of being able to cross the Alps without being recognised and stopped: he recrossed the Rhone above Lyons, and reached S. Claude, whither more than half a century before young Louis the Dauphin had come, when he too fled from the hostility of the King of France. Thence Bourbon passed through Switzerland, 'the Germanies' as it was then called, and came to Trent on the upper Adige, thence to Mantua, where the Duke received him well; thence to Piacenza, where he met Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, who had come to take the place of Prosper Colonna whose health had failed. After tarrying awhile with him, he went down to Genoa, awaiting

instructions from the Emperor, who was in Spain. But the Emperor, warm as he had been before, while Bourbon seemed to be a great power in the heart of France, now took but little heed to him when he appeared as a fugitive with a scanty following of friends. He told him he might cross into Spain, or he might follow the army in Italy under Lannoy. He chose the latter; and instead of being a third party in a great league of sovereigns, he fell to the poor standing of a prince without a command, hanging on to an army in which he was not wanted. And now the French were vigorously attacked on every side: the Spaniards came down to Bayonne, but failed to take it; the English threatened Paris; early in 1524 they reached the Oise, about thirty miles from the capital.

The King, with the ground trembling under his feet, and uncertain how far the disaffection of Bourbon extended at home, had not ventured to leave Lyons: his army in the Milanese was commanded by Bonnivet, an incapable and dissolute courtier, who owed his appointment to the favour of Louise of Savoy. Without the hazard of a single battle, Lannoy and Pescara pushed the French completely out of Italy: in the retreat Bayard fell a victim to his commander's incapacity; for, being ordered to defend an untenable position in the rear of the retreating army, though he saw the mistake, he obeyed; there he was mortally wounded, and fell into Lannoy's hands. The care and admiration of his enemies soothed his last moments, and he died, as he had lived, a brave, honest, and God-fearing soldier. His body was carried into Dauphiny, where it was met by all the province, and buried with solemn state and real mourning at Grenoble, in the Convent of the Minims, which his uncle the Bishop had built.

Thus as Lautrec had been thrust out of Italy in 1522, so was Bonnivet in 1524. And as the Italian expeditions ought by this time to have taught France what her weakness was, so the failure of the efforts of the allies to invade the kingdom might equally have shown her where her true strength lay. The Spaniards were foiled at Bayonne; the English in Picardy; the

Imperialists in Provence. Bourbon wished to penetrate northwards into Dauphiny, so as to join hands with his own friends, whom he still believed to be strong, and to form a centre round which the popular anger against the Queen Mother and Du Prat might gather force and form. But the Imperialist commanders set over him by Charles V preferred the siege of Marseilles. The town defended itself with heroism, and Bourbon was compelled to fall back through the Estrelles to Nice, and thence by rough and difficult ways along the lovely Riviera di Ponente to Genoa: the French pursued and harassed him a great part of the way.

This rout of his enemy inflamed Francis with a fatal desire to crush him utterly, and at the same time to recover his lost prestige in Italy. Disregarding his older counsellors, who had seen the evils of Italian warfare, he plunged suddenly into the Alps, and emerging on the other side, found the Imperialists in the utmost confusion and weakness. Discouragement and sickness had wellnigh ruined them: Pescara had nothing with which to pay his troops, for the Emperor sent him and Bourbon no supplies, seeming to be almost as penniless as his predecessor. A strong force under Antonio da Leyva, one of the best of his veteran officers, was thrown into Pavia, while Pescara entrenched himself in the strong position of Lodi, and Bourbon hastened into Germany to raise a force of mercenaries. Francis, instead of striking hard at the disorganised army before Bourbon could return, sat down before Pavia, hoping speedily to reduce it. But Leyva was a stout soldier, and held out grimly, so giving the others time to take breath and gather strength. All seemed well for Francis; he felt powerful enough to detach, once more against his best advisers¹, ten thousand foot, five hundred men-at-arms, a body of light cavalry, and a strong band of artillery, under John Stewart the last Duke of Albany, with orders to push down into south Italy and seize Naples: a fatal blunder, as soon appeared.

¹ La Palice was strongly opposed to the step.

For the great name of Bourbon attracted a large army of adventurers from Germany; and Pescara, thus reinforced and refreshed, came out again from Lodi and marched for Pavia. Once more the wiser and more experienced captains were unheeded: they advised the King to raise the siege, and march out to some strong position, whence he might easily weary out the relieving force. They knew by how slight a tie such an army was held together, and that Pescara's funds were exhausted. But the King's favourites, full of their boastful ideas of chivalry, easily persuaded him that 'a French King does not change his plans for his enemies'; and Francis determined to await Pescara's coming in his fortified camp. Bonnivet gave this advice, and once more ruined his master in Italy.

There are three ways in which a besieging army may act in the presence of a relieving force: it may break up entirely and go out to face the coming foe, sure that if the relief is defeated, the siege will go on again as before: or if strong enough, it may hold its siege-works with diminished force, and detach an army sufficient to check the oncoming enemy, as Frederick the Great did at Prague, and the Germans at the siege of Paris in 1870: or it may entrench itself in its strong position, and await the coming up of the relieving army. The second and safest course Francis had rendered impossible by sending so large a force towards Naples; the first he was too proud to choose; he therefore took the most perilous of the alternatives, and awaited the foe in his camp. When a besieging army does this, it is liable in its turn to be besieged between the walls of the city it beleaguers and the lines of the relieving force. And this befell Francis at Pavia.

His position was one of great strength: he lay to the eastward of the town, across the road to Lodi, by which the relieving force would come up. The Ticino sheltered his right: his left lay within the wall of the Certosa Park, or the Park of Mirabello, as it was called, which was like a fortress in strength: lastly a stout rampart guarded the whole of his front. Here a prudent general would have calmly waited till his opponents

were worn out, and that in the case of Pescara's army must have happened speedily. In fact the attack of the Imperialists on the King arose from those very difficulties which had forced Lautrec to assault the Bicocca four years before.

On S. Matthias' Day (Feb. 24th, 1525), Pescara, after having skirmished in vain before the entrenchments in hope of drawing the French out to battle, broke down a long piece of the Mirabello wall, and got inside the Park, thus flanking the left wing of the French. Here he was assailed by a violent cannonade from the artillery planted to defend that flank; and his Spaniards and Germans suffered terribly; 'you could see nothing but heads and arms flying in the air¹.' To escape from this 'valley of death' to some shelter beyond, the troops ran: and Francis seeing it, thought that they were flying in confusion. Immediately he sallied out; whereby he not only got between his own artillery and the enemy, so as to hinder it from playing on them², but by moving due north he left his centre and right, to the south, bared of support. As he lengthened his front in this way, the Spaniards attacked the Swiss on his right, who gave way and retreated towards Milan: his Landsknechts charged the Imperialists boldly; but were driven in by 'two big battalions of Germans.' The King, who thought all going well, seeing only what was in front of him, soon became aware that his army behind him had melted away, and that the Spaniards were getting between him and the town, and cutting him off from his camp. At last after plenty of fierce fighting, at which he was ever good, for he was strong and brave, his horse was killed and fell on him: he lay bruised and wounded on the ground. Then Lannoy came up, and Francis surrendered his sword to him.

This ended the battle. If Marignano was a great triumph of the men-at-arms, the French noble chivalry, Pavia was their destruction: never had there been greater slaughter of nobles: and those who had not fallen were prisoners. The un-

¹ Cimber et Danjou, Archives Curieuses, I. ii. p. 281.

² Du Bellay, Mémoires, Coll. Univ. xvii. p. 391.

worthy Bonnavet paid with his life for the foolish advice he had given the King: Louis de la Trémoille, La Palice the Constable, and other generals perished, so did Francis of Lorraine, and the Duke of Suffolk, Richard de la Pole, the attainted heir of the Suffolk dukedom, whom they called 'Roze-blanche' to distinguish him from Charles Brandon the new Duke¹, the husband of Mary Tudor. Henry of Albret, King of Navarre², and the Count of S. Pol, were taken, but escaped soon after: the Duke of Alençon, who was in command of the rear, fled leaving all to ruin without striking a blow. He was so overwhelmed with shame that ere long he died of grief, leaving no heirs; his Duchy fell in to the Crown. The battle itself had been short and sharp, but the carnage lasted all the day³: the wreck was immense; the flight headlong; the pillage all that hungry victors could desire. The wretched shreds of the King's fine army wandered back as it could, plundered and harassed by the Italians and mountaineers; the remainder came dribbling into Lyons, half-naked and starved. One may conjecture the utter consternation there, when the whole extent of the disaster became known. Louise of Savoy, supported by the Duke of Vendôme and Du Prat, set herself as best she could to stem the tide of dejection, and to succour their sore plight⁴. Albany, who was lying in the neighbourhood of Rome with his army, was informed of the King's capture by a messenger from the Pope. He with his artillery took ship, abandoning his army to its fate; accompanied by all his chief gentlemen and captains, he sailed off to Marseilles: while the 'poor camp, very desolate at losing its grand-master who was a prisoner,' had to make its way by land; and, says the chronicler, 'it was piteous to see the poor folk, who scarce dared to look behind them for fear of seeing an enemy on their

¹ Who was made Duke of Suffolk in 1513.

² Husband of Margaret of France, Francis' sister.

³ Guicciardini puts the Imperialist loss at about 700; the French loss at over 8000. *Storia d'Italia* l. xv. A. 1525 (p. 459, ed. 1580).

⁴ Cimber et Danjou, *Archives Curieuses*, I. ii. p. 289, sqq. for an account of their plight at Lyons.

heels¹. Some died of hunger, others of disease, others sold clothes and horses for food: a third of them perished: the rest reached Lyons 'so worn out and poor from poverty, hunger, thirst and miseries . . . that after they had eaten and drunk, of those who took too much at once some died outright, and others lost their senses².'

Meanwhile the King was lodged in the castle at Pizzighitone; and thence wrote two letters, one to his mother, the Regent Louise; the other to his great rival, Charles. They throw some light on his character; for they prove how little true nobleness and dignity he shewed in adversity. Instead of bearing his captivity with calmness and fortitude, he chafed and fretted under the loss of his wonted pleasures; at one moment he called for death to end his woes, while at another he was ready to sign disastrous terms of peace, meaning to break faith so soon as ever he might be free again. The letter to his mother is interesting only as giving us the original of that epigrammatic phrase which history has invented for him: when she puts into his mouth the well-known words 'Tout est perdu, fors l'honneur.' French history is full of such half-true phrases; and it is a pleasure to be able to trace one of them to its cradle. 'Of all things,' he writes, 'there remains to me naught save my honour and my life which is safe.' And how long was he to keep that highly-prized honour? The weariness and misery of constraint soon drove him to acts which showed that his sense of honour and kingly faith was gone. This we see also in the letter addressed to Charles V, which is humble, false, and almost cringing: impatient of his misfortune, he thinks his great rival will be generous and easy, and by so acting will 'make an acquisition instead of an useless captive, nay, will have evermore a King as his slave³.' Charles, on the other hand, when first he heard the news of this crowning victory,

¹ *Archives Curieuses*, I. ii. p. 292.

² *Ibid.* p. 293.

³ The MS. of this letter is among the MSS. Bethune, No. 8471, quoted in the *Archives Curieuses*, c. II. i. p. 293.

was studiously humble and quiet: but nevertheless he sagaciously scanned the political horizon, weighed the courses to be pursued, and finally carried out the plans which appeared to be best for his own interests. France, at first stupefied by the mishap, soon began to recover hope. The Regent, for all her vices and faults, was proud and strong; she gathered what force she could at Lyons, and looked round for help. The peril was very great: France disturbed at home, the people crushed with taxes, lamenting the good King Louis, the nobles and cities disaffected. When the Duke of Vendôme¹, at that time governor of Picardy and the Isle of France, passed through Paris on his way to Lyons to join the Regent, the chief citizens offered him the government of the kingdom, saying that 'all the other good towns would aid him to that end².' 'And this they did,' adds Du Bellay, 'because of the hatred they felt for the Chancellor Du Prat.' But Vendôme shrank from the thought of civil strife at such a moment; and the proposed civic revolt against the autocratic monarchy came to nothing: for he would have nothing to do with that which 'would derogate from the authority of Kings, by naming Regents whom they would; which Regents would hold their power from the goodwill of the communities and towns, a thing that would put a bridle in the mouth of kings and take from princes their pre-eminence³.' The elements of resistance to absolutism in France have never been able to cohere together into a solid power.

Not only were there anxieties at home, but the frontiers were also threatened. On the side of Germany a popular movement, closely connected with the religious excitement of the time, pushed a fierce and cruel rabble into Lorraine, whence they proposed to enter France. But they were met by the Duke of Guise and the Count of Vaudemont, his brother, at the head

¹ Another Charles of Bourbon, a distant cousin of the Constable.

² *Mémoires de Mess. Martin du Bellay*, Bk. III. Coll. Univ. xviii. pp. 4, 5.

³ So says Belleforest in his *History of France*, ii. p. 1442, also in his *Chroniques* (ed. 1572), p. 549.

of the garrisons of Burgundy and Champagne, and were easily dispersed. It was thought that during these troubles Lannoy would march his army, flushed with victory, from the Po to the Rhone, while the hated Regent, and still more odious Du Prat, were helpless and without troops. But Lannoy had no money to pay his men, and could not undertake so large a venture. Meanwhile negotiations began between Charles V and the King; the Emperor demanding, as ransom, that Bourbon should be invested with Provence and Dauphiny, joined to his own lands in Auvergne, and should receive the title of king; and secondly that the Duchy of Burgundy should be given over to the Emperor as the inheritor of the lands and rights of Charles the Bold. But the King of France would not listen for a moment.

And now the King of England and most of the Italian states, alarmed at the great power of the Emperor, began to change sides. Henry VIII came first. He signed a treaty of neutrality with the Regent, in which it was agreed that not even for the sake of the King's deliverance should any part of France be torn from her. The Italians joined in a league to restore the King to liberty, and to secure the independence of Italy: and Turkey was called on for help; the long series of friendly dealings between France and the Padishah, which aimed at curbing the power of the Austro-Spanish House, may be said to date from this time¹.

The Emperor now felt that Francis was not in secure keeping at Pizzighitona; he observed that the King seemed to be gaining influence over the incoherent, ill-paid, and disaffected Imperial army; and he distrusted Charles of Bourbon: he therefore gave orders that Francis should at once be removed to Spain; and Lannoy, though he had promised he would not take his royal prisoner thither, on getting the command to sail with him, obeyed without much ceremony².

¹ See La Vallée, *Hist. des Français*, ii. p. 325.

² The 'Prinse et délivrance de François Premier' in Cimber and Danjou, I. ii. p. 295, tells us that Lannoy tempted the King on board to see

Francis was set ashore at Valencia, and received with wonderful welcome: dances, festivals, entertainments of every kind, served to relieve his captivity; it was like a restoration to life! But this did not suit the views of the Emperor, who wished to weary the King into giving up all thought of resistance: he trusted to his impatient and frivolous character; his mistake, as he found to his cost, lay in thinking that a man of such a character would keep his word. He therefore had him removed from Valencia to Madrid, where he was kept in close and galling confinement, in a high dreary chamber, where he could not even see out of the windows. This had the desired effect. The King talked of abdicating; he fell ill of ennui, and was like to die: but at last he could hold out no longer, and abandoning all thought of honourable action, agreed to shameful terms, consoling himself with a private protest against the validity of the deed, as having been done under compulsion¹.

The Treaty of Madrid, signed 14 January, 1526, ceded to Charles more than he ought to have felt it safe to accept. It was agreed that within six weeks of his deliverance Francis should restore to Charles the possessions of Charles of Burgundy, 'whereof at his death Mary his daughter, grandmother of Charles of Spain and Germany was seized, and had been despoiled by Louis XI, namely (1) the Duchy of Burgundy, with the County of Charolais and other dependencies: (2) the Viscounty of Auxonne and S. Laurent, dependent on the Free County of Burgundy'. The French claims on Flanders, Artois, and Hainault, on Milan and Naples, were abandoned; Francis undertook to espouse Eleanor, Dowager Queen of Portugal, sister of Charles; and lastly, the Dauphin Francis and Henry Duke of Orleans were to be placed as hostages in the Emperor's hands, till the stipulations were fulfilled. Nothing was said respecting Bourbon's kingdom in the south and east of France, but he was restored to his estates and dignities only. 'All which

a review of ships, and having got him there, sailed away with him to his utter consternation.

¹ This protest was drawn up before Notaries a few hours before the Treaty of Madrid was signed.

the King accorded willingly; for he held that whatever promise he made while a prisoner guarded, and not on his faith, was of no value: and that he could, on payment of money, afterwards get back his children¹, the hostages². So utterly had a few months' captivity sapped the moral force of the monarch! How much better would it have been for his true dignity had he held to his first intention. The Duchess of Alençon (who had nursed Francis in his illness) proposed to return into France, now that he was well again, carrying powers from the King, whereby he transferred the government to the Dauphin, with permission for his coronation (in accordance with ancient French usage) under the Regency of Louise of Savoy³; for he warmly declared that 'he would live and die a prisoner rather than do a thing which might injure his kingdom⁴.' But Francis chose the more unworthy course, swore that if he could not keep his word, he would honourably return into captivity; and as he swore, protested that his oath and his engagement were null and void. Yet he stooped to take solid advantage, the advantage of liberty, from it; he was released, handed over the boys his sons as hostages, and riding gaily into France declared that he would hear nothing of the Treaty of Madrid, that he would enjoy his life to the full, and pay no penalty for his blunders and follies.

Francis, most autocratic of princes, 'above the law,' who never convoked his people together in their Estates, now found it good to use very different language;—'He could not ratify nor fulfil the engagements of the Madrid treaty, for he had no right to make them; to do so would violate his duties towards

¹ Du Bellay, Bk. III. Coll. Univ. xviii. p. 18.

² What can be better than the summary of Tavannes, Coll. Univ. xxvi. p. 17: 'Il est delivré prenant une femme, donnant de l'argent et des promesses de la Bourgogne, quitte la souveraineté de Flandres, donne ses enfans en hostage; aussitost delivré rompt le traicté; dit n'avoir peu donner sa foi prisonnier, ny moins aliéner le Duché de Bourgogne sans le consentement des Estats.'

³ Champollion, Captivité du Roi François, i. p. 425, where a facsimile of the document is given; it is dated Nov. 1525, from 'Madrid.'

⁴ Du Bellay, Coll. Univ. xviii. p. 16.

his people, and his coronation-oath.' Yet even so he did not convoke the Estates, nor any form of representation of his people, nor even a general assembly of notables, in which the voice of truth might possibly have been heard: but he held 'a bed of justice' at Cognac, a gathering of *grande*s named by himself, together with that submissive body, the Parliament of Paris. This assembly followed the example set them by the Estates of Tours under Louis XI: they declared at once that the King had exceeded his powers in giving up a province of France: deputies from the Duchy of Burgundy appeared, through whom that province refused to be severed from France. They added that neither the treaty nor the royal oath was binding, the former not having been the act of the King, the latter as having been exacted from him when in bondage: and that he therefore should neither give up Burgundy nor return into Spain. One counsellor, Bishop Poncher, whose honesty exceeded his prudence, gave his opinion that Francis ought to go back: he only thereby marked himself out for a prison and death. Lannoy, who, on behalf of his master Charles V, was present at Cognac, saw at once that the French King was determined not to keep faith, and that war must follow. At first Henry VIII, whose supposed care for the 'Balance of Power' is a delusion, had thought to gain much advantage from the state of France. He urged on his Imperial ally the partition of the country; claimed for himself to be crowned King at Paris, to have the old English possessions and more, while the rest of France should be shared between Charles and Bourbon¹. But he soon found that this scheme could not be carried out; Charles was too powerful to be his cat's paw. So, in the autumn of 1525 Henry had veered round and had made a treaty with Louise of Savoy, the base of which was the integrity of France. This was followed in May 1526 by a treaty, signed at Cognac by Francis, with the Pope, with Venice, and with Francesco Maria Sforza, the last Duke of that race, from

¹ See Henry's Instructions to Tunstall and Wingfield, March 30, 1525. State Papers, vol. vi.

Milan; this was the 'Holy League' of the period: devout Henry of England, Protector of the Faith, was declared the champion of this alliance. Clement VII, roused to enthusiasm, dreamed that he was the instrument destined by Providence to achieve at last the independence of Italy. The Emperor, he saw, was much embarrassed by the new combination, and at the same time anxious for Germany, which was threatened from the East: Francis, he thought, would throw himself heart and soul into the war: all thoughts of advantage, of vengeance, of a desire to recover fame and honour, would act as spurs to stimulate him; Italy, once cleared of the Spaniards, would grow to be a powerful and harmonious federation; its spiritual head the Medicean at Rome, its temporal chief the Medicean at Florence.

But Francis was as unlikely to be heroic when free as when a captive. Misfortune degrades the unworthy soul: and the King of France came back from Spain having lost both reputation and honour, and only eager to plunge once more into that sea of dissipation at Paris, from which he had been so long excluded;—'that Lethe stream,' as Tavannes bitterly calls it, 'in which the captains sent into Italy are drowned'. He paid little heed to the calls of his allies: a new round of pleasures, a fresh favourite, engaged him: he was not eager either to emulate the glories of Marignano, or to wipe out the disgrace of Pavia; his policy at home was simply 'give me money and be quiet.' The friendly hand formerly stretched out to learned men tinged with reform opinions was now withheld; for the King had no more interest in any such thing; the country was overwhelmed with debt: a few acts of severity against the financiers, whom Louise of Savoy detested, were done to satisfy the down-trodden people. Taxes, corruption, arbitrary rule, at home; ill-faith, and failure in war and policy, abroad: these things are the results of the reign of this most brilliant of French monarchs.

When all Italy was in a ferment, longing to welcome Francis as its captain, eager with him to destroy the Spanish power in

¹ Tavannes, *Collect.* Univ. xxvi. p. 9.

the Italian Peninsula, the King only sent a poor four thousand men, while he stayed behind, idly amusing himself, perhaps thinking that he was, to the letter, keeping his agreement with Charles. Left without a head, the Italian confederation soon showed itself powerless. Clement VII, with characteristic weakness and cunning, tried to intrigue with Pescara, the general of the Spanish in Italy: Pescara played with him, and lured him to his ruin. The whole project fell to pieces: the Imperialists, unshaken, held their ground, and took Milan; Sforza yielded, after the castle of Milan had undergone a siege, and there was no sign of help. The Pope had sent an army into the Neapolitan kingdom: Lannoy, landing at Gaeta, held it in check, while a host of Landsknechts under their famous old captain Frundsberg descended from the Alps, crossed the valley of the Po unopposed, and rolled on cursing and wrangling, plundering and clamouring for pay, towards the Eternal City. These wild adventurers were chiefly Lutherans, friends of the most Catholic Emperor, coming to overthrow the head of the Church: Charles of Bourbon hastened to meet them at the Trebbia, and was warmly welcomed by them as their true chief and leader. It is singular to notice how deep an impression the Constable had made on the Germans, and how eagerly they followed him. Under his guidance they climbed the Appenines behind Bologna. It was doubtful whether they aimed at Florence or at Rome: the Duke of Urbino, who was watching them, fell back into Tuscany to cover the rich valley of the Arno, while Clement made truce with Lannoy, and weakly trusted that the Germans would respect the terms he had made with the Spaniard. But they knew their own minds: Bourbon hoped with one blow to destroy the Holy League at head-quarters; the German mercenaries were eager for the secular spoils of Rome. So they pressed on unopposed to the walls of the world's capital. The ramparts were at once attacked. Bourbon was killed by a ball at the first assault. Benvenuto Cellini tells us¹ that his own hand aimed the

¹ Vita di Benvenuto Cellini, scritta di sua mano propria, i. p. 118, (ed. 1806).

fatal piece, while others declare that the shot was fired by a priest. The fall of their leader only inflamed the assailants: they poured over the walls into the city (6 May, 1527); the Pope, who had vainly rested on the hope of succour from the Viceroy of Naples, fled to the castle of S. Angelo: a frightful destruction of works of art ensued. Rome was then at her very height of artistic splendour; for months the lawless soldiery pillaged the city, quarrelled over their booty, wasted and destroyed the most beautiful and costly things that the world possessed. The Pope capitulated, and became a prisoner¹. As when he heard of the great triumph of Pavia, Charles had been to all appearance humble and moderate; so when his friends held the Pope a captive, he ordered processions to be made in Spain, and prayers offered up for the Pontiff's deliverance;—a single word from his own mouth would have been more efficacious. It was a terrible moment for Clement VII: his plans frustrated, his family ejected from Florence by a revolution; Italy prostrate under the conqueror's heel; himself a captive:—such was the end of the brilliant hopes with which but a year before he had cheated and dazzled himself.

The news of this great and central mishap roused Francis to some activity. He declared the Treaty of Madrid broken; and Charles, not unnaturally, accused him of ill-faith. Then Francis declared loudly that 'he had lied through his throat,' and challenged him to single combat: when the Imperial envoy came he refused to listen to him. His new energy met with no success. In the territory of Naples, Lautrec, inefficient as ever, failed to crush the Prince of Orange in his retreat: and having, at the advice of Peter of Navarre, laid siege to Naples herself by land, while the Genoese fleet under Andrea Doria blockaded the town by sea, he saw his army melt away from want and pestilence, while his allies on the sea suddenly changed sides, and threw supplies into the hard-pressed city. For

¹ 'So that one wittingly said it was now true, *Papa non potest errare*, "The pope could not wander," as cooped up and confined.' Fuller, Church History, Bk. V. Cent. xvi. (iii. 34, ed. Brewer).

Francis had shown clearly that he disliked the Genoese, and was doing his best to ruin their commerce: and Andrew Doria knew that he had powerful enemies at the French court. So he listened to the suggestions of some captive Spaniards in his charge; made overtures to Charles V¹, and by a sudden change of sides struck a death-blow at French influence and power in Italy. Lautrec died before Naples; his soldiers had perished or become prisoners; Doria swept the French out of Genoa, and set up a republican form of government, refusing for himself the dignity and title of Doge. But the loss of Genoa, now under Imperial protection, was fatal to the ambition of France. It cut Italy in half; it gave Charles V a firm hold on the northern part of the peninsula; it enabled him safely to connect together his Spanish and his German dominions: it invited him to take an active part in German affairs, and to cease to be merely a Spanish king. For Genoa was not only the best harbour for the Spanish fleets, it was the open doorway for the Spanish armies; entering in there, they could secure the Milanese and the Valtelline, and all the ways over the Alps into Tirol; whence, as need might call, they could pass into Bavaria or into the Austrian Duchies.

From this moment the character, the policy, the power of Charles take a fresh course. He amazes Europe. The feeble, ugly, spiritless boy of a few years back has become at one stride the giant of the world: men wonder whether his great abilities, or his unrivalled statesmanship, or his vast material resources, are most to be dreaded. He has secured himself safely in Spain; he has nothing to fear in the Netherlands; he is supreme in Italy. Clement VII, sagacious and supple, sees that Charles alone can both restore the captive glory of the Papal throne and the fallen fortunes of the Medicean house at Florence. To this have his great ambitions shrunk. Free Italy is thought of no more: the Medicean interests step into the foreground: and Italy may be left, a prey to all comers, in

¹ For details see Du Bellay, *Collect. Univ.* xviii. pp. 92-95.

her 'fatal gift of beauty,'¹ to be a 'geographical expression' for three centuries. Napoleon Bonaparte first shook the yoke thus laid on Italy; the late Emperor of the French has the honour of having cut her bonds; but she owes her new national life to her own virtues and prudence. Great is the age, and happy are the eyes which have been privileged to see the end of this long 'death in life'; which have followed the restoration of Italy to something of the rank due to her genius, her place in Europe, her splendid memories: her grand historical heritage of the past, her present moderation and singular power of organisation, augur for her a noble future among the nations of Europe.

An army had been sent into Lombardy, to penetrate southwards, and to co-operate with Lautrec before Naples. But Antonio da Leyva held this force in check, and eventually caught and ruined it at Landriano in 1529.

Clement and Charles being now at peace (Treaty of Barcelona, June, 1529), and the second war having closed with the utter defeat of the French, Francis, whose interest in this struggle appears always to have been very slight, was ready for peace. He had lost both his armies, and had no money with which to raise a third: he also was alarmed for his sons, whose health and character seemed to be suffering in Spain. Nor was Charles V less willing: he had gained largely; he too was penniless and in straits; he had before him much to do in Germany, where things were very uneasy; he wanted also to go into Italy to settle affairs and to be crowned Emperor: since the battle of Mohacz (A.D. 1526) the Turk had become infinitely more formidable to Austria. So it did not require much to bring about peace. Negotiations were opened at Cambrai between Margaret of Austria and Louise of Savoy, and ended in a Treaty, 'the Ladies' Peace' (5th August, 1529),

¹ 'Italia, Italia! O tu, cui feo la Sorte
Dono infelice di bellezza, ond' hai
Funesta dote d'infiniti guai,
Che in fronte scritti per gran doglia porte.'
Vincenzo Filicaia. Sonnet 87.

by which the differences between the two powers were suspended, if not finally adjusted. The terms were somewhat more favourable to France than those of Madrid. The Duchy of Burgundy was retained; the French princes were to be released on payment of ransom, in which Du Prat tried to cheat Charles by debasing the coin of the realm, but was detected and put to shame¹: all claims on Flanders and Artois were to be given up: everything was abandoned in Italy: the chivalrous Francis, the soul of honour, did not hesitate to sacrifice all his allies; there was not a word said for one of them. He added to his baseness by again protesting secretly against his public act.

Charles, intending to make his ground in Italy quite sure, at once sailed from Spain. Escorted by Andrea Doria, with a splendid army at his back, he landed at Genoa, and set himself to arrange all that was needed in the Peninsula. Francesco Maria Sforza was established firmly at Milan, and the unhappy city overwhelmed with burdens; for Charles, ever in want of money, made Sforza pay dearly for his honours, and Sforza made the Milanese pay for the privilege of having him for their duke: the Duke of Savoy, now as ever the sport of political change², threw himself into the arms of the stranger, and Charles secured the all-important passes which opened, as the case might be, Dauphiny to Italy, or Piedmont and Lombardy to France: Venice, the old friend of France, was heavily mulcted, and reduced in power: Florence, the paymoney of the Pope, was handed over, a slave, to the tyrant rule of a bastard of the Medicean House, Alexander, the first Duke.

Thus with an aristocratic Republic at Genoa, which secured his entrance into Italy and the safe transit of Spanish troops

¹ M. du Bellay, *Collect. Univ.* xviii. p. 128, and Duplex, quoted in the *Observation* on the passage: 'De ce beau mélange il ne revint aux François que perte, honte, et confusion, et au Chancelier particulièrement blâme et reproche.'

² 'His conduct [the Duke of Savoy's] reminds one of that formerly pursued by the Dukes of Lorraine as well as the Dukes of Bavaria. Their geography prevents them from being men of honour.' The Prince of Ligne's *Memoirs of Prince Eugene*, ed. 1811, p. 34.

from across the Mediterranean, with a hereditary Duke at Florence dependent on him; with the dangerous powers to right and left, Venice and Milan, strongly curbed, the conqueror had Italy at his feet: she became a mere bridge between Spain and Germany. All the old barriers were gone: the way to universal empire seemed open to the rising fortunes of the House of Austria: the fresh-blossoming culture of the Renaissance was trodden down like flowers on the hard pathway of contending ambitions. And Charles felt all this: he was resolved to go forth into the world as a great monarch; the coronation at Bologna was the fitting prelude to this grand advance. The headship of the secular world which he hoped to establish was there consecrated by the head of the spiritual world. Once more the alliance of the Holy Roman Empire with the Papacy was declared to mankind: a chequered struggle lasting a quarter of a century was to follow, and to end with the final overthrow of this grand medieval theory of the world's government. Charles V was the last Emperor crowned in Italy. After him, the House of Habsburg had other able and ambitious princes; but their aim was no longer that of a great domination in Europe; they sought 'to turn the German empire into an Austrian military monarchy¹.'

No longer shall there be treaties managed by the ladies, nor war led by half-independent captains, nor Turks knocking imperiously at the Iron Gate, nor the new ideas in religion like a sharp wedge, cleaving Germany asunder. The Spanish days are over; the silent, pondering, almost timid young man stands forward from the moment of his coronation as the world's centre, cautious still, slow-moving, deliberate in act and wary, but a real king among men. He no longer will listen to the vehement but kindly and moderate Cardinal Gattinara, whose voice was ever in favour of gentle dealing with the struggling parties in Germany: he now feels the influence of a very different personage, Cardinal Granvelle from Franche-

¹ Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire* (ed. 1864), p. 137.

Comté, a somewhat low-minded, strong, cunning personage, the author of that system which Charles V now began, the system of 'disciplining Europe'.¹ His former rivals, Henry of England, Francis of France, shrink away before him, as he towers head and shoulders higher than the highest monarchs of the world.

¹ Michelet, *Histoire de France*, viii. p. 331 (ed. 1855).

BOOK III.

THE LAST OF THE VALOIS.

A.D. 1530-1589.

INTRODUCTION.

THE defeat of Pavia and its consequences weakened, if they did not actually ruin, the character and the consideration of Francis I. He returned to find France disordered, miserable, even defiant; and with impaired strength of body and moral character was called on to assert his position among the powers of Europe, and to hold with enfeebled hand the intricate threads of French policy at a most critical time. So great a trial coming on a weakened nature ended, as might have been expected, in a terrible failure. Stern severity, self-devotion, thrift, singleness of aim, were the qualities needed in the man who should carry France through the coming troubles: instead of these, we find a gay and gallant prince, artistic, literary, kindly, but with nothing strong or heroic in his composition. He pardoned all Charles of Bourbon's people, even the traitorous Bishop of Autun; 'he took vengeance on no man, but forgave all who returned to him and sought for mercy'.¹ He was also, as Sismondi says², 'a complete stage-prince, thinking only of the momentary effect, forgetful of consequences, apt to pass swiftly from one excess to another.' How could such a leader prosper?

¹ Du Bellay, *Collect. Univ.* xvii. p. 279.

² Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, xvi. p. 455 (ed. 1833), 'Prince tout théâtral.'

There is no period of French history so complicated as that of the five or six years from 1530 to 1536; none which required sounder judgment or more patient handling; none so critical for the ultimate fortunes of France. It is hardly too much to say that these years decided the whole future of French politics and national life.

It is among the gravest of the misfortunes of France that at this moment she entrusted herself to one so brilliant and so uncertain. The ship that rides at one anchor needs in the storm to have that anchor strong and true, not merely bright and polished. This is just where Francis failed: artistic taste, ready wit, intelligence, he had; but the sound qualities which alone could secure safety in the storm were wanting. That terrible doctrine that the King is the 'fountain of justice' and above law, received full credit in his days; 'We know,' says the Parliament of Paris to Francis, 'we know well that you are above the laws; we venture to say that you ought not to will nor would desire to will all that you can'; thus the lawyers destroy all true duty, and then appeal to a vague higher law to which royalty shall be responsible. No wonder that Francis trampled them under foot, even as he had crushed the turbulent nobles, with new and terrible penalties; as he broke on the wheel those who robbed with arms in hand, or committed murder, and issued fresh enactments against any who coined money, so he crushed all independence of the law, and made the submissive conservatism of the legal mind a passive instrument of his autocratic will.

The Treaty of Cambrai¹ marks the beginning of the most ruinous period of the policy of Francis: he sacrificed his allies to what seemed to be his private interests, showing a selfishness which recoiled with vehemence on his own head. In the Treaty of Madrid he had sacrificed France by giving up the Duchy of Burgundy, and had sent his children into captivity that he might himself get out: at Cambrai he sacrificed his

¹ See above, p. 213.

Italian allies without a word; no consideration of honour, or of royal faith, availed to stay his hand. By these two treaties France was excluded from Italy, her earthly Paradise, a penalty which had in it the wholesome cleansing power of most misfortunes; had she but heroism enough, enough of strength and honest industry, enough of purity and simplicity, she might still make her own home, the France which teemed with blessings, a better Paradise for herself. Unfortunately, the French nation was left to its fate, while the Court never ceased to pursue with the eagerness of childhood the flattering prize of its Italian ambitions. While it strove to conquer Italy, Italy was completely and banefully mastering it; during these days the Court becomes thoroughly Italian. Francis himself, true to one love only, the love of letters, was fascinated by the Italian side of the Renaissance; he thought that all true culture must come thence. Consequently, Italian influences ever grew in strength, and with them grew the idea that at any sacrifice France must recover her foothold in the Peninsula. For this unsubstantial object she thrust from her her true greatness. Had Francis been guided by a Richelieu to shape his policy, how different the outcome would have been! But he was as unfortunate in his advisers as he was weak of grasp in his own character.

PART I.
THE AGE OF THE ITALIAN WARS.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF FRANCE, A.D. 1530-1536.

1. *France at Home.*

THE state of France at this time was far from being reassuring. The chroniclers of the day are for the most part silent as to the condition of the country, for that was of no interest to them; the courts of kings, the camp and shows of war, alone, as usual, attract attention, while the true history of the time, the growth and sway of thought, the well-being of the people, the healthy development of national life, are deemed scarcely worth a passing notice.

We gather that, especially in the west, the nobles had become very independent and freehanded since the mishaps of Pavia and Madrid: the Great Days of Poitiers were held in order to bring them under some control; here and there a nobleman was brought to the block, a castle or two levelled to the ground, and heavy penalties inflicted on turbulent robbers. A document of this time tells us what ought to be the elements of a noble house; we see that a small family was even then deemed essential. A gentleman must not have more than three sons; if he is rich, then the eldest son and one of the others must be soldiers, and the third a churchman or a lawyer; if he be poor, then one only must follow arms, the other two the pro-

A.D. 1530.

THE STATE OF FRANCE.

221

fessions; exception is taken to medicine, which no gentleman should follow. The eldest son should have no children; there must be as few daughters as possible; 'they are the ruin of houses'; fortunately there are convents. In the selfish narrowness of these precepts we see the reason for the decay of all true nobleness in the great houses of France. Meanwhile there was growing up a powerful body of wealthy citizens in the towns, who had no wish for any reforms or constitutional freedoms: the small landholders in the country were gradually absorbed by them, being reduced by bad seasons and the difficulties of tillage to sell their little heritages at a low price to those who had money to buy.

Society still detested the usurer and financier, who seemed to flourish on mismanagement and to fatten while others starved. Louise of Savoy hated them, though she ought to have had some sympathy with them: Francis saw that their punishment would be both popular and profitable, and squeezed them accordingly; he perhaps did not know that in his own mother's chests was stored up untold ill-gotten wealth, and that just vengeance ought to have begun with her.

Meanwhile the seasons were bad, and famine and pestilence raged for five years from 1528; 'the elements all seemed to have conspired against mankind to execute the judgment of God'.¹ No wholesome frosts came all these years; the insects and vermin multiplied, so that they were a plague, eating up the fruits of the earth. The luckless peasants were fain to fill themselves with the refuse of gardens; when this resource failed they wandered abroad and gathered what they could in the fields; mallows, thistles, weeds more or less wholesome, these they seethed in caldrons, adding, if they were so lucky as to have it, a handful of bran; they made them bread of beech-mast, of acorns, even of fern roots; on these they miserably subsisted. 'Great pity was to see bands of poor women, thin, weary, and starved with cold and hunger,

¹ J. I. Marcouville, in *Cimber et Danjou*, Archives Curieuses, I. iii. p. 408.

surrounded by their children in like case, who from sore famine cried and wailed to their mothers, while these looked at them so piteously that methinks nothing can be compared to it¹. Great numbers perished. The taxes were as heavy as ever. One can see in the pages of Rabelais how grim was the contrast between the thriftless waste at court and the sunken cheeks and ragged garb that covered the bone and sinew of France.

For the Court was never more gay or brilliant. Young princes came from Germany, 'a coarser nation,' to get polish there; for all allowed that French manners were very pretty and polite. And the royal expenditure went merrily on. The 'King of culture' could not stay his hand. We have a list of the outgoings of the Privy Purse² from the year 1528, the very year in which this distress began; there we read of payments for pictures and sculpture, singers and organists; to a musician for a new spinet; for three boxes of musical instruments, for a splendid bronze horse and its rider, for costly jewels, a diamond cross, priceless pearls, and the like; for furs, velvets, and silks of Genoa; for rare trees from Provence, to be planted at Fontainebleau; for beasts and birds from Tunis; for the charges of a menagerie, 'eight horses, four camels, six ostriches, an ounce, a lion, eleven pair of birds, and eight hares from Fez'; a large sum to a Spaniard for his skill at cards, and for pastime therein; for a horse for the King's cook, so that he might be always at hand to make the royal soup; a subvention to Lodovico Alamanni to buy type to print his poems, help to certain Swiss scholars, salaries and rewards for the King's newly-established chairs of languages and mathematics; lastly, a continual drain of money to pay and feed the eighteen hundred artisans who for twelve years following were employed on the grand buildings at Chambord. All this on a disordered and empty exchequer, which had been exhausted by every kind of mismanagement, and specially by the vast cost of the Piedmontese and Milanese

¹ Goulart in Cimber et Danjou, Archives Curieuses, p. 374.

² Cimber et Danjou, ib. p. 79.

garrisons, which had by this time been entirely swept away, and the whole outlay on them wasted. For the good of the country there was nothing: if any of the aims of good government demanded money, there was but one reply—the purse is empty: but if these splendid and needless proofs of good taste and culture had to be secured, the means could always be found. Thus, after Provence had suffered untold evils from the hand of Anne of Montmorenci, who had been ordered to ravage it lest the Imperialists should find sustenance there, the luckless Provençals, utterly ruined and helpless, could not obtain the remission of a single tax, nor a penny to help them in rebuilding their houses¹ or in restocking their land.

The condition of society may be seen by the affair of Lyons in 1529. The King sent orders that the city should complete its fortifications: the town was poor;—how should the money be raised? The notables and artisans in convocation considered whether a tax should be laid on wine or on corn. Thereon 'Messire Campèse called Champier,' in a learned speech proved conclusively that free-trade in corn was far more essential to the welfare of the city than free-trade in wine, and it was agreed to tax the wine that came in. Hereon vinegrowers, innkeepers, and sots, 'good bibbers who haunted taverns more than churches,' having well drunk, rushed out, sacked Campèse's house and the houses of the chief corn-merchants, and threw the whole place into wild disorder. The rioters were not only enthusiasts for wine but were against images, and broke down the statues of Christ and the saints. It was with difficulty that quiet was at last restored. The Gargantua of Rabelais appeared in the very year in which this riot took place.

These evils were but symptoms of a general lawlessness: the vices of the Court spread far and wide: the clergy grew very corrupt and careless, or were touched with the new ideas in religion and became restless; the nobles, as we have seen, were

¹ Something was sent to Aix to help to rebuild the Palais de Justice there. That was all.

tainted by the example of Charles of Bourbon, and by the weakness of the central authority at this time: the people, in despair at famine, taxes, plagues, were reckless and indolent.

2. *The State of Feeling and Parties in France.*

During this period the King fluctuates between the new and the old: he sympathises with the intellectual movement of the time, and to some extent with the religious revival, while he hates and fears the 'King of Paris,' Beda, the head of the Sorbonnist party. 'In 1522 in December, my son and I,' writes Louise of Savoy, 'by the grace of the Holy Spirit, began to know who were hypocrites, white, black, grey, smoky, and of every colour, from whom may God of His infinite clemency and bounty defend us; for if Christ be true, there is no more dangerous generation in all the world than these¹.' A singular entry by the hand of one whose whole influence for the remainder of her life (she died in 1531) was dedicated to the support of the stricter Catholic party. It is to be explained, even as the changes in the conduct of Francis are to be accounted for. Mother and son sympathised with letters against scholasticism, with Erasmus against the Monks, with the Biblicists against the Sorbonne. But they took no pleasure in the religious element of the Reformation, and were scared, as Frenchmen are wont to be, by the excesses of the extremer section. The Anabaptist troubles were the 'red spectre' which drew them back into the arms of the champions of order. The Anabaptists struck at kingship and at learning as well; they committed great excesses; the interests, instincts, tastes, of the French Court were alike shocked; and men did not care to distinguish between those who pushed one side of the Reformation on to communism, and those who tried to harmonise religion with learning and human progress.

At this time the later French Protestantism of Calvin had not yet come up. The peasant war in Franconia, the Anabaptist

¹ Mémoires de Louise de Savoye, in the Collection Universelle, xvi. p. 434.

troubles, the popular onslaught from Germany on Lorraine in 1525, 1526, the disturbances in North Switzerland, the death of Zuingli on the battlefield of Kappel—these were the outward signs of the Reform-movement, as they displayed themselves to Francis. The Reformation of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had tried to discover the true relations between Faith and Reason, between S. Paul and Aristotle, and, appealing to a very narrow circle, failed to become a general or a national movement: the Reformation of our own age appears to have to adjudicate between Faith and Science, and is yet in the outset of its struggles; but the Reformation of the sixteenth century had to reconcile Faith and Liberty, authority and discovery, obedience and enquiry. In France there was throughout the age a middle-party, a school of politicians, who were both cultivated and intelligent, but who for the most part set the religious question aside. They would introduce Learning to the Church, and make peace between them: they did not like the harsh cold worship (as they thought it) of the reformed conventicles; they enjoyed the artistic beauty and splendour of the older worship, and desired to unite it with scholarship and knowledge. We make a great mistake when we divide people in those days into Catholic and Protestant. The divisions now so familiar then scarcely existed: the true distinction, for France at least, lay between the learned and the unlearned; and the French Court would certainly have rejoiced in a scholarlike toleration which might have united the nation. But for this there was needed less passion and more cultivation than the age was likely to see: and, in fact, the growing alarm and increasing strictness of the Catholic party soon made it impossible to find common ground. From this failure in grasping the essential motives of the Reformation come many of the weaknesses of the reign of Francis; to this we owe the civil wars which rendered France powerless for the remainder of the century.

Thus Francis, as head of the Court-party, the party of the Renaissance, stood between the reforming movement and the movement of reaction. To stand somewhat aloof from both,

to play them against one another, to quiet them, to repress extremes, punishing overt acts of bad taste (as the image-breaking in Paris and elsewhere), to rehearse, in a word, the part afterwards played by Catherine dei Medici—this was to be the King's work in France. Yet a bolder policy was possible, even tempting; but the difficulty was that Francis had neither faith nor firmness. It was no doubt a hard position: if he sided too much with the Reformers, he endangered peace at home,—for France had no sympathy with the German movement; whereas, if he repressed them severely, he lost his hold on English good-will, on his North German friends, on the Swiss Reformers, whether of Zurich or of Geneva. With the inevitable fate of weakness, Francis both alienated his foreign friends and left behind him a legacy of discord and war at home.

On the one side of him were the high Catholics, supported, at the end of her life, by Louise of Savoy, and led by Beda and the Sorbonne. Their 'secular arm' was Anne of Montmorency, the brutal devotee, the typical fanatic of ignorance and reaction; their supporter at the King's side Diana of Poitiers, who became the centre of the high Catholic party towards the close of the monarch's life. These again were backed by the good-will of the people, of that 'false democracy',—the 'people' of the Sorbonne, a little later the 'people' of the League, then the 'people' of the Jesuits,—a democracy which, especially at Paris, showed itself throughout this period hostile to the better interests of France, and liable to be swayed by clerical and intolerant passions. The leaders of this party leant on Spain, and sought to draw nearer to Charles V.

On the other side stood Margaret, the King's sister, with her group of pleasant and learned men. The Du Bellays, statesmen, scholars and great nobles, who understood what France needed, to whom we owe so much of the light we get as to the history of this period, were warm supporters of her policy; we find them at all the Protestant courts, at diets, at every place in

¹ Michelet, *Hist. de France*, viii. 370 (ed. 1855).

which the anti-Spanish foreign policy of France might be advanced. She was also supported by the influence of Anne, Duchess of Étampes, the King's mistress, 'the fairest of the learned, and most learned of the fair,' who, after her court days were over, died a devout Protestant. This group of intelligent and in the main patriotic persons desired to see France allied with Henry VIII, with the German Protestants, even with the Pope sometimes, always with the Sultan; they had one ruling dread, the fear of the Emperor's supremacy. This party was split up into lesser sections; it embraced Margaret's own friends, who were mystical, pious, and anxious for reform by gentle means, by education and moral suasion; these were such as Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux, and Lefevre: it included also the humanists, the learned and somewhat rationalist scholars, who attracted the good-will and enjoyed the protection of Francis: it also embraced the Protestants, properly so called, men who, like Farel and Calvin, were destined to impress on Latin Protestantism its peculiar character. Behind all these were the zealots, the image-breakers, citizens with a thirst for martyrdom, fearless exponents of their one idea, the men whom one can respect, but who proved fatal to their party, and to the fortunes of reform in France. These sections were steadily, even with exercise of arbitrary power and violence, sheltered by Francis and Margaret from the vehemence of the Sorbonne, sometimes even snatched from its eager clutch. Legal authority, the bulk of the clergy, the Parliament of Paris, the people, all attacked the innovators, and sought to involve in one ruin the Renaissance with the Reform: Francis defending the one threw his protection also round the other. But we must remember that neither he nor Margaret were Protestants. Zuingli might be welcome to dedicate to him his Confession, for Francis felt that the reformer and he had a common foe in Charles V; Calvin might address his 'Institution' to him¹, and the King be charmed by the pure and graceful Latinity of the

¹ In 1535.

French scholar: yet the King was not of them: he wished them well, but would sacrifice them without hesitation, if his political aims seemed to demand it. When the recovery of his children from Madrid was seen to be contingent on his throwing himself into the party of Diana of Poitiers and Montmorency, he did not hesitate to turn his back on his sister, on reform, on toleration.

In 1528 it is probable that three men, types of these three parties, were in Paris together—Loyola, Rabelais, Calvin. Their names alone suffice to show how vain must have been the thought that the Renaissance could ever become a middle term between reaction and reform.

3. *The Foreign Policy of the Kingdom.*

Closely connected with the fortunes of these parties was the foreign policy of the kingdom. France in 1530 was in the tight embrace of the Emperor's power. If we look round her borders we see on how many sides Charles could threaten her.

Navarre was, to a large extent, in his hands: then came the Spanish frontier to the sea: the Mediterranean, since the fatal defection of Andrew Doria, was a 'Spanish lake,' at least in its western waters. Then Charles had secured the chief Alpine passes which threaten Provence and Dauphiny, and had schemes against Geneva. The Duke of Savoy was his ally, laying France bare as far as to Lyons; Franche-Comté was his, Luxemburg also, and the borderlands of Hainault and Flanders. A glance at the map shows at once how much the independence of France was menaced. And how should she defend herself? First, and above all, by a fresh burst of national life, of such a heroism as common interests and common dangers could have well evoked in a warlike and high-spirited people, had they not been bewildered and divided by the uncertainties of royal policy and intrigue: next it was clear that all the nations which dreaded the Spanish-German power must seek the alliance of France, and look to her as the head of the resistance to universal monarchy. But

in this scattered outer circle, composed of England, Gelderland, Cleves, the German Protestant Princes, Geneva, Piedmont and the Milanese, the Papacy, Venice, and the Turk, the weakness arising from disunited geographical position and diverse political interests was intensified by the fact that Francis cared most for Italy, which could give little or no help, while his policy was complicated by a desire to win over the Papacy: for a time the Pope joined hands with the Protestants; an alliance which could not be sound: the brilliant career of Mahomet II and Ibrahim his vizir probably saved Europe from subjection to the Austro-Spanish influences; yet Western Europe could not cordially join hands with this Oriental and infidel power. Consequently the policy of France was always liable to terrible fluctuations. In his hope of recovering Milan Francis let himself be deluded by Charles, and alienated his true friends, bartering solid advantages for shadowy dreams. His whole policy was tortuous and faithless; thus at the moment when he declares that he is eager to fight the enemy of the Faith, he had a confidential agent in Soliman's court at Constantinople, who was actually making terms of alliance and mutual help with the Paynim: in 1531 he offered to occupy Italy for Charles V with fifty thousand men, so as to set the Emperor free to attack the Turk;—as if Charles would relish such a French occupation of the much-coveted lands to retain which he had struggled, schemed, and fought.

4. *The Literary Aspect of the Age.*

These years are marked by a fresh outburst of literary and artistic power. The pleasant vein of Marot's verse, the weird humour of Rabelais, with its coarseness of expression, its astonishing common sense, its advanced opinions veiled under Pantagruel's mask, the grave theology and political writings of Calvin, are all of this time; Budaeus, the learned Greek scholar, was 'the prodigy of France,' as Erasmus politely styles him.

Yet the list is slight and meagre; the presence of the one giant, the parent of Gargantua, the most original of French authors, alone redeems the literature from insignificance. The printing-press, under the fostering hand of Francis I, and managed by the rare ability of the two Estiennes, Henry and Robert¹, the latter an author of mark as well as a printer, teemed with learned works, and daily grew in power, until when Francis, in 1535, gave way before the Sorbonne, and issued an edict for the abolition of the Press, it was found impossible to put it in execution; the less severe measure of a Censorship was enacted in its stead.

Yet even in letters absolutism, in its interested alliance with the general movement of Renaissance, sought to substitute for the independence which learning had enjoyed within its own sphere a regulated system dependent on the royal will. If in one way the classical revival was a great advance on the scholasticism which had ruled supreme in earlier days, in another way it had a distinct tendency to bring in a new absolutist, or even an imperialist series of ideas. This tendency is to be traced in the appointment at this time of Regius Professors²; who were royal nominees, imposed on the University of Paris at the King's bidding, and expected to teach as he wished, and to replace the older and more independent machinery of the Regent-Masters, who hitherto had held the education of the University entirely in their own hands, unfettered save by the all-powerful bonds of ancient use. The new teachers, and their position as exponents of the new learning, made them the natural antagonists of the Sorbonne, which wrapped the University in its dark shadow, and forbade the light.

Francis fully recognised the value of Erasmus, and made every effort to get him to Paris, as his first President of the proposed College of the three languages. But Erasmus loved

¹ There were four 'Stephani' in all; but the second Henry and Charles belong to a later age.

² These Professors answer closely, in all respects, to the Regius Professors planted by Henry VIII at Oxford and Cambridge.

his ease and safety too much, and would not come. Nor indeed did the royal College prove much more than a great and beautiful dream. There were to be six Professors, but the King gave them no permanent footing, built them neither lecture-rooms nor living-quarters. He talked of six hundred scholars, but they were never gathered together. The proposal for a higher education was aimed at the dull scholasticism of the Sorbonne; and if persevered with might have done very much for France in this century; but the King had not the vigour to carry out his own idea.

Art was more fortunate, and more ruinous to the state, which at this time needed not the luxuries but the necessities of life. Much housebuilding of an elaborate kind went on; Italian architects and artists were brought over to guide and ornament these sumptuous palaces of royalty; they brought with them what was sensual in Raphael's school, and displayed it to the admiration of the French¹; the native French school, represented by Jean Goujon the sculptor, and Jean Cousin the painter, was almost lost under the brilliancy of the Italian work, which flourished in the warm ripeness of decay.

From this whole review it is borne in on us that, while other nations were in the fresh promise of a new life, France was only amusing herself with the later influences of the Renaissance: there is a want of depth and seriousness; her King is heartless and faithless, the Court full of intrigue, the Church corrupt, the burghers wealthy, content to let things be, the poor folk fanatically or densely ignorant, according as they dwelt in town or country. During this age no States-General are convoked: the desire of the cities for some independence is rudely shaken; conventions of nominated nobles are called now and again; but what can they represent except the royal will? The lawyers repress all freedom of thought wherever they can; the Sorbonne rules triumphant in the theological world; taxation is quite arbitrary, either granted without any

¹ As at Chambord, Saint-Germain, and specially Fontainebleau.

effort to connect with it the securing of political liberties, or, if refused, then levied by force: that resolute bargaining and constitutional progress which marked the growth of Parliamentary institutions in England is wanting in France; the connexion between taxation and representation is unknown, because representation had become unknown. The reasons which made the Reformation movement so slight and unsuccessful in France are all here; but it will be well to defer their consideration for a while, and to trace instead the political struggle of Francis and Charles to its close.

CHAPTER II.

THE SECOND WAR BETWEEN FRANCIS I AND

CHARLES V. A.D. 1535-1538.

WHEN Francis consented to the Peace of Cambrai, he did so with no thought of abiding by it longer than it suited him; at the time he protested that the peril of his sons, which was certainly real enough, was a kind of compulsion. When they were safe, the Dauphin having returned with enfeebled health¹, and Henry coming back dark and gloomy, a grave Spaniard rather than a gay Frenchman, the King eagerly looked out for excuses and means of war. These were not far off.

In 1531 Louise, his mother, died, leaving in her coffers a million and a half crowns of gold, the fruits of long and pitiless exactions wrung from France. This vast sum the King at once seized, and had never in all his life been so well off. With it he built palaces, reformed his army, got ready for war. Nor were external affairs unpromising. The Turks, who after Mohacz (1526) had established themselves in Hungary, menaced Vienna in 1529, and were eager again to attack the Austrian power; Henry VIII of England, pressing on his divorce-suit at Rome, was bitterly hostile to the Emperor, and ready for close alliance with France. Moreover, the great League of Smalkald, the union of the Princes against the Empire, of Protestantism against repression, had been formed in 1531, and was already stretching out friendly hands to Francis. Jean du

¹ Francis, the Dauphin, died in 1536.

Bellay the statesman, the friend and protector of Rabelais, was sent to Germany to watch over French interests. But the Emperor yielded, referred the religious difficulty to the coming Council, and Germany showed thereupon so bold a front on her eastern borderland that the Turks recoiled, and the combination failed: failing only, however, to be renewed on the same lines three years later.

Francis, in fact, was not much in earnest at that moment; his political creed was scarcely defined: the rule 'Catholic at home, Protestant abroad', was hereafter to be the key of French policy under Henry IV and under Richelieu, but as yet was hardly understood. The threat of separation from Rome which Francis made through his two Cardinals in 1532 was not very serious; he used it to frighten Clement from an Austro-Spanish policy; for he wanted his help in carrying out his Milanese project. Clement, dreading the threatened Council far more than the King's suggestion of a schism, puzzled how to free himself from the divorce-complication, eager above all to advance his family by every means in his power, with one hand gave Catherine dei Medici² to France, and with the other tried to conciliate Charles by condemning Henry VIII. By the compact of Marseilles (A.D. 1533) he both raised high the credit of the Medici, and broke up the alliance between Francis and Henry of England.

The marriage of Henry, the King's second son, with Catherine dei Medici, which took place in 1533, brought many evils and no good to France. The promised dower of Catherine was never paid, the Italian cities she was to bring with her were not hers to bring; Clement died the next year, and Papal intrigue had to begin over again. The Protestants regarded his new alliance with suspicion, and connected it with the King's severities against the French reformers; his union with England was broken off.

¹ La Vallée, *Histoire des Français*, II. p. 338.

² Clement was not legitimate; Catherine is called his niece. She was daughter of Lorenzo II dei Medici, Duke of Urbino. At the time of her marriage she was but thirteen, and her boy-husband only fifteen.

At home, however, his power grew. The inexhaustible fertility of France gave him resources; his nobles were eager for fresh war; his mother's fortune still remained in part. He now reformed the war-power of the country, which on paper at least was very formidable. Not forgetful of his classical tastes, he ordained that seven 'Legions,' of six thousand men apiece¹, after the Roman pattern, should be levied: each legion to have a colonel, six captains of a thousand, twelve lieutenants, twenty-four ensigns, and sixty 'centeniers,' or centurions. The local spirit was to be encouraged, each legion coming from a separate district: Normandy, Brittany, Picardy, Languedoc, Guienne, were to furnish each one; the Duchy of Burgundy, Champagne, and Nevers one; and the last was to be levied in Dauphiny, Provence, Lyons, and Auvergne. But this great scheme was never carried out. Some of the legions were not formed at all, the captains round the King preferring mercenaries to national troops. In the later wars of Francis the French themselves take comparatively small part. The service of this militia was soon commuted for a tax, calculated to support fifty thousand infantry, drawn from Germany or elsewhere; and the army continued to be composed in the old way of bands of from three to four hundred men, each under its own captain².

Excuses for war were easy to find. In 1533 one of the King's agents, Maraviglia, stationed at Milan, had been tried and beheaded, at the instigation, it was thought, of the Emperor. Francis at once protested, and prepared to attack the Duke of Milan. His Protestant friends in Germany, especially the Landgrave of Hesse, made a compact with him. They would attack Austria, while France fell on Italy; and would force Ferdinand to reinstate Ulrich, Duke of Wurtemberg.

¹ In all 42,000, of whom 30,000 were to be pikemen, and the remainder arquebusiers.

² The name Regiment does not appear till later; the legion of Guienne when reformed in 1565 is called a Regiment; that of Dauphiny, Provence, &c. became in 1567 the 'Regiment de Dauphiné.'

The Emperor was seriously alarmed: the Turks were ever dangerous in the east, and the Princes in the west, of Germany. He concluded the Peace of Kadan (1534), in which the Protestants won a great victory in the reinstatement of Duke Ulrich; secularised Church property was secured to the Princes; and in return Ferdinand was recognised by John Frederick Elector of Saxony, the head of the League, as King of the Romans. French subsidies had helped to bring about this result. This Peace is the first solid triumph won in Germany by the party of the Reformation. Lutheranism now spread rapidly from state to state, from city to city.

The Germans being thus bought off, Charles turned his attention to the Turks: he had for some time meditated a great blow at their power, intending to cripple it on the Mediterranean, and thus to render its active junction with France a thing impossible. At this time, while Charles was master of the western portion of the great sea, Soliman was all-powerful on the eastern side: roughly speaking, the long peninsula of Italy marked the bounds of their preponderance: Charles to the west of it, and along its western coasts; Soliman to the east, and up its Adriatic shore. But the younger Barbarossa¹, the seafaring rival of Andrew Doria, had succeeded his brother at Algiers, where he had a half-independent, half-corsair stronghold, a menace to Spain and Italy. He was under the protection of Soliman, and Admiral of all his fleets. His power grew. He fortified Algiers, took Tunis, and threatened the western supremacy of the Spanish and Genoese. A successful blow struck at him would secure the coasts of Italy, cripple Soliman, and paralyse the Milanese schemes of Francis. Wherefore Charles decided to take the step. First, however, the subtle Emperor, supported by the Pope, in order to put the French King in the wrong, summoned him to join this new crusade. Naturally Francis stood aloof, hoping that the expe-

¹ Khair-Eddyn, or Hareddin; the elder, Arondj, had perished fighting against the Spaniards in 1518.

dition by failing might be a weakness to his rival; he felt certain that at any rate it must exhaust the Emperor's narrow resources. But the result was different: Charles speedily defeated Barbarossa, took Tunis, and rescued a whole host of Christian captives, with whom he sailed back triumphant, the champion of Christendom. The whole was achieved in two months and a half: half the Emperor's great task seemed to be accomplished; the other half was to be done twelve years later on the field of Mülberg.

As a reply to this move of Charles, Francis and Soliman now for the first time made open alliance. The capitulations between them were first commercial (and these were made public, giving France many privileges and advantages in the Levant; and secondly political (which were kept secret), stipulating that Francis should attack the Milanese, while Soliman's fleets made a descent and diversion on the Neapolitan coasts.

Opportunely, just as Francis was beginning to fulfil his part of the contract, Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, died (Oct. 1535), and left no heir. Antonio Leyva at once entered the Milanese with a small force, and occupied it in the Emperor's name; for the fief had escheated to its over-lord. Thereon Francis, preluding with flimsy and frivolous claims, such as the rights of Louise of Savoy, which had been given up long ago, pushed his army forward into Piedmont, and hung like a thunder-cloud on the mountains over the Lombard plain. The Spaniards were very weak there, and with prompt vigour Francis might speedily have subdued the whole district. But he acted with incredible weakness. He entrusted the keys of the Piedmontese territory, all-important for his scheme of war, not to one of his sure captains, but to a shifty Italian, the Marquis of Saluzzo, who soon sold them to the highest bidder. He also allowed the astute Charles to delude him with negotiations: Milan was 'the apple dangled before the eyes of the big child', who could not resist the bait: Charles, who was now

¹ Michelet, *Histoire de France*, viii. 388 (ed. 1855).

at Naples, offered to invest with it the Duke of Angoulême, the King's third son, on condition that the Duchy should never be united to the Crown of France, that Francis should abandon his allies, leave Genoa free, and aid the Emperor against the Turks and Protestants. Francis replied, in effect, that he would willingly throw over his friends, if the Emperor would invest, not Charles his third son, but Henry his second. This was enough for the Emperor—he made delays, amused his rival, stopped the forward movement, saved the Milanese: he gathered force, negotiated with Henry of England, and came as far as Rome, thus drawing nearer to the scene of action.

And here he played a new and singular part; the curtain which conceals this dark statesman, this consummate actor, is lifted for a moment, and we see an explosion of long-pent-up scorn and anger, contempt and pride, which is splendid in its contrast to the studied moderation and humility of the Emperor's usual manner. Accompanied by the envoy of France, Velly, Bishop of Macon, and the ambassadors of Venice, Charles proceeded to the Consistory, where he quietly conversed with such Cardinals as were present. Paul III, informed of his visit, came down from his chamber, and the Pope and Emperor leant against the end of a bed in the room. Charles then told the Pope that he had something of weight to address to him, and that he wished to say it in presence of the sacred College, and indeed in public. Thereon all present formed a semi-circle round the foot of the bed; in the first line were the French envoys; behind them in an outer circle the Venetians and many other notable persons, ambassadors, prelates, dukes, counts and barons. Then the Emperor, his bonnet in his hand, began to speak in Spanish, pausing from time to time and dropping his head to read from a little slip of paper which he had wound round his finger¹. His speech, so carefully prepared, so studiously arranged for effect, must have fallen on astonished ears. He began by alluding to his desire for a

¹ Du Bellay, *Mémoires*, Bk. V, Collect. Univ. xix, p. 67-81.

general Council; passing quickly thence he declared he had ever wished to be friendly with the King of France, and still desired that all differences might be arranged—but that he had ever found him so unreasonable a prince that he was compelled to describe all that had passed between them, and lay it before the most august assemblage in Christendom. He then reviewed the past at length; referred to his own complicity with Francis in 1515, declared how Francis had taken advantage of him in every way, how he had opposed him in 1519, when the Empire was vacant; how they had fought at Pavia; how Francis had broken his solemn oaths of Madrid, had made a League in Italy against him, had been compelled to make the Ladies' Peace in 1529, had broken his word again, had allied himself to the Turk, had traitorously offered to garrison Italy with fifty thousand men, had fomented the troubles in Germany, and had helped the Landgrave of Hesse with money; that at the present time he was troubling Italy, and had intended to invade it, had the Tunis expedition proved a failure; that he had demanded the Duchy of Milan; that he had even consented to let Francis have it on reasonable terms, to which the King would not accede; and he added thereto other grievances to no small length. In conclusion Charles, to show his genuine love of peace, and to justify himself before God and man, and to prove that he was not so ambitious of universal empire as the French declared, offered the King his choice of three alternatives. First, the Duchy of Milan for one of the sons of France,—but not for the Duke of Orleans,—on condition of a firm and durable peace being made, and of the King's help against heretics and infidels: or secondly, he offered single combat, on some island, or some bridge, or in a boat moored in stream, to be fought out with sword or dagger and in their shirts, if Francis wished it so; and this on condition that the victor should do his utmost to get the Council held, to extirpate heresy, to arrest the Turks; the Duchy of Milan on the one hand, the Duchy of Burgundy on the other, to be deposited as stakes: or thirdly and lastly, he offered war, regretfully, because he saw that the

Turk alone would be the real gainer by it. If the King chose this alternative, it should be war to the knife—and it should make one or other prince the poorest gentleman in his country, and he prayed that this mishap might fall not on himself, but on the King of France. He added his grounds for believing that it would so fall out: right was on his side, Francis was the aggressor; the King's attack was reckless, and the time ill-chosen; his own subjects were loyal and his captains tried, whereas those of France were such 'that were his like them, he would gladly tie his own hands and put the rope round his neck, and so go to beg mercy at his rival's feet.' Once more protesting that he longed for peace, the Emperor closed this long and startling speech.

After this public insult, Francis could but fight. And yet at the critical moment his resources failed, or his heart gave way, or his Turkish allies helped little: he withdrew his army, began to chaffer instead of boldly pushing on, and made no effort to hinder the Marquis of Saluzzo from handing over his strong places in Savoy to the Emperor: he at least could see clearly which prince was in the ascendent. By midsummer, 1536, the French had been swept out of Piedmont, the frontier defiles of Saluzzo and Nice lay bare; Charles, flushed with triumph, prepared to make a descent on Provence.

His wisest officers prayed him to forbear: Leyva, though crippled by the gout, had himself carried to the Emperor's feet, that he might beseech him to desist. But he refused to listen; there were many who urged him on, and in July he crossed the Var. Montmorency, charged with the defence, refused to fight, refused to garrison and hold the critical passages, and fell back on the barbarous plan of destroying the country, so as to render it impossible for a hostile army to live there. Provence was scoured by royal troops, burning and ruining farms, oliveyards, vineyards, villages, towns, even defenced cities. No bake-house or mill remained; hayricks and cornstacks were burnt, wine casks staved in, wells filled up with corn 'to corrupt the water.' No attempt was made to save anything; the stores

collected in fortified towns, even in Aix the capital, perished. The miserable inhabitants of that rich district saw with amazed eyes the inevitable famine, and the impending woes of hostile invasion¹. It was many years before Provence recovered from her ruin. Thousands of industrious inhabitants were starved. And at first the army of Charles found sustenance enough in the hidden stores which the hurry of swift destruction nearer to the frontier had overlooked; but this grew more and more precarious as the Germans and Spaniards pressed farther into Provence, where the desolation had not been so hurried: the lines of communication grew longer, the risks greater. Convoys from Toulon were often intercepted by the starving peasantry: the soldiers ate greedily of the unripe grapes and figs, and were carried off by dysentery: a quarter of the army was soon disabled. At Aix Charles wished to be crowned King of Arles and Provence, so reviving the old Imperial claims to those districts; but there was no man left to do it: in sullen gloom the clergy, Parliament, provincial nobles, had all withdrawn; there were no estates nor people to acclaim him as King, no archbishop to anoint and crown him. Charles had to abandon his intention, nor did it seem likely that he would gain any more substantial advantages from his inroad. An attempt on Marseilles failed; his convoys were pillaged; news came that disturbances in Liguria threatened his line of retreat; Leyva, his best captain, died of the epidemic raging in camp; Montmorency had seized Avignon, and had formed a strong entrenched camp between the Durance and the Rhone. There he collected all the mercenaries he could, Germans (or Swiss) against Germans², for both the royal and the Imperial army was drawn largely from Switzerland; and, with a hardness of heart worthy of the policy of Charles V of France, he sat in his lines and moodily contemplated the ruin of the fairest province of the realm.

¹ Du Bellay. *Collect. Univ.* xix. pp. 389, 390.

² *Ibid.* p. 364: 'Sa principale force gist aussi bien que la nostre en gens de langue Tudesque.' And again, p. 367: 'Vous avez les gens du pays si aguerris et si affectionnez au Prince, les Allemagnes voisines que je vous assure estre de bonne volonté vers le Roy et le chemin si ouvert à y faire descendre Allemans et Suisses, que,' &c.

Montmorency had wellnigh sixteen thousand Swiss in camp; he was a sharp disciplinarian, and though his army was made up of different nations, sects, and opinions, such order was maintained that his lines were like a well-governed city rather than a newly-formed and heterogeneous camp of soldiers¹. But whether he deemed his own military skill to be small², or thought that famine and the pest in his enemy's camp were his best friends, or whether he was already inclined towards that Spanish policy which he afterwards followed, we know not: certain it is that he stayed patiently in his lines, until at last the Emperor, weakened by want and suffering, hearing that the Dauphin Henry³ had come to Avignon, and that Francis with a strong force was advancing southwards from Valence, abandoned his plans, and with a shattered army withdrew slowly towards Italy. Even then the King's forces held back, and allowed him to pass unmolested through the perilous defiles of the Alps. Two months only had elapsed from the time when Charles had crossed the Var, flushed with his brilliant success in Africa; now with a ruined army and reputation dimmed, he recrossed that river, and leaving his soldiers at Nice to guard the frontier, passed on to Genoa, whence, escorted by Doria, he set sail for Spain.

Hostilities, faint and indecisive, continued in Italy and on the Netherland frontier; it was a war without plan or point, and deserves no notice here. But one incidental affair is of higher importance, and had results affecting European life and opinions.

Geneva, surrounded by perplexities and difficulties much like those which beset France, had the heart to take a clear and decided course, while the great nation hard by wavered and could not tell its mind. In these years (1532-1535) helped on the one hand by refugees who had fled from the severities of Francis, and on the other by Francis himself, who promised his support—for with characteristic French policy he oppressed in-

¹ Du Bellay, *Collect. Univ.* xx. p. 5.

² As says Belcarius, l. xxi. p. 681.

³ His elder brother, the Dauphin Francis, a young man of singular promise, had just died.

dependent thought at home, while he encouraged it abroad—Geneva made a great effort, and threw off her allegiance to her Bishop, her subordination to the Duke of Savoy. In the movements of Swiss reform Zurich had been the centre of life from 1519 to 1526; from that date to about 1532 the heart of Swiss life lay at Bern; but from this time onwards Geneva becomes the leading spirit.

In an unrivalled position, where Lake Lemman pours its blue waters into the 'arrowy Rhone,' built in the angle between that river and the Arve, lies Geneva, with her small territory thrust westward, like a little wedge of land, into the dominions of the Duke of Savoy. Geneva was by this time Swiss in spirit, though not yet in name one of the Helvetic Republics. A short time back Geneva had been the head-quarters of the friends of Rome and the Papacy, and the very hive whence mercenaries swarmed across into Italy: she was an eyesore to Savoy and France. Her position has something of that international character which marks all Switzerland: her position at the south-west corner of the confederation corresponds to that of Basel between France and Germany at the north-west: like Basel, she kept her gates open, a refuge to the oppressed, and became a vantage-point whence the oppressed might issue forth, with sword or pen, to avenge themselves. At this time, somewhat like her neighbour Lyons at an earlier moment, Geneva was vexed with three jurisdictions: she had the Bishop and his chapter as her clerical lords, the Duke of Savoy with his officers as her lay lords; and the burghers in their civic offices as the people's representatives, claiming for their town the rights and privileges of a free Imperial city. In 1533 these last declared in favour of the Reform movement¹, and drove out the Bishop; they had ejected the Duke's agents some years earlier. Bishop and Duke now joined hands with the encircling squires, and in 1534 tried to recover lost ground and crush the citizens; but Bern and Fribourg fell on the Pays de Vaud, which held of the Duke, and seized it;

¹ Finally and formally accepted in August 1535.

Lake Lemán breathed a new air of independence. Francis, glad to embarrass the Duke of Savoy, sent two successive bands of mercenaries to the help of the city; but the Duke was vigilant and scattered them both.

The three cities, Bern, Fribourg, Geneva, seeing that they must trust to themselves, next formed a solemn alliance, an 'Eidgenossenschaft,' as it was called; and from these 'Eidgenossen,' or 'Oath-partners,' comes the famed party-title, Huguenot. This League was purely Republican; the outcome of it was a civic republic, guided by the genius and fire of a Frenchman. John Calvin, a Picard of Noyon, who had begun life as a 'hot Papist,' who at Paris in his youth had listened with delight to the teachings of the Sorbonne, a few years later, at the age of twenty-five, in the days when Francis was bitterly persecuting the new opinions (1534, 1535), fled from France, first to Strasburg, then to Basel; there he published his 'Institutes of the Christian religion' in 1535, dedicating it to Francis I, and 'proclaiming therein,' as Guizot says, 'the grounds of the reformed faith, its rules of Church government, organisation, discipline, and its rights and duties in connexion with the state.' The book may seem stiff to us, and to have very little of a Republican tendency in it: only in one chapter, the last, is there any sketch of civil government; it throughout deals reverentially with the powers that be, and in its civil side (as also in dealing with episcopacy) hardly does more than touch on some of the more important and difficult problems of society: there is little of that democratic tone which we are wont to associate with our ideas as to Latin Christianity. For Calvin, in fact, heralds the second period of the Reformation; he was learned, skilled in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, wont to expound as a doctor rather than to appeal to the emotions like an enthusiast. 'He taught,' says Beza, 'not with affected eloquence, but with such deep knowledge, with so grave and solid a style, that all who heard him were ravished with admiration.' His was the thoughtful, measured, deliberate manner of one who has to build up, not the fire that purges or the storm wind that sweeps away.

And at Geneva in these years the thin grave Frenchman, with French logical precision, severity, and with the utmost sincerity, laid down that strict discipline, that stern exaction of a moral life, which makes his career at Geneva somewhat like the far more striking career of the great Reformer of Florence, Savonarola. In the struggle of parties he was cast out; but his narrow vigour, grim fighting-power, and fierce resistance, whether to Pope, or Anabaptist, or Arian, overbore all hostility, and he returned in 1541, to be thenceforward the virtual head of the new civic life, the representative of Genevan independence in Church and State. The work begun in south-western Switzerland by one Frenchman, Farel, was crowned and completed by another, Calvin; and Geneva stood firm on the edge of a hostile world, prepared alike for assault or for defence.

Meanwhile, far off, the repeated blows of Islam in the middle Danube Valley were beginning to shatter the bulwarks of Christendom; the terrible battle of Essek (in November 1537) completely overthrew Ferdinand's army, and bared the eastern frontier. Charles, overwhelmed with many anxieties, accepted the mediation of Paul III; the Conference of Nice, at which however the two monarchs did not meet, was held, and a ten-years' truce agreed to in 1538, on the condition that each party should hold what it then held. France thus got temporary possession, at least, of the valuable Upper-Rhone districts of Bresse and Bugey¹, together with the Alpine passes into Piedmont. It need hardly be added that the King cheerfully abandoned his outer politics, and left his friends to shift for themselves. He even agreed to have a private and friendly meeting with Charles at Aigues Mortes, the 'Dead Waters' near the Rhone mouths, where the bases of a new and disastrous policy were laid. Francis fell entirely under the influence of the Emperor; the moderates in France, the Protestants in Germany, were left to shift for themselves.

¹ Bresse and Bugey did not become permanently French till 1601.

CHAPTER III.

THIRD WAR BETWEEN FRANCIS I AND CHARLES V.

A.D. 1538-1547.

FRANCIS and Charles were old men long before their time. It was observed when they met that they both stammered, both were sickly and failing. Yet in 1538 Francis was but 44, and Charles only 38. So heavy had the burden of state cares been on them; so ruinous their vices and faults. Francis, after his fortieth year changed much: he withdrew to his new Palace of delights at Fontainebleau; there was his little Italy. As formerly, after his captivity in Spain, he had fitted up a luxurious house in the Vincennes wood and had called it Madrid, thinking by contrast to heighten pleasure, or to wash away the painful recollections of the past, so now at Fontainebleau he surrounded himself with Italian artists and learned men, to console himself somewhat for the failure of his schemes of ambition in the Peninsula. There French art also came and lent its aid; there was John du Bellay, his apologist-historian, and thither came Rabelais with his new book just writ. In this retreat the King's old tastes had full sway, his love of art, of literature, of discovery, were gratified; there his earlier mistress, Anne of Estampes, still ruled, and with her the moderate party seemed likely to prevail.

But after Aigues Mortes all this was changed. Anne of Montmorency, now made Constable, as a reward for his grim work in Provence, gained great ascendancy over the King's mind. Charles V also exercised amazing fascination on both the soldier and his master. There were in France at this time two almost hostile Courts—on the one side was the gloomy, strict Catholic

party, headed by the Dauphin Henry, who never lost the impress of his Spanish captivity, and supported by the Constable whose fierce nature and dark religious fanaticism, foreshadowed the more terrible side of the coming reaction¹, and by the elderly Diana of Poitiers, the Dauphin's mistress, both of whom seem now to have been the creatures of Spain: on the other side was the weary sickly King, with Anne of Estampes, and the young, bright, sparkling Catherine dei Medicis. These were the Spanish Court and the Italian Court. It is singular to notice how the grave young people shook the head at the light and frivolous old folk; the King was, as Michelet says, 'the mauvais sujet' of the Court: it was not now 'crabbed age and youth,' but gloomy solemn youth, with its vices—which were plentiful—duly, even discreetly arranged, opposed to light frivolous old age, which wore its heart on its sleeve, paraded its pleasures, was far from devout, consorted with laughing scholars, or reforming poets, or miscreant Turks and heretic princes. But in 1538 Francis could resist the reactionary influences no longer, and gave in completely to the strict party. From this moment till the policy of Charles V showed itself too clearly to be mistaken, the Dauphin and Diana of Poitiers become all-powerful in France. The King was a mere wreck, ill, weak in mind and body. He agreed to everything: the old bait of Milan was once more successfully dangled before his eyes. He consented to abandon all his old friends: he surrendered his Low German allies; Gelderland, Cleves, the Ghent burghers, all were sacrificed to Charles for the sake of the delusive prize so readily promised to the ear, so absolutely refused in fact.

The Emperor, if he could smile now at anything, must have laughed at the folly of his rival, who was so assiduous in destroying all his own strength. This gave Charles courage to

¹ Brantôme tells us that 'Beware of the Constable's Paternosters' became a saying; for men noticed that as he mumbled through his religious offices he threw in, as interjections, or interjaculations, a few orders to his men, such as, 'Hang me this fellow,' or 'Tie that lad up,' or 'Run him through with your pikes,' or 'Fire that barn.' 'He was so conscientious,' Brantôme adds, 'that he always strove to combine the two duties.'

travel through France in 1539, 1540. He flaunted before the eyes of Europe his confidence in the King, thereby alienating from Francis all his well-wishers. Henry VIII began secret negotiations with the Emperor; the Flemings turned away from one who had deceived them; the German Protestants stood on their guard. The Sultan received a letter from Francis, urging him to make peace with Charles; in a dignified reply he declined to become a friend to his ancient foe.

No sooner had Charles passed safely into the Netherlands than he crushed the men of Ghent, and having played his game out successfully, dismissed the envoys whom Francis had sent after him to claim the investiture of Milan for his second son, the Duke of Orleans, with the cold statement that they had nothing to show written under his hand: all his promises were but lip-promises, not binding on an Emperor. Francis' eyes were suddenly and rudely opened; Montmorency had led him into this humiliation. The Constable had trusted all to the Imperial justice and friendship. It is amazing to see these full-grown men, steeped to the eyes in falsehood, behave like simple children, deceiving one another in the most innocent way, as if they had no old experiences to guide and warn them.

The King's anger smote his ministers; Montmorency fell; the Duchess of Estampes barely saved Chabot, Admiral of France; the great lawyer, Poyet, the Chancellor, was tried and imprisoned, the whole Spanish party went down; and Francis once more stretched out his hands to his natural allies. But Charles satisfied the German Protestants; the solution of their difficulties was once more deferred 'to the meeting of a General Council,' and the Princes in return helped Ferdinand to stay the Turk in Hungary.

At the same time Charles determined to strike once more a great blow at the sea-power of the Turks. When Tunis fell, Algiers rose in its stead to be a menace to Christian ships and shores; and Charles sailed (in Oct. 1541) to reduce this infidel stronghold. In his earlier expedition against Tunis, he had likened himself to S. Louis, and had rejoiced to be, like him,

the champion of Christendom: this time he was destined to undergo fortunes almost as adverse as those which met the holy King on the African shores. No sooner had he landed than a fierce storm ruined his camp and fleet. The Turks attacked his half-starved army, and drove it back to the coast: nothing but the Emperor's coolness and courage saved the pitiable remnants of the expedition. The survivors got on board ship, and sailed for Europe: another gale caught them, and many vessels were lost. The Emperor landed, almost without a guard, at Carthage: penniless, without an army or a fleet, with his high trust in his star shaken, Charles seemed to be almost hopelessly ruined; all Europe, half-frightened at the renewed danger from the Turks, half-relieved by the tottering of the Imperial power, stood astonished, to see what would follow.

Then broke out the third war between the rivals. Rincon, a subject of the Emperor, who had gone over to Francis, was employed as envoy to the Sultan. As he passed without a safe conduct (A.D. 1541) down the Po he was attacked and murdered by emissaries of the Governor of Milan. Francis filled Europe with his outcries against this attack on the 'law of nations,' and the sanctity of the Ambassador's person; and when fortune frowned on Charles, this pretext was enough to set the world ablaze. Soliman joyfully heard the call, and sent out his great fleet; alliances were renewed with some of the Protestant powers; five armies were set afoot. The head of the great family of the Guises, who had now come into prominence again, and whose children were destined to play a foremost part in all the troubles of the latter half of the century, was specially eager for war: his policy was now as hostile to Spain as that of his family afterwards was friendly. Claude of Aumâle¹ had been ill-liked by Louise of Savoy, and

¹ The Family of Lorraine-Guise.

Gerard of Alsace was made Duke of Upper Lorraine in the Moselle territory by the Emperor Henry III in 1048. (To be distinguished from the Dukedom of Lower Lorraine or Brabant, created in 1106 by Henry V.)

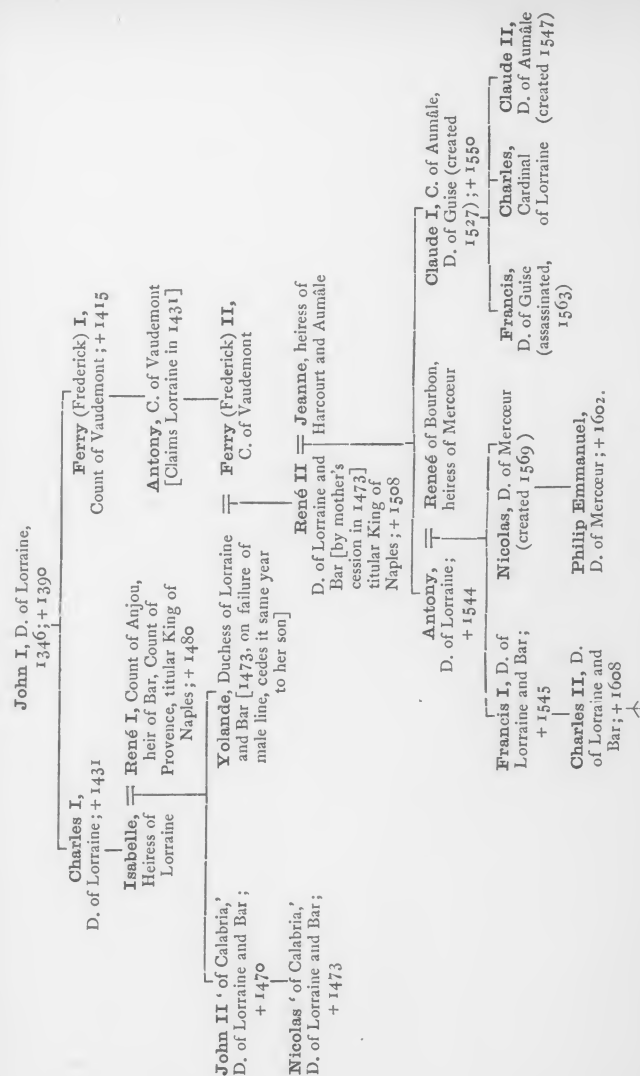
In 1346 John I became Duke; he left two sons, Charles, who became Duke in 1390, and Ferry (or Frederick) I, Count of Vaudemont. From these two

offended by her disapproval of his defence of Lorraine against the German peasantry in 1525; and though Francis made him Governor of Champagne and Duke of Guise in 1527, he remained in the shade, till the new exigencies of this third war and the overthrow of the Spanish faction at Court, made room for him. He was now sent with Charles, Duke of Orleans,—real soldier with royal prince, an arrangement so common and often so fatal in French warfare,—to attack Luxemburg, while the other armies alarmed other frontiers of Charles' dominions: one in Brabant, one in Flanders, another in the Piedmontese mountains, the last in Roussillon. Luxemburg was twice occupied and twice lost. Charles first subdued Cleves and secured his rear to the north; then he marched to recover Landrecies on the Sambre, which had been taken and fortified by the French, who had also occupied Artois. Francis came up, and all expected one more great battle between the rivals: it did not however come to blows, for Charles drew off quietly.

In the Mediterranean the Turks besieged Nice by sea, the French by land. It was the Duke of Savoy's last stronghold. But though the town was taken by the French, the castle, perched on its steep rock, held out: and an Imperial army threatening them, the French barbarously burnt the town, though they had promised in the capitulation not to harm the place, and withdrew. The Turks wintered at Toulon, and in 1544 sailed with their booty to Constantinople. This was their last interference in the wars between Francis and Charles. The Duke of Alva defended Roussillon, and the Dauphin, who attacked it, was foiled.

branches, which intermarried, came successively John and Nicolas, Dukes of Lorraine, heads of the elder branch, who appear in the war of the Public Weal, and René II, Duke of Lorraine and Bar by cession of his mother Yolande. This René II was also titular King of Naples through his maternal grandfather René I of Anjou. René is the head of a fresh race of dukes, which leads on to Francis Stephen, husband of Maria-Theresa, and Emperor in 1745. From him sprang also Claude, ancestor of the Dukes of Guise, Aumâle, Elbœuf, and Harcourt. Claude was made Duke of Guise in 1527; he was a veteran of the earliest days of Francis, had fought brilliantly at Marignano (1515), had beaten the English at Hesdin (1522), and had repulsed the German peasants in 1525. In 1513 he married Antoinette of Bourbon, great aunt of Henry IV.

TABLE V.



The German Protestants trusted the King no more; the King of Denmark would not help 'the infidel's friend'; the King of England, finding that Francis and James V of Scotland were allied, in accordance with the hereditary friendship of the two countries, also joined the Emperor's party in Europe, declaring war against James of Scotland, and preparing to despatch an army into northern France.

Matters looked ill for Francis in the beginning of 1544. His foes grew in strength and number, while he had no friends beyond the borders of France. And even then he did not trust his own people: his war-power was composed of mercenaries, almost to a man. Swiss, Germans, even Danes and Swedes, formed the armies: it is reckoned that there were one hundred and twenty thousand under arms; the captains despised the ill-drilled French, and gave no credit to their undoubted bravery and natural gift of war: it was perhaps the lowest point to which the credit of the French soldier ever fell. These mercenaries, while they undermined the true strength of France, were also costly, and the treasury was soon empty. All arbitrary expedients were tried to raise money: the King did not deign to consult his Estates, but levied taxes at his own pleasure, and France submitted to the double scourge of foreign troops and violent exaction. There were troubles on the western coast, where the gabelle of salt was felt to be very oppressive.

One brilliant though barren success gilds this third and last campaign of Francis' last war. The Count of Enghien was engaged in watching the Piedmontese frontier against the Governor of Milan, with little or no money, and orders not to fight. Blaise of Montluc, a young captain, whose *Memoirs* or *Commentaries* had afterwards so great repute that Henry IV used to call them 'The Soldier's Bible,' tells us how he was sent to Francis to extort from him leave to fight, and how he gained his point against all the old captains round the King¹. The result was the battle of Cerisolles, in which the French mercenaries and Gascons, led by the brilliant young

¹ *Mémoires de Montluc*, Collect. Univ. xxii. p. 245 sqq.

nobles of the court, routed the Imperialists: Italy lay open before the victors. But Francis was old and cautious; Enghien was not supported with either money or men, and was ordered not to advance. The victory, which might have had decisive results, was barren. In fact, the danger in the north was so pressing that every nerve might have to be strained to keep Charles and Henry from joining forces under the walls of Paris: so great and perilous a diversion was too much risk in the face of the armies gathering on the frontiers of Picardy and Champagne. Still, the prospects of success in Italy must have been tempting: the whole Peninsula hated the German yoke; Venice was openly friendly to France: the Pope, angry at seeing Charles and Henry in union, leant to the same side.

Charles and Henry consented to neglect the fortified places along their line of march, and to penetrate, Germans and Spaniards from Lorraine through Champagne, English and Netherlanders through Picardy, straight to Paris. The country was almost undefended: the few French troops that were on that side were scattered among the towns: a swift forward movement might have brought sudden success, the fall of Paris, the possible overthrow of Francis. But Charles and Henry did not fully trust one another: and instead of fulfilling his promise, the English King turned aside to besiege Boulogne, a town very useful to him for the private interests of England, as men thought them; it was an infraction of the compact with Charles. In like manner the Imperial army, penetrating into France, had tarried to besiege Saint Dizier; it found, as usual, the obstacles formidable, the supplies scanty; its forces melted away as it advanced. Still the Emperor pressed on, took Épernay and Château Thierry: the Dauphin fell back to Meaux, and Paris was seized with panic. But Charles saw his army dwindle day by day: he was wanted in Germany, for the Turk was moving and the Protestants were discontented; Henry VIII seemed intent on his own interests, and was not trusted; he and Charles were not likely to be cordial.

Consequently, to the great relief of Francis, who was almost

in despair, Charles sent from Crespy terms of peace, without consulting or informing Henry of England; the French King, thoroughly weary of war, gladly accepted them. Peace was signed in September 1544; Boulogne had capitulated to Henry just four days before. The English King, not unjustly angered, refused to make terms; and continued a desultory warfare in Picardy for two years longer.

The Peace of Crespy, which closes the wars between the two great rivals, without in the least settling the large questions which lay under their personal conflict, is notable as showing that all the misery inflicted on France during the whole period, all the mismanagement and unheroic conduct of her chiefs, all the vast power of Charles and his allies was unable to quench the vitality of the central kingdom of Europe, or to wrest from her a single province. The one great lesson France should have learnt from this attempt to set up a kind of balance of power was that she was stronger at home than abroad: that her position, her resources, even her national characteristics, lent themselves best to defence; and that the growth of France ought to begin by good government and greater compactness at home. It was by strict autocratic consolidation under Richelieu's hand, and then by striking outward from a safe centre, that France became so formidable to Europe in the days of Louis XIV.

The terms of the Peace of Crespy seemed to aim at an equilibrium and settlement of differences; whereas, in fact, the interests of one party only in France were considered. It was deemed a triumph of the 'white faction'; for it secured a fine position for Charles of Orleans, to the detriment of the Dauphin Henry. The Emperor doubtless reckoned on the importance of maintaining the two French factions in almost equal strength, and thought that on the King's death Charles of Orleans would need some safe shelter. Francis gave up his rights of feudal sovereignty over Flanders and Artois; the Emperor in return abandoning his claim to the Duchy of Burgundy. These acts may be regarded as balancing one

another. The Italian questions were not so simple. Here, however, it was agreed that Francis for his part should throw up all claims on Naples, while Charles promised the hand of one of the Imperial princesses to Charles Duke of Orleans, with the Duchy of Milan as her dowry. But the Duke died in 1545 of war-fever, and Charles V holding thereupon that the clause was void, invested his son Philip with Milan, and refused to listen to the renewed claims of Francis.

Thus France lost all hold on Italy, and never regained it till the days of Napoleon. It was no doubt a political defeat, but, as Heeren says, 'we may ask whether any nation ever drew any profit from its foreign possessions, however convenient they may have been to its rulers¹.'

Henry VIII, seeing that the Emperor's ambition grew with his strength, and sore at the treatment he had received, finally made peace with Francis in June, 1546.

All through that autumn the two Kings made preparations for an apparently inevitable war against the threatened universal monarchy of Charles; they desired to succour the Smalkald League in its struggle against the Catholic party, and in defence of the independence of the German Princes. Francis once more made the round of Europe; his agents found hearty welcome at Rome, where the fortunes of the Protestant Elector of Saxony were a matter of deep and friendly concern to the Pope. The Sultan must have smiled to hear of another combination to be formed. Venice was ready to bear her part for the sake of her Eastern connexions and the freedom of the Mediterranean.

But Death was busy in these days: the year before he had taken from the scene of his struggles and triumphs the heroic and humorous Luther; now, at the beginning of 1547, he carried off the English King, who left his country to a weak child; two months later he laid his icy hand on Francis. Charles stood alone on the field thus cleared, and the years of his highest successes

¹ Political System, p. 37, Eng. ed.

were at hand. Francis was but fifty-three years of age, but he was old and decrepit long before his death. His court had been a scene of immoral intrigues, of plans half-carried out, of power in utterly irresponsible hands, of generals appointed by corrupt interests, of splendid but decaying art, of some literary brilliancy. He was not devoid of high aspirations; knew what was noble and good, but too often did what was base. His title to the gratitude of posterity is but slight. He protected the Protestants where he could; he resisted the march of the Austro-Spanish power. But he missed his opportunity of leading the more modern movements of intellectual and religious life in Europe; for his vices and his pleasures ever clung about his neck and drew him back. If he understood his true policy, he followed it only fitfully and feebly. Perhaps his most enduring characteristic was good-nature and kindliness, of which there are very many examples, in matters large and small, throughout his life. 'He loved to do a favour, and to see men leave his presence with a lightened countenance'.¹ He had brilliant virtues, no doubt; but he had also very ruinous vices, and even his virtues leaned to the side of fault. Still, in spite of all his failings, his people loved him, for he fairly represented their nature and qualities. They sympathised with his main aim, the upholding the dignity and power of his kingly crown. For this they bore much from him; his faults were theirs, his triumphs theirs. We feel, when we look at his reign, that the unity of the kingdom is assured. We feel, too, that it is the unity of subjects under an absolute prince, and that, in its strength and weakness, this is the destiny henceforward of the French monarchy. There is before us not a free and high-spirited nation, lifting its chosen head high among the princes of the world, but a people caring little for its own constitutional life, much for its position in Europe, and therefore drawing inevitably towards a military monarchy, to great glories in war, and at last to a dictatorship and an Imperial age.

¹ L. von Ranke, *Französische Geschichte* i. p. 93 (ed. 1868).

CHAPTER IV.

HENRY II, AND THE CLOSE OF THE AGE OF ITALIAN WARS. A.D. 1547-1559.

THE flight from Paris on the death of Francis of a great crowd of learned and intelligent men, estimated by some at five thousand in number, is a fact which bears high testimony to the better side of the character of that unstable King. He had been humane, and even sympathetic; when he was gone they knew that there was no man left in France to protect them. As we see these families escaping for their lives, we feel that the King must have been far more in earnest than we are wont to allow; and that weak and wavering in many ways, he ever retained his attachment to letters and the learned, even though in his last days he let the Sorbonne martyr the most prominent scholar of France, Estienne Dolet. We come to feel also how strong were the antagonist forces against which he had to struggle, and how difficult, almost hopeless, his task. A feeling that there must have been at least one noble element in his character steals over us; we drop one flower of gratitude and recognition on his tomb.

The exiles all turned their faces towards Geneva. In the former flight, when the King's weakness allowed the persecutions of 1535, the refugees had gone to Basel, and had come into close communication with the German reformers and students. Now Basel was no longer their head-quarters; the German influences were weak, those of Switzerland strong. 'They

founded,' says Michelet¹, 'the true Geneva, that marvellous asylum between three nations. Without territory or army, she made up by intellect and spirit for what was wanting in space, or time, or matter:—a city of the mind, built by Stoicism on the rock of Predestination.' Geneva became the centre of resistance to the Catholic reaction: her citizens were heroes or martyrs, her theology as hard as steel, fit weapon to combat the Inquisition or the Tridentine decrees; her schools became the best in Europe; 'within that narrow close, the gloomy garden of God, blood-tipped roses, the martyrs of the second age of the Reformation, bloomed under the fostering hand of Calvin².' If Soliman the Turk saved Luther and the liberties of Germany, Geneva in her turn defended the rights of the human mind in Western Europe. This was indirectly due to Francis I; and it may be said that, in the long series of predisposing causes, he set in motion those powers which in the end led on to the French Revolution and the overthrow of the monarchy.

Henry II and the 'black court' scarcely took the trouble to dissemble their joy when the King was borne to his last resting-place. The elderly Diana of Poitiers, and Montmorency, Francis the Duke, and Charles the Cardinal, of Lorraine, together with the Marshal S. André, formed the King's party, and were now all-powerful in France. One after another the heads of the opposite side had perished, not without dark suspicion of foul play³. Charles of Orleans had died in 1545, saying to Tavannes with his last breath, 'My friend, I am a dead man: all our plans are broken;' to which Tavannes adds that 'just as Charles of Orleans was about to step into a great fortune, he slipped instead into the tomb;' . . . 'my labour, time, and hopes,' he says, 'all perished with him⁴.' Enghien, their most promising leader, was killed, by an intentional accident, in 1546; every obstacle to the power of Henry and his

¹ Histoire de France, viii. p. 483 (ed. 1855).

² Michelet, *ibid.* p. 484.

³ Martin, Histoire des François, viii. p. 347 (ed. 1857).

⁴ Mémoires de Gaspard de Tavannes, Collect. Univ. xxvi. p. 78.

gloomy friends was swept away. Those of the late King's ministers and favourites, who had not perished, were displaced. The Chancellor Olivier, Annebaud the Admiral, the Cardinal of Tournon, all fell; the lately ruling mistress, Anne, Duchess of Étampes, was obliged to hand over the jewels of the late King to Diana, the Duchess of Valentinois.

First, the sickly monarch with his Italian spouse, Catherine dei Medici; then their ill-conditioned half-crazy children, ruled now by their clever and unprincipled mother, now against her by the party of reaction, govern France, if government it can be called, for nearly half a century. It is an age of political ruins, of desolating and obscure civil warfare, of false intrigues, lost influence abroad and weakened rule at home. The germ of all these troubles lay in this King's party, and in his reactionary tendencies. The Constable of France, Montmorency, a grave and imperious noble, left to the Guises only a shadow of authority, and they bitterly resented it. We hear in their murmurings the first whispers of that hollow wind which is harbinging to the fierce storms of the Civil Wars.

Yet, so strong are the general tendencies of the resistance against the universal empire of Charles V, that this indolent and gloomy King, apparently so much under the same influences, is the Prince who inflicts on Charles far heavier blows than Francis ever struck, and laid the foundations of that advance towards north-east which was steadily carried on till Louis XIV secured the Rhine frontier from near Basel to below Strasburg. For the first time, under Henry II, France felt she had a real frontier on that side; the three Bishopricks secured her a shelter for Champagne, an entrance into Lorraine, and the command, through Metz, of the line of the Moselle.

Tavannes, who first went with Charles of Orleans, and on his death attached himself to Catherine dei Medici; who afterwards became a vehement Catholic, and one of the founders of that mischievous Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit which foreshadowed the League; who also was a chief actor in the massacre

of S. Bartholomew's Day¹, has left us, and no one had more experience, a very dark picture of the factions at Court during this reign. How bitter he is against the rule of women, and with what good cause. 'The Salic Law, which excludes women from the throne, ought to remove them also from the government. Vengeance, anger, love, constancy, fickleness, impatience; these make them unfit to handle state affairs: they displace the brave to make room for the handsome . . . as if battle-field were a ball-room².' These women, he goes on, ruined Francis I, 'for they like a thousand crowns in the pocket better than a province in the King's hand.' Henry II, he adds, 'had the same faults as his predecessor, with a weaker mind;' and it may be called 'the reign of the Constable (Montmorency), of Madame of Valentinois (Diana of Poitiers), and of the Duke of Guise, not his own reign.' Two families, says Tavannes, divided all honours and all commands³, that of Montmorency and that of Guise, the King being a mere 'partisan of these two houses.' On the one house were accumulated the office of Constable, of Grand Master of France, of Admiral, a Colonelship of infantry (one of the great commands of the 'Legions'), the governments of Guienne, of Languedoc, of the Isle of France, of Provence, the Captainships of the Bastille, of Vincennes, of Boulogne, and thirty companies of gens d'armes held by friends of the House. On the other side the Guises had in their hands the governments of Burgundy and Champagne, the Generalship of the Galleys, Colonelship of the light cavalry, many lieutenancies, and twenty companies of gens d'armes. Everything

¹ The *Mémoires* of Gaspard of Tavannes are not strictly speaking contemporary records; they were compiled apparently by John of Saulx, Viscount of Tavannes, the second son of Gaspard. Still they have the colouring of the age; their quick trenchant style, caustic tone, insight into party life, make them very valuable records, in spite of their frightful inaccuracy.

² Tavannes, *Collect. Univ.* xxvi. p. 10. Poor Tavannes, whose soreness here comes out, attached himself, as he tells us, to the King, not to the ladies, and was rewarded, as any foolish fellow is who will not be a party-man, by neglect and wrong. Besides, he was a hard-hitter and ugly.

³ Tavannes, *ibid.* p. 89.

was given to or through these Houses; the King was entirely in their hands and afraid of them. 'Those who possessed him'—like a piece of goods—'were of great effrontery, and greedily desirous of enriching their houses; nothing escaped them; like swallows catching flies, they swallowed any dignity in the state, bishopric, abbey, office, or other titbit that came by'. And the government of the country was so bad that the King seemed to have conspired with them to divide France among them, to the ruin of his children and of his kingdom; he prepared the way for those terrible disturbances which soon after afflicted France. The money gathered by Francis for a German war was all recklessly squandered. Henry soon plunged his country deep in debt.

One may judge how high party spirit ran by the proposal which Tavannes made to the Queen, when, a little after this time, she complained of the great power of Diana of Poitiers, who was the real King of France. He offered to go and cut her nose off, which would doubtless have considerably reduced her influence. The Queen thanked him, but deemed the proposal hardly wise; she was grateful to Tavannes, who had professed that he would gladly perish if he could 'extinguish vice, and the misfortune of the King and France'; yet she thought it well to take patience, and wait². A few years later she was rewarded, when her son succeeded to the throne, and her all-powerful rival was obliged to retire. Then began the days of her political power, days which brought some triumphs to her ambitious spirit, but little happiness or real success.

The young King 'was well-favoured in body and mind; of excellent height and proportions; robust, strong, gay at exercise, which he was really fond of . . . his manners were so affable and humane that at first sight he stormed men's hearts

¹ So says Vieilleville, *Collect. Univ.* xxix. p. 3. The whole passage is a terrible picture of mismanagement.

² Tavannes, *Collect. Univ.* xxvi. p. 151. She is said to have lived on terms of intimacy and friendship with her elderly rival.

and won their devotion¹ . . . he was accomplished, wrote music to a favourite psalm of Marot's, and for a while seemed inclined, as did Catherine also, to favour the Huguenot literature, if not the party itself: . . . he spared his people, when it was not too much trouble to do so.' After the battle of S. Quentin there was made a doggerel distich. 'The People spares King Henry, but curses Anne (of Montmorency): Diana it hates, and yet more the Guises².'

There grew up, by custom, not by any edict or enactment, a new Council, called 'Les affaires du Matin,' the 'morning's business:' a definite body of the King's friends, very exclusive, absolutely irresponsible, waited on him every morning. When he woke, the proper officer brought him his shirt: then the nobles of the Court trooped into the room to salute their monarch. He rose, and before them all knelt at a faldstool and prayed; after which all withdrew except 'those of business,' the privy council. This use long continued in France; it was in full operation under Louis XIV, and is described by the witty and malicious pen of S. Simon.

One important fact marks the opening of this reign. Brittany, which for more than half a century had been connected by marriages with the Crown, now at last became an integral portion of the kingdom. In 1547 the Duchy was absolutely united to France, 'with the same laws, with royal magistrates, not ducal, with a royal Parliament established by ordinance of Henry II, who altogether abolished the very title of Duke of Brittany³.'

¹ Cimber et Danjou, I. iii. p. 279.

² Ibid. p. 280.

'Henrico parcit populus, maledicit at Annae,
Dianam odit, sed mage Guisiadas.'

³ Francis II of Brittany dying in 1488 left the Duchy to his only daughter, Anne. She married, first Charles VIII, then Louis XII; but in both cases carefully secured the independent life of the Duchy. Anne and Louis XII had a daughter, Claude, who married Francis of Angoulême (1514), bringing him as dower the Duchy of Brittany, and the counties of Blois, Coucy, Montfort, Etampes, and Ast. She was a plain but excellent woman. She did not secure the independence of her Duchy: on her death the Dauphin Francis inherited it; when he died (1536) it passed to his brother Henry;

At first the kingdom had peace; Paul III pressed Henry to resist the predominance of Charles, who, since Mühlberg (1547), had become all-powerful: but the King would not move. He also enjoyed a political triumph over England. Somerset, the Protector, wishing to secure the hand of Mary Queen of Scots for the young King Edward, had marched an army northwards, and defeated the Scots at Pinkey (Sept. 1547). But the French were also suitors for the fair little maiden's hand, and sent a force to support Mary of Guise, the Regent, her mother, against those rough wooers the English. By help of this force, and with the good-will of the Regent, Mary of Scots was safely carried over into France, to the great delight and triumph of Henry II. He bade his envoy in London go to the Protector, and tell him that the little Queen was affianced to Francis the Dauphin, and that Scotland, sceptre and crown, had been handed over to him, Henry, for his son's profit; wherefore he held himself bound, by duty and obligation, to protect that kingdom as though it were his own¹. This was not a declaration of war, but the nearest thing to it: it was a distinct daring of England to interfere with Scotland; it was saying that the Calvinistic party there must hope for nothing; that the English Calvinists had failed to win the day, and that the high Catholic party, carrying off the Queen, had secured Scotland also to the faith. So they thought, and their policy seemed to prosper; but the Scottish people were too stubborn and too much in earnest, and Mary of Scots, now in her infancy entangled in these intricate matters, was destined to pass her life amid intrigues, the sport of other interests than her own, and at last to perish through the impossibility of reconciling her claims and those of the Catholic party with the wishes of England and the safety of England's Queen.

War all but breaks out at once between England and France: a French army threatens Boulogne. But the Scots being

and when Henry succeeded to the throne in 1547 the Duchy finally lost its independence.

¹ Tavannes, Collect. Univ. xxvii. p. 210.

beaten, Henry, who disliked war, soon came to terms with Edward's government; he recovered Boulogne on payment of a sum of money, and persuaded the English to consent to peace with Scotland (March 1550). The King, occupied with his pleasures, with these affairs, with an attempt to put a stop to religious movements, and with the salt-tax revolt, which once more broke out in connexion with the Huguenot agitation in South-western France, was unprepared to cope with the power of Charles during these years. All seemed, in fact, to go as the great Emperor wished; a new Pope, Julius III, a weak and unworthy creature of the Imperial party, agreed to resubmit the Council of Trent: and it looked as if Charles were about to grasp the fruit of all his toil and plans. The day of Mühlberg had crushed the Smalkaldic Princes; England was in the hands of a weak boy; the Pope was favourable, the Turk at peace; in his own territories all resistance seemed at an end; France was occupied, feeble, with no man at its head; finally, the Council seemed about to settle the religious question, to restore the unity of the Church, and to display the universal monarchy blessed by a once more universal Church. On the one side the Emperor hoped to secure the hereditary succession to his vast possessions for his son Philip: on the other to secure himself by curbing all freedom of opinion or action. But his brother, Ferdinand of Austria, refused to abandon his position as King of the Romans in favour of Philip; the Smalkaldic League revived; Moritz of Saxony secretly drew towards the Princes. Hitherto that remarkable young man had been a lukewarm and moderate Protestant, who set the aims of his personal and keen ambition above those of his religion or his order. Now that by attaching himself to the Emperor he had obtained the Electorate of Saxony and the Administration of Magdeburg and Halberstadt, he felt that the Emperor's party could give him no more, while he saw that the Imperial policy aimed at depressing, if not entirely abolishing, the liberties of the German princes. Having become, by the Emperor's gift, a great

Prince of the Empire, he was at once placed in antagonism with his benefactor. So, if before he betrayed his brother Germans, now he betrayed his friend and master, who trusted him. He found all Germany alarmed and profoundly suspicious of the Emperor: Princes and cities were alike in a ferment; both because of the Spanish troops, which, contrary to his oath at election, Charles had brought into Germany; and because they dreaded a Spanish King of the Romans, if Charles succeeded in dispossessing Ferdinand for Philip's sake. Moreover, the Emperor had used severities against the German mercenaries, regarding them as Lutheran, and likely to interfere with his plans. Abroad too the conjuncture of affairs was adverse to the Emperor. While Luther lived the combination of the Lutheran Princes with foreign powers had been disliked, and almost impossible: now that he was dead, and his patriotic voice hushed, the Princes did not fear to call on Henry of France for help; the Turk was also summoned: the old lines of politics reappear. England and France had also made peace: Charles had threatened to coerce the weak government of England: he would declare war, he said, unless the Princess Mary were allowed to hear mass¹: what could have been more likely to make the English join the one power which still appeared able to rival the Emperor? This Anglo-French alliance made it possible and natural for Henry II to listen to the overtures of the German Princes: a League was formed at Chambord early in 1552, and Henry promised the Princes a monthly subsidy of sixty thousand crowns, and a strong diversion in Lorraine.

The price by which he was tempted was heavy: he was to have in his hands, as Imperial Vicar, the cities of Metz, Verdun, and Toul², the 'Three Bishopricks,' together with the protectorate of the Spiritual Princes. For the Princes feared lest Charles should seize on these towns, to the farther imperilling

¹ Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, v. p. 121, note.

² These cities, feudally Germanic, were French-speaking.

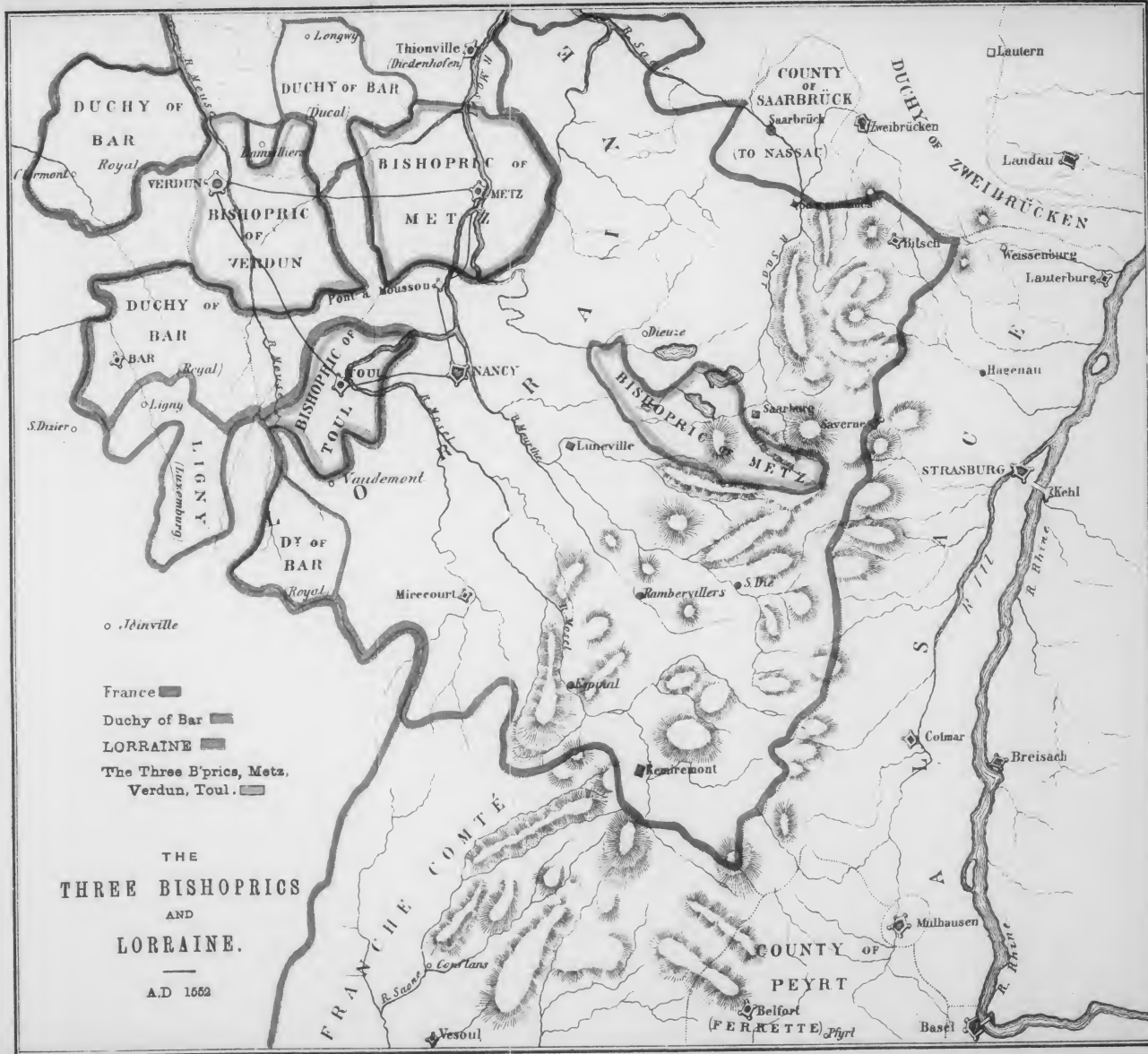
of their liberties¹. The movement of circumstances thus proved too strong for Henry II: hating war, and loving ease, he was plunged into a struggle which might be for life and death; a vehement Catholic, and inclined to what we may call a Spanish policy, he found himself opposed to the great Catholic-Spanish power, and successor to his father's schemes. The influence of the Guises, and of Vieilleville, captain and politician², prevailed not only over that of Montmorency, who was averse to the German alliance, but even over the King's wish for peace. They saw that, if France were strengthened on her North-eastern frontier, their interests, which lay there, would gain by the war. We find in more than one Memoir of the time the sketch of a French Rhine-Protectorate. 'The King should have occupied the plain of Alsace, and fortified the Rhine-frontiers, as protector, without farther irritating Germany, should have contented himself with the Duchy of Lorraine, recompensing the Duke in Anjou, should have built an impregnable fortress in the mountains at Saverne, or on the Rhine, and bounded his kingdom by Metz and by the Black Forest (?): this would have re-established the old kingdom of Austrasia, as an adjunct of France³.'

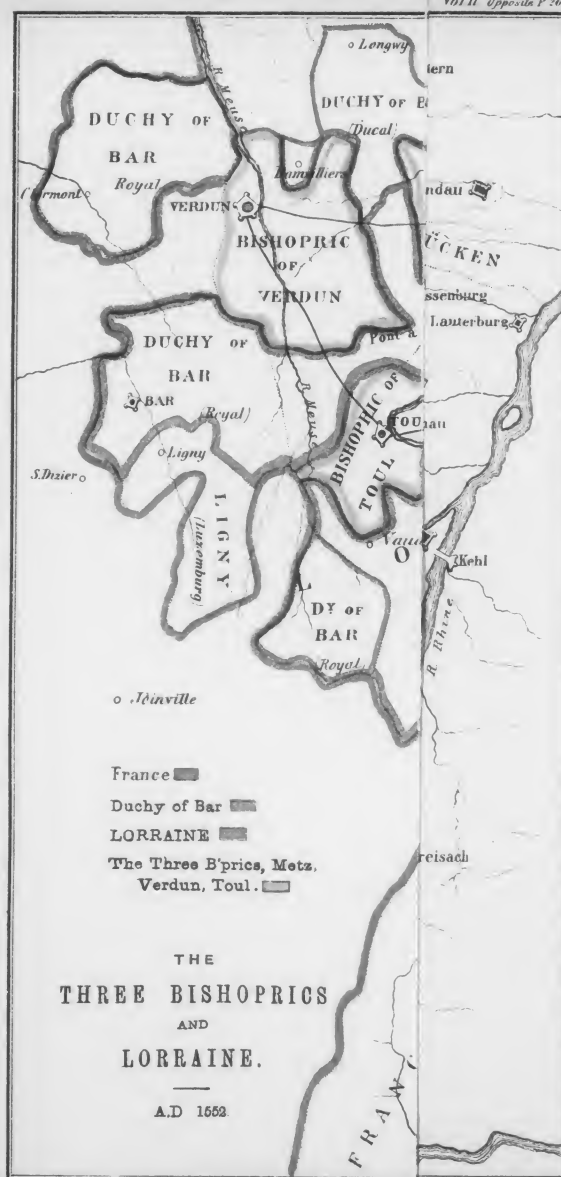
Early in 1552 the German army under Moritz of Saxony broke up from Magdeburg, where he had been nursing it since the friendly capitulation of the town, and marched for Augsburg. The Emperor lay at Innspruck, whence he could supervise the proceedings of the Council at Trent, while he also

¹ At least so says Vieilleville, *Collect. Univ.* xxix. p. 296. 'The Emperor has taken the Imperial towns of Cambrai, Utrecht, and Liège, to the great detriment of all Germany; and the Princes-Electors have discovered that he aims at doing as much with the Imperial cities of Metz, Strasburg, Toul, and Verdun, and other Rhine towns, which would be utter ruin to the Empire.'

² Vieilleville's Memoirs are perhaps absurd, but they are infinitely amusing; lively, self-satisfied, and garrulous, he gives us pictures of many men and many lands. They were edited, perhaps thrown into their present form, by Vincent Carloix, Vieilleville's secretary.

³ This is from the Commentator on Tavannes' Memoirs, *Collect. Univ.* xxvi. p. 217; so also Vieilleville expresses himself in his Memoirs (*Collect. Univ.* xxx. p. 89).





A.D. 1552.

THE TAKING OF METZ.

267

watched what went on in Germany and Italy. He refused to believe that Moritz was playing him false: he was absolutely defenceless and unprepared, and remained quiet at Innspruck till the Princes were almost on him; then at last he fled; the Interim, so great a grievance to the Protestants, came to an end; the Council vanished hastily from Trent, one Bishop dying of fright and flight; and the agreement of Passau (1552) destroyed for ever the Emperor's great schemes, by establishing the Lutherans on a footing of equality with the Catholics in Germany.

While these things were being enacted there, Henry II gathered a large army: 'there was no good town in which the drums were not heard, for the levy of footmen;' lads bade farewell to father and mother, shops were shut up, so great was the eagerness of all to make this journey, and to see the Rhine¹. Henry marched through Champagne, proclaiming himself protector of the liberties of Germany; the regency was given to Catherine dei Medici. Montmorency, who had been sent before with the bulk of the army, had already won the critical city of Metz, half by cajolery, half by deceit². Before the King made entry, he reviewed all his army in the plain: there were fifteen thousand men of the French bands, nine thousand Landsknechts, seven thousand Swiss, sixteen hundred and fifty lances, about three thousand light horse, a thousand mounted arquebus-men, two thousand men of the arriere-ban, six Scottish bands and one English company, the King's household troops, his two hundred gentlemen and four hundred archers of his guard, together with a great crowd of nobles, who served as volunteers³. It was a great but motley force, and one which fairly expresses the nature of the opposition to Charles: it may be also noted that the number of Frenchmen in the field once

¹ Vieilleville, Collect. Univ. xxix. p. 322.

² See Tavannes' account of it; he was the chief agent in the matter (Collect. Univ. xxvi. p. 114).

³ Memoirs of Boyvin du Villars, quoted in note to Vieilleville, Collect. Univ. xxix. p. 326.

more is large. Henry then entered the city in triumph, and lodged there some days. Toul and Verdun¹ fell without resistance into the hands of his captains; and this great result was achieved almost without bloodshed: the borders of France were pushed forwards to Metz which commands the avenue by the Moselle, and to the line of hills which separate the Rhine-valley from the Seine.

Success attended the French on other fields also: the revolt of Sienna enabled them to annoy the Spanish party in Italy: they seized Corsica, as a counterpoise to Genoa; they still occupied Piedmont. The old preponderance of the French crown seemed for a while to return.

But in the North-east the French were too eager to grasp all. Instead of acting according to his title of Protector of the liberties of Germany, Henry showed in the manner of his seizure of Metz, by occupying that important city with a strong French garrison and setting over it one of his own captains, that he was determined to hold the place not for Germany but for himself. Consequently, when he attempted the same tactics at Strasburg, the citizens², seeing a large body of men draw near the gates, fired on them and killed some; and the French had to withdraw ashamed: and again when he marched to Spires, and sent Vieilleville to confer with the Council of the city, he found them suspicious, though professedly friendly, and could not get any footing in the place³. The King soon saw, in spite of the impolitic urgings of the Constable, that by taking Metz he had really limited his own advance, and that Wissembourg must be his farthest point⁴. There came to him ambassadors from the Archbishop-Electors and other Princes, to beg him to protect not to conquer; and lastly, the Elector Moritz

¹ Toul at the same time with Metz; Verdun apparently (for authorities differ) a little later.

² Vieilleville, Collect. Univ. xxx. p. 8: 'Disants que ceux de Metz, pour ce qu'ils parlent françois, se sont laissez surprendre à des François; mais ceux qui ne parlent que allemand ne se veulent laisser tromper par des *Franchimants*.'

³ Vieilleville, Collect. Univ. xxx. pp. 25, sqq. His account of the Council of Spires is most interesting.

⁴ Vieilleville, *ibid.* p. 37.

sent him an envoy to let him know that the war between him and the Emperor was almost at an end, and peace likely to be restored in Germany. These things, and the threatening aspect of affairs on the Picard frontier, where the Queen of Hungary (Mary, the Emperor's sister) had a large force ready to invade France, made Henry think it well to turn his back on the Rhine. Lorraine was very friendly to the French side, but Alsace thoroughly German in speech and feeling. The King secured the Bishopricks, and entered Luxemburg, hoping by this diversion to draw the Queen of Hungary out of Flanders. His army was very much weakened by sickness and the difficulties of the retreat: Vieilleville, who commanded one division, leaves us a graphic account of his struggles through the Vosges: he distinguished himself by having brought the first map of the 'cosmography,' as he calls it, of the Rhine into France¹.

In Luxemburg, the French army reduced several strong places, while the King lay ill at Sedan; on his recovering, he marched in the direction of Guise, taking the little castles and strongholds on the way. But heavy rains coming on, he broke up his army, and the campaign was at an end. Vendôme² was set with one half of the forces to recover Hesdin; the rest dispersed and went home; and thus ended the great 'Austrasian' expedition. 'It lasted only three months and fourteen days,' says Vieilleville³, and might easily have re-united the district, 'admirable in beauty and wealth,' with France, of which it 'had been erewhile the first and principal seat:' he ends by hinting that the folly and arrogance of Anne of Montmorency, the Constable, caused the failure of the campaign. Still, the Bishopricks were a great and solid gain to France: Francis of Guise was left in Metz to defend that city, and Vieilleville himself sent to Verdun, to put it in a state to stand a siege. There at Toul he did very good service in the next campaign.

¹ Vieilleville, Collect. Univ. xxx. p. 44: 'Une carte de la cosmographie du traist du Rhin.'

² Vendôme, at this time Governor of Picardy, was Antony, the father of Henry IV.

³ Vieilleville, *ibid.* p. 89.

That campaign (1552-1553) was very critical for the rival powers. Charles V had made terms with Moritz; Albert Alcibiades of Brandenburg had rallied to his side; all Germany seemed to desire the recovery of the Bishopricks. An army of eighty thousand men was gathered, with the Emperor at its head. In October 1552 he laid siege to Metz¹, in spite of the lateness of the season and against the advice of his captains, who wished him first to try the easier cities, Toul and Verdun. The Duke of Guise and Montmorency, forgetting their rivalry, did their best: Tavannes and Vieilleville, the former from Verdun, the latter from Toul, kept vigilant watch, seized towns, carried off provisions, and annoyed the Germans and Spaniards, whenever they could. The one success gained against the French was the defeat and capture of the Duke of Aumâle by Albert of Brandenburg. But this could not be a counterpoise to the failure before Metz: batteries, mines, assaults, were all in vain: the winter weather, the terrible sickness of the troops, and the disaffection of the Protestants, all fought against Charles: angry and worn out with the gout, the Emperor in December raised the siege, and withdrew, with the loss of half his army. It was the wreck and ruin of all his schemes, the evidence of a weakened power. The success of his Flemings in Picardy, the capture of Therouenne and Hesdin were but a poor set-off against this great and permanent failure: the war on the Northern frontier was languid; the Constable, so hot and eager in Lorraine, was slow and unsuccessful in Picardy. He refused to fight, ravaged the country, as he had treated Provence; and allowed the enemy to withdraw untouched. The Northern war in 1554 was almost equally uneventful, a game of pawns without a plan.

The marriage of the newly-crowned Queen of England, Mary, with Philip of Spain, had not yet time to bear fruit: there was too much uncertainty and discontent in England to allow the new sovereign to side effectually with her father-in-law.

¹ The details are to be found in Cimber and Danjou, I. iii. pp. 117, sqq., where there is a diary of the operations, day by day.

France was anxious for peace: a war without glory, a treasury without money, a Court full of mean intrigues, commerce at a low ebb, religious parties glowering at each other;—these things all made peace necessary. Nor was Germany less inclined to pause: the Emperor was overwhelmed with his great infirmities; his hands were all knotted and gnarled with the gout: he could scarcely open a letter: he needed rest, and was doubtless already meditating the great step he took ere long. His territories were falling to pieces: 'hundreds of villages and townships in Italy and the Netherlands were reckoned to have disappeared within these forty years¹.' Germany, which he had fondly thought was pacified after Mühlberg, had again raised her head: the King of the Romans, his brother Ferdinand, refused to bow to his will, and was inclined to treat the Princes of the Empire with courtesy and moderation, in view of his own imminent election to the Imperial throne. The Diet of Augsburg in 1555, though in many ways it showed that the great head of the Princely and Lutheran party in Germany was dead (for Moritz had fallen in the arms of victory at Sievershausen in 1553²), still in the main carried out the principles laid down in the Pacification of Passau (1552). The Peace of Augsburg closed for a long time the open warfare between Catholics and Lutherans, giving equal rights to both, and placing the religious interests of Germany in the hands of the Princes. It was a great victory of the Princely over the Imperial power: it declared loudly that the division between North and South Germany was real and permanent: it showed to the world that the life-long struggles, the grand ideas, the all-embracing system of Charles V, were vanity, and that religious division and princely independence, not Church unity and Imperial omnipotence, was the final outcome of the weary strife. For three years the great Emperor had

¹ La Vallée, *Histoire des Français*, ii. p. 391.

² He had been entrusted by the Imperial Chamber with the task of reducing to order Albert Alcibiades, Markgraf of Brandenburg. His victory, though it cost him his life, paralysed the movements of the Emperor against France on its northern and eastern frontiers.

seen these adverse fortunes rolling up against him: he began to sigh for a shelter from the storm. His physicians warned him that he could no longer bear the fatigues of the camp; they told him that his living in Germany was impossible; that he must cease to travel from point to point of his great Empire. He probably felt that a young prince was needed to bear the burden. He was anxious also to secure for Philip the tranquil succession to his dignities: he was weary of fighting a lost battle; he felt that death would be upon him ere long: lastly, he yearned for ease and quiet, not only to prepare for the end, but that he might enjoy the pleasures of the table for a brief season. All these reasons, petty and great, reflecting his character, led him to decide on abdication. He did it at his leisure: first he handed over to Philip the Italian possessions: then, in October 1555 the Overlordship of the Netherlands; then Spain in January 1556; lastly he resigned the Imperial Diadem in August 1556, and Ferdinand was at once elected in his room. He withdrew to the Monastery of Yuste in Estramadura, where he lived a couple of years in peace, and died in 1558.

7 A new period of international history begins from his retirement. Spain and Germany were cut asunder; Spain and England closely united; the Catholic reaction seems likely to make great progress in Europe. Philip, a very different man from his father, narrow and clear, tenacious and an unwearied worker;—one who showed no small shrewdness in his dealings with men, and in whose 'scribblings on the margin,' at which it is the fashion to sneer, we find plentiful evidence of ability;—was at first sight the very man to prevail, and to carry out those ideas of Catholic and Spanish supremacy which guided his career from end to end. Everything was promising for him at first: Victory, who had left his father's car, returned to his: the political conditions of Europe were favourable; Germany was weary and peaceful, England his ally, Italy under his feet, France misgoverned and defeated. But the movement of the world went on, and the powers which the Reformation had called into being in Europe reasserted themselves, and mocked

the Spanish strength: Spain, the chosen sword of the reaction, the secular arm of reviving Catholicism, with her unrivalled soldiery, her tenacity and pride of purpose, her unflinching Inquisition, shattered herself against the earthen walls of Holland, and sank before the rising energies of the Sea Powers.

Meanwhile France, left somewhat on one side, has leisure to consider, with many throes and much misery, her own civil and religious problems. She fights over but never finally settles any one of the questions. This is her special difficulty, that she tends for so long a time to an equilibrium of dissatisfied parties. No French party accepts defeat; none knows how to turn victory into permanent success.

Among the events which make the year 1555 notable in history is the accession of Paul IV, the 'Theatine Pope,' as the French chroniclers love to call him, Caraffa, once Bishop of Chieti¹, whence he named the Theatine Order which he founded. Paul IV, zealous, honest, narrow, and passionate, hated the Spanish domination; rather than suffer the arrogance of Spanish soldiery he would stoop to any act; he had Lutheran soldiers in his pay, he drew towards the Turks; we need hardly add, he negotiated with the French Court. The Guises, now very powerful, and increasingly so since the late successful defence of Metz, seconded his efforts: they too were still very hostile to Spain. Henry, swayed by them, concluded an alliance with the Pope, and war began at once (1556). The care of Charles V had left his able general, the Duke of Alva, at Naples; and he was now instructed to menace Rome: on the other hand, while the harsh and incompetent Constable of Montmorency was sent northward, Francis, Duke of Guise, was despatched with all haste into Italy to support the Pope, and bring over the Italian princes. Early in 1557 he had established himself with some solidity in the peninsula; where Brissac, a fine soldier, and by far his superior, had been in command: in spite of neglect from home, he had held his own in Piedmont,

¹ Theate in its Latin form.

had surprised Casale in 1555, and had successfully resisted the Duke of Alva's attempts to drive him back. Milan and Sienna were friendly; Parma, Piacenza, and the Duke of Florence declared themselves neutral; Ferrara made alliance with France. Had Guise been content to secure his foothold in Lombardy, thence pushing on to protect Venice or Rome, as need might be, his position would have been very strong: but unwisely, after the French fashion, he thought more of uncertain claims than of present advantages: and as he deemed himself the representative of the Anjou family, and heir to the throne of Naples¹, he hastily passed on, splendidly welcomed, to Rome, and thence towards Naples. He got as far as Civitella in the nearer Abruzzi, and laid siege to it: Alva, however, though scarcely a match for Marshal Brissac, was too strong for the Duke of Guise, who had to raise the siege and fall back on Rome. Thitherwards Alva followed him; but before any action could take place Guise was recalled with all his force; for France was tottering under the blows of invasion from the North. The angry and vehement Pope, finding that the French were abandoning him, bade farewell to the General with the bitter words, 'Go then, you have done little for your King's service, less still for the Church, and nothing for your own honour².' And he made his peace with Philip, as well as he could. Brissac was left behind to defend Piedmont.

Thus ended this last attempt on Italy: this age of the Italian wars, so fatal to France, is over: nor will that fair land for many years be trodden underfoot by the invader, no longer will it be styled 'the Cemetery of the French.'

Henry II at first had professed that this expedition of the Duke of Guise was no violation of the truce between him and Charles and Philip: but he soon showed that he meant war, by instructing Admiral Coligny, now governor of Picardy, to begin

¹ Francis of Guise was eldest son of Claude, who was second son (and eldest with issue) of Iolanthe, daughter of René II, titular King of Naples. See above, p. 251.

² Sarpi, History of the Council of Trent, Bk. V. A. 1557.

hostilities. Gaspard of Coligny, eldest of the three Châtillon brothers, who all in the end embraced the reformed opinions, though one of them was a Cardinal, was in high favour with Henry II. On the death of Annebaut in 1552 he was named Admiral, and set to defend the northern frontier. Here he was ill-supported; for the best soldiers were in Italy: the Legions were only paper-troops; a few mercenaries, ten thousand Germans, were hired. Philip, on the contrary, gathered a formidable force, commanded by Philibert of Savoy; and, in spite of the ill-will of the English, induced Queen Mary to declare war on Henry, and to send some ten thousand men over to Calais, that they might co-operate with his troops on the Netherland frontier. Charles V from his retirement at Yuste warmly seconded him with advice and influence, and watched the progress of affairs with the deepest interest. A feint in the direction of Rocroi was successful; the French gathered hastily on the Champagne border, only to learn that their enemy was gone thence, and was threatening S. Quentin on the Somme. That town, poorly fortified with crumbling walls, and lying low, defended chiefly by a great marsh, was one of the main bulwarks of Paris: S. Quentin taken, there would be little to arrest a resolute enemy till he reached the walls of the capital. It was all-important that the Duke of Savoy should be delayed as long as possible: and Coligny did not hesitate to sacrifice himself to the task. He succeeded in entering the town by night; and though he knew that it was incapable of serious defence, he cheered and roused the inhabitants; the ramparts were hurriedly repaired, and the best provisions that could be made were made at once. D'Andelot, the youngest Châtillon, who had been sent forward by the Constable Montmorency to join Coligny, was repulsed by the besiegers. Meanwhile the Constable cautiously drew near, to relieve his nephew if he could. But Philibert had sixty thousand men with him: the English had come up from Calais, and the place was closely invested. The only hope of throwing help into the town lay in the great marsh to the eastward. The Admiral had

marked out certain passages through it: it was arranged that while the Constable with his main army occupied the attention of the enemy by a false attack, D'Andelot with victual and a strong force should cross the river in boats, wade the marsh, and so get into S. Quentin. The plans were not well laid. Only part of the stores could be got into the town, and only five hundred men with D'Andelot; while Montmorency neglected to secure a *chaussée* which crossed the low ground above the town, his only way of retreat. Consequently, when he saw that D'Andelot had entered S. Quentin, and turned to withdraw his army, he found that his neglect had cost him dear; some cavalry whom he sent forward to seize the critical roadway, discovered the Spanish and Flemish horse, commanded by Count Egmont, firmly in possession of the point at which the narrow path, leaving the morass, rises between the low hills. The main body of the Spaniards crossed the swampy ground, which the Constable had thought almost impassable, and he found himself now hemmed in on all sides. The Duke of Nevers, who commanded the cavalry, cut his way through, and with the Prince of Condé escaped to Laon at the head of a fragment of the army. Egmont, whose vigorous counsels had won this great success for Philip, now with a gallant charge of horse fell on the French: at the same moment they were assaulted in front and on either flank, and the rout was instantaneous. Half their troops were destroyed; the rest scattered or captives: the Duke of Enghien was slain, Montmorency, the Duke of Montpensier, the Marshal S. André, and a crowd of great nobles were prisoners: all the French standards, all their artillery, except two pieces, were taken. Of the conquerors barely fifty perished: Philip received with cold joy the spoils of this great victory; and sent off orders to Spain for the building in its remembrance of the Palace of the Escorial, which is shaped like a gridiron, because the battle was fought on S. Lawrence's Day (10 August, 1557). Those round the Spanish King urged him to mask S. Quentin with a small force, and with his main army to march on Paris, driving before him the broken remnants of

the French. But his coldness and caution would not let him take the bolder part: and when, as his father at Yuste said, 'he ought to have been under the walls of Paris,' he was still at S. Quentin: he had no military gifts, none of the eagerness of youth, but a slow determined will; he would run no risks, but secure what he had won.

France was assuredly saved thereby from great evils: the Duke of Nevers had time to garrison the towns with such force as he could gather: Catherine dei Medici in Paris harangued the people and got from them a free gift of three hundred thousand francs; money poured in from other towns: mercenaries were hired, the nobles and men-at-arms throughout the realm were bidden to assemble at Laon, under the Duke of Nevers; the Duke of Guise was summoned back from Italy. The tenacious stand made by Coligny in S. Quentin, though the issue could not be doubtful for a moment, gave time for these preparations for defence to be made: for seventeen days longer the Admiral bravely kept the whole Spanish army at bay. Then at last, the weak ramparts crumbling away, his little garrison was overwhelmed and the town gained by assault. It was horribly sacked, burnt, plundered: the inhabitants were all driven forth into the fields¹. Disorder, as usual, fell on the victorious troops: they quarrelled over the spoil, demanded money; the English could not agree with the Spaniards; for they had no heart in the business, and wanted to be home to resist the Scots, who were attacking the North. The army, feebly led, was capable of little more. The occupation of the Vermandois was the only direct result of the brilliant victory of S. Quentin.

But in France the efforts were more durable: the disaster caused a kind of revolution. The Duke of Guise, who had already won credit in Metz, was now looked up to as the only man able to save his country; his rival the Constable² was

¹ Coligny has left us a brief memoir of the siege, written in his captivity; it is to be found in the 8th vol. of the first series of the Michaud Collection of Memoirs, pp. 567, sqq.

² De Thou, *Histor. Lib. xix* (tom. iii, p. 208, ed. 1609): 'Sane

discredited and a prisoner; the Cardinal Charles of Lorraine, the longest head in France, took charge of finance and home-affairs; the Duke was named the King's Lieutenant-General, with the fullest powers. Henry was very unwilling to make this change, for he dreaded the great power of the Guises; but he could not help himself.

Francis, Duke of Guise, showed himself worthy of the moment: instead of wasting his army on the defence of Picardy, where in a desolated district, at the dead of winter, he would have been face to face with the victorious Flemish and Spaniards, he determined to make a bold attack on Calais, which, as was known, had been left almost unguarded. The fullest success attended this vigorous stroke; the two covering fortresses, Nieulay, which defended the only causeway which crosses the marshes, and Risbank, which protected the approach from the Dunes along the shore, were both taken by swift assault, and Calais herself speedily surrendered (Jan. 1558¹). The whole siege lasted but seven days. The blow fell very heavily on England. Queen Mary's saying is well-known; her people, with wounded pride and angry sympathies, detested the Spanish alliance; the fall of Calais helped to secure the quiet succession of Elizabeth on the death of Mary in the following autumn. We may imagine how the popularity of the Duke of Guise grew; he became omnipotent in France; the multitude overlooked the still greater services which the devotion of Coligny had done them. To save by defeat is far less striking than to make a brilliant success: and Coligny, a prisoner, was forgotten.

In this winter the exigencies of government were so great that Henry II was constrained to summon an assembly of

Memorantius . . . postquam eum fortuna deseruit, hominum quoque favorem amisit; quod non solum familie illustri nocuit, sed toti rei Gallicae. Nam aemuli . . . rerum gubernaculis ea occasione admoti, in vacuum venere, et populi favorem, qui Memorantium reliquerat, invasere, quem semel arreptum . . . semper retinuerunt.

¹ Tavannes, who was there, boasts that his booty was in books, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin (Collect. Univ. xxvi. p. 173).

notables to Paris; they are usually dignified with the title of a meeting of the States General. The King's 'morning-council' had decided on a great loan to be raised from the richer classes; the clergy were represented by a certain number of priests 'deputed for the generality,' which would have been interesting on constitutional grounds, had the manner of choice been more satisfactory. There were scarcely any nobles present, and those there were not a body of representatives: the chief magistrates of the good towns did duty for the Third Estate. The legal profession, contrary to all usage, was made into a Fourth Estate; and the Presidents of the different Parliaments took rank above the Burghers. Such a body was but a mockery of a States General; it only serves to show how slight was the footing of that institution in France, and how entirely it was in the hands of the Court. While they were sitting, news of the taking of Calais arrived; the enthusiasm carried all before it. The Cardinal of Lorraine got his great loan voted by the Third Estate and the Clergy; the former obtained in return the removal of some restrictions on trade; the latter got a promise that heresy should be crushed; and both were satisfied.

After a triumphal visit to Calais, Henry returned to Paris and married the Dauphin to Mary Stuart; the chief part of the great loan was, as usual, wasted in shows. In this alliance he gave way to the eagerness of the Guises, against the wishes of Diana of Poitiers, who feared their growing power. It was a great advance for them; they had the credit of renewing the old connexion of France and Scotland, which would now be actually joined to the French crown, for a secret treaty bound the young Queen to bring over her kingdom with her. It was the beginning of an evil time for her. She plunged into that tangled maze of intrigues, which, like seaweed wrapping itself round the limbs of the swimmer, baffles his supreme efforts and draws him to death. But the Guises thought that by thus placing their niece on the steps of the throne, they might become absolute masters of both crowns.

War was resumed but languidly in the spring of 1558; Luxemburg and Artois were attacked. The Duke of Guise took Thionville and pushed the success of Metz one step farther north; De Thermes, in command on the Flemish border, pushed that of Calais onwards by taking Dunkirk and even Nieuport. The two armies were to combine, and penetrate into Flanders; but that of Guise was paralysed by the mutiny of the German mercenaries; and while De Thermes waited on the coast, Egmont, with fortunate audacity, made a swift march to Gravelines, and barred the French retreat. De Thermes seeing him strongly posted, decided to wait till low tide¹, and then to force his way along the sands, whereby he hoped to turn Egmont's position. Egmont, however, met him with that cavalry which he knew so well how to handle, and held him in check. The battle was still uncertain; he had the river Aa behind him, the enemy in front and on his left, the sea to his right, and for a while the fierce bravery of his Gascon troops seemed likely to force a way. But at the very crisis of this wild battle on the sands, ten sail appeared, borne on a favourable breeze. They proved to be English ships, which standing close in shore, poured their broadsides into the defenceless right flank of the French. Stunned by a calamity so unexpected, which at once destroyed all the advantage of their position, the French could do no more. One more vigorous charge by Egmont, and the rout began; the army was as utterly ruined as Montmorency's had been before S. Quentin. We know how the victor was treated; the jealousy of Alva and the suspicion of Philip first depreciated his brilliant victories, and then led him to the scaffold. The hostility between Fleming and Spaniard begins with him.

Gravelines settled the question of peace or war; the Cardinals Granvella and Lorraine had already been intriguing together. The Constable was eager for peace; he saw the

¹ 'A la Blanchetaque,' says Tavannes (Collect. Univ. xxvii. p. 5), using the very word which was used of the Somme ford near its mouth, at which Edward III crossed before Crecy.

Guises daily growing stronger, his own party and his personal influence at the lowest point; could he but recover liberty, the King would welcome him as a counterpoise to the Lorraine-party which he dreaded. So while the Cardinals and Philip made peace, in order that they might have leisure to attack heresy, the moderate party, headed by Montmorency and Coligny, made peace, that they might recover their standing in France. Either way, at Cateau-Cambresis, they sacrificed France. 'The King was led to make a base and damaging peace,' says De Thou, 'the strength of the realm being worn out by the slaughter of S. Quentin and Gravelines; it was a peace which introduced a state of things worse and sadder than that of war¹.'

The true meaning of the Peace was this:—All the questions as to the Balance of Power, all the combinations arising out of the abdication of Charles V and the death of Queen Mary of England, the Italian problems, and the other political difficulties of Europe, were adjourned in face of the momentous religious question, which, now that spiritual despotism in its most vehement form was pitted against the spirit of liberty, had become the all-absorbing subject of men's thoughts².

The new Government of England, glad to escape from foreign complications, made terms with France. The strong and sagacious counsellors of the young Queen knew well that neither her interests nor those of her people demanded war in that quarter. It was but a patched-up affair; still it served the purposes of all.

The Empire and the Princes of Germany, at the same time that they asserted their rights over the three Bishopricks, let it be known that they would not go to war with France to recover them. Finally Henry and Philip were equally eager to be clear of the risks and unbearable expenses of war. It is hard to say which monarch was the more penniless. 'Spain can do

¹ De Thou, Hist. sui temp. lib. xxiii (tom. iv. p. 34, ed. 1609).

² La Vallée, Hist. des Français, ii. p. 395.

no more for me,' said Philip to Granvella, 'I must make peace.' And so it came about that the Peace of Cateau-Cambresis was signed in April, 1559. It was the last act of Henry's life, and it closed the struggle for a while. France and Spain were, for a season, to cease their rivalry; looking forwards, it heralded the coming storm; the religious wars, the death-throes of the Netherlands, the new rivalry of England and Spain, were impending. The House of Savoy was reinstated by Philip, as a reward for the great services of Philibert; and thereby France was finally cut away from Italy, and her avenues thitherwards solidly blocked. On the other hand she retained the three Bishopricks and Calais, menaces to Germany and England, advantages which more than outweighed her losses. A double treaty of marriage, uniting the Houses of France, Spain, and Savoy, was agreed to; finally, secret clauses were drawn, in which the Guises in France, and the Granvellas in the Netherlands and Spain develop their plans for stamping heresy to powder.

For more than thirty years, France will be agitated to her very foundations by civil troubles. The throne, the nobles, the church, the liberties of the people, the freedom of opinion, will all suffer loss. One or two upright men, a Coligny or a L'Hôpital; and one or two clever persons, such as the subtle Queen Mother, will somewhat relieve the gloom; but no light of day breaks the darkness in which men walk, till the gallant manliness of Henry of Navarre hews a way for better times to come. He, too, is tainted with the evils of the age; but he is a man, and to a true man much can be forgiven.

PART II.

THE CIVIL WARS.

CHAPTER I.

THE REFORMATION-MOVEMENT IN FRANCE.

ALL ages of civil strife are dreary: sometimes, as in the English Commonwealth wars, the importance of the principles at stake relieves them; sometimes the genius of the historian lifts the struggle from obscurity, as with Thucydides and the Greek home-wars; sometimes the greatness of a man like Cromwell gives dignity to the contest: but usually civil war is a field for personal ambitions, and partisan interests: the actual warfare sinks into raids and land piracies; the soldiery becomes brutal; the leaders are selfish, the followers inhuman. The wars of the Roses in England, the Thirty Years' War (in its worse aspects) in Germany, the Civil Wars of France, alike display, on different scenes and with different underlying principles and motives, the same surface-characteristics, and fill the mind with the same sense of weariness, almost of despair.

Perhaps the most singular point in the history of the French Civil wars is the fact that, for once in her annals, France allowed her religious feelings to overbear her political aims. In the earlier period of these wars the Huguenots gave tone to the struggle by fighting for their faith: in the latter the Leaguers were filled with the darker spirit of Crusaders. Personal motives preponderated over political principles; it is also

perhaps fair to add, that even the political tendencies of these days were antagonistic to all sound constitutional progress. Aristocratic and religious independence on the one hand, and church supremacy on the other, resting now on the monarch, now on the people, strove for mastery. The Huguenots relied on Germany, on the Netherlands, on England; their antagonists on Spain: not till towards the end of the struggle did a national party emerge, one which professedly made political and French interests supreme, and left the religious questions to be settled by a kind of toleration. This moderate Catholic party, half-way between Jesuits and Huguenots, gradually absorbed into itself all but the most fiery spirits: but not till the Duke of Mayenne from the one side and Henry of Navarre from the other, had enrolled themselves under the banner of the 'Politiques,' as the party was styled, could the long-wished-for peace of the realm be attained. Eight civil wars in desolate succession, in a quarter of a century, annihilated for the time the consideration of France abroad, and her prosperity at home.

As then this age unrolls the strife of creeds, we must begin by some enquiry into the progress of the new opinions. One is struck by the slowness with which, contrary to common belief, France adopts strange ideas. She lagged far behind in the Renaissance; she never, like Germany, or England, or Switzerland, accepted the movements of the Reformation; she never took a serious interest in constitutional questions till long after they had been fought out in other countries.

Let us consider the following points: Why was France so slow in accepting the Reformation? Why did such new opinions as she adopted take a Calvinistic form? Why were these views connected with aristocratic tendencies in France, though with democratic movements in Switzerland?

The first question receives a partial answer when we say as we have said, that France never cared much for the Renaissance movement. There was in her little popular knowledge and little desire for it. In country districts the people were quite

content to remain as they were in this respect: the struggle for existence was very severe, and there was little room for anything else. The cities, again, those strongholds of reform in England and Germany, in France were much divided: Paris herself was bitterly opposed to the new ideas. A considerable party among her burghers, as in all the other large towns, adopted the reformed opinions. But the towns were little accustomed to independent action or local self-management; and the older influences were very strong even in the most flourishing cities. On the other hand, the nobles, whether from their higher culture, or from their Germanic blood, or from the spirit of independence which still was strong in them, widely and warmly accepted the Reformation. They, however, were not likely to commend it to the people at large. It brought no serious amendment of moral life. The nobles were vicious, haughty, self-seeking; there was in them, as in all France, a mocking temper, which fitted neither with the meekness of the Gospel, nor with the earnestness of political revolts. Lastly, the court and throne for a while defended and liked the reformers, regarding them as an outcome of the Renaissance. Only when they showed a sterner spirit, and offended against good taste, did the King turn against them. Royalty and its surroundings seemed to aim at setting up a middle school of politicians; it would reform abuses in the Church, introduce serious learning, and make peace in Church and State: in the earliest days, the days of Margaret, the sister of Francis I, and of the Duchess of Étampes, his mistress, the tendency of the Court was towards Lutheran opinions. But it was never so strong as to take the lead in France. These ladies patronised Marot, and his poetical version of the Psalms; they had translations of the Bible on their tables; they protected the preachers: but the anabaptist-troubles in Germany, or the image-breaking excesses of Paris, were quite enough to frighten them back and to persuade them that the old was better.

It has been reckoned that at the moment of the outbreak of the Civil wars half the aristocracy, and in fact almost all men

under forty years of age¹, a considerable portion of the clergy, including several notable bishops², but not more than a tenth of the people had adopted the new opinions³. France had been more independent of the Papacy than other nations, and was not galled by the yoke as Germany had been. Moreover, her moral sense not being very high, she was little outraged by the gross immoralities of seculars or regulars. Again, the monarchs of France saw no advantage in a strong clergy, attached to the throne, as the English priesthood was: they rather would have dreaded it, as likely to interfere with the advance of their absolute authority. Perhaps the strongest cause of all lay in the fact that the influence of the religious sentiment has always been low in France: that it has rarely taken a personal or independent tone; and that the Renaissance, so far as it settled there, turned towards a critical and naturalistic philosophy rather than to that enthusiasm which engenders a religious revolution⁴. It is interesting to note that the nobles, with their Germanic blood, alone seemed to have any natural aptitude for those new opinions, which tended to strengthen what is personal and free. The Reformation gave to the noblesse a fresh start: and had their aims been higher, their personal characters purer, the absolutist triumph in the seventeenth century might have been averted by the force of this new motive power.

And these new opinions took in France the Calvinistic form, partly because the French nobles had but little in common with

¹ The Venetian Ambassador, speaking of the last years of Henry II, says definitely, '*Relazione delle cose di Francia*,' t. iii, p. 20 (quoted by La Vallée ii. p. 400), that, *with the exception of the low people*, the French have 'apostatized.'

² Beside Briçonnet of Meaux there were Odet of Coligny, Cardinal Châtillon, Saint Romain Archbishop of Aix, Montluc Bishop of Valence, Caraccioli Bishop of Troyes, Burbançon Bishop of Pamiers, and Guillart Bishop of Chartres, who all, more or less openly, embraced the opinions of the Huguenots.

³ So says Prosper de Sainte Croix (who writes as a strong partisan on the Catholic side), under date of Jan. 1562; in *Cimber et Danjou*, Archives, I. vi. p. 18.

⁴ Martin, *Histoire de France*, vii. pp. 507, 508.

the Lutheranism of Germany; partly because the more political and logical temper of the Calvinistic theology was natural to them; partly, it may be, because the exclusiveness of the doctrine of Election was congenial to the ideas of a noblesse wont to regard itself as a class apart, for it classified men by their religious as much as by their social election;—be the cause what it may, the predestinarian doctrine as expounded by a true Frenchman, Calvin, found more ready entry into France than did the more mystical and dreamy theology of Luther.

At first, indeed, as was obvious, the movement came from Germany; but even then it was connected with Erasmus rather than with Luther. France had an inner spring of Reformation, in the unextinguished protest against Rome kept up by the mountaineers of Dauphiny, the Waldensians. Their influence however was local, and could not affect the heart of France: it was a frontier movement, looking as much one way as the other. The Lutheran views, on the contrary, came at once to the centre of the kingdom, to the Seine valley: we find that many of the religious orders, specially the Augustinians and Carmelites, listen to the voice of the great monk of Wittenberg; and considerable numbers of the burghers in Champagne towns and in the capital itself become interested in the new opinions. For a while their head-quarters were at Meaux, where Briçonnet the gentle and pious Bishop, commended by teaching and example the Lutheran tenets and the study of the Scriptures to the Court and the people. He found support within the palace walls; Francis I was not unfriendly, Margaret of Valois went farther, and encouraged him to advance. But Briçonnet was not made of martyr-stuff; and the Court wavered between self-indulgence and a love for the new learning and its later theological development. The popular influences in Paris were completely set against change. Nowhere could the orthodox mob be so easily aroused.

The Reformation in Germany found support and protection in its infancy from independent princes, and compact Imperial cities: but in France no such help was possible. The cities

were unused to exert any corporate life: the nobles, with all their good-will for the reformed tenets, had no position answering to that of the German Princes: the nearest parallel lies between those armed bodies of young nobles, who escorted the preachers through the streets of Paris and guarded their services, and the knightly champions of Luther in Germany, men like Ulrich of Hutten or Franz of Sickingen: consequently the movement was liable to be crushed in detail, and for a long time could not take such a constructive and organised form, as would enable it to expand and resist. In the north of France the old opinions easily prevailed: in spite of the Court, bitter persecution either destroyed the more prominent reformers or drove them into exile: and after a while the Court itself threw its influence into the same scale.

But in the latter days of Francis I another set of impulses began to work; and the logical writings, partly political, partly religious, of Calvin arrested the attention of all thinking men in France. The stream now flows no longer from the Rhine, whither it had been again driven back by repression; but from Geneva, and from free and aristocratic Switzerland. It becomes distinctly Latin in character: it is logical, almost legal in tone: it spreads like a flood over the south and west of France. The special tenets of Lutheranism entirely disappear from the country: the Presbyterian form of Church government, and the characteristic doctrine of Election, mark the movement in Switzerland, in the Low Countries, in France, and along the western frontier of Germany: even England, with its strongly-organised Church, though for the time it refuses Presbyterianism, is deeply tinctured with Calvinistic opinions. But in France herself, although there were scattered congregations in the north and east, the reformed views made their home in the south and west. The head-quarters of resistance to them lay in Picardy and Paris; the Calvinists' chief force, speaking roughly, was south of the Loire. Their home was in Poitou and the other western provinces; in the latter times their most important town was La Rochelle, alike important for offence or

defence, and a point of junction with their friends in England. These southern and western districts had, in the reign of Francis I, been the scene of more than one disturbance: they resisted the severe and arbitrary taxation of that reign. We may notice in them also a marked outburst of Republican literature: the higher culture of the South always looking towards ancient Rome. At the same time the noblesse in those parts, thanks to the English wars and to the distance from Paris, aimed at a greater independence. We note here that curious and interesting junction of an Aristocratic with a Republican tone which marks the course of the Huguenot movement.

Towards the end of his life Henry II, under influence of Diana of Poitiers and the Cardinal of Lorraine, had pressed more hardly on the Huguenots; he regarded them as a danger to his throne; 'we run the risk,' he said, 'of falling into a kind of republic like the Swiss.' In 1557 he allowed the Inquisition to be introduced into France, though its severity was impeded by the great lawyers of the time, who regarded it with jealousy as an independent and dangerous tribunal: the arrest of Du Bourg, one of the leading spirits of the Parliament of Paris, was a kind of reply to this resistance: it was also a warning note of civil war.

Yet, in spite of this opposition, in the teeth of royal edicts and severe penalties and even executions, these years from 1555 to 1559 are the time when the Huguenot opinions made their greatest advance in France. We are told that in these four years two thousand Huguenot churches sprang up: the processes of construction and consolidation went rapidly forward. Each church had its little council or consistory, each province its synod, and, deputed thence, a general national synod met from time to time. Their confession of faith was drawn and agreed to; a system of election of pastors arranged; a common fund established: Calvinism had little or no basis in popular good-will; but in all other respects it suddenly sprang into a powerful and aggressive organisation.

With a firm hold on the districts to the South and West,

and led by a great party among the nobles, lending itself also to dreams of noble independence, Calvinism, at the close of the reign of Henry II, stood prepared to do battle with the growing fanaticism and strength of the Catholic party. It looked as if the two were the upper and nether millstones, between which the French monarchy must be ground to powder.

CHAPTER II.

THE STRIFE OF PARTIES BEFORE WAR BREAKS OUT.

WHEN the Constable Montmorency and Admiral Coligny, once more free, had returned to Paris, they found the Court inclined to treat them with high favour¹, as a counterpoise to the overwhelming popularity of the Guise party. The 'heretics were burnt in France, more from fear lest they should follow the example of the Germans who had revolted' (i. e. from Charles V) 'than for their religion': being politically, rather than theologically, offensive to the Court. The Cardinal of Lorraine was very powerful; and his influence may be traced in these persecutions. Still, as yet the rivalry of parties showed no sign of outbreak: and the King, had he lived, might have succeeded in arbitrating between them. But, as a sequel of the Peace of Cateau-Cambresis, he held high festival at Paris for the marriages of his two daughters, the elder to Philip II, the younger to Philibert of Savoy; thither came together as representatives of the Spanish King, the Duke of Alva, Egmont, and William, Prince of Orange, who now won his name of Silent by holding his peace when Alva disclosed to him, in an unlucky moment of confidence, his plans for exterminating Protestantism. In the three days' tournament which took place Henry II distinguished himself, for his bodily strength was great: on the third day, as he tilted against a Scottish

¹ 'M. le Connestable possedoit entirement le Roy.' Tavannes, Collect. Univ. xxvii. p. 13.

knight, Montgomery, his antagonist's lance was shivered; and a piece of it, as it splintered upwards off his cuirass, lifted his visor from below and pierced him in his eye. 'The sight,' Tavannes tells us, 'froze the Constable's heart, for he saw his favour lost¹.' The King lingered two days and died.

The death of Henry II destroyed the equilibrium of parties: the Constable fell at once, and the Guises, seizing on the person of the Dauphin, carried with them the Queen Mother, and shot up at once to almost unlimited power and boundless hopes. The Dauphin, now Francis II, a youth of sixteen, devoted to his young wife, Mary Stewart, naturally leant towards her uncles², the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine. They were suspected already, and not without reason, of aiming even at the throne of France, in case the sickly children of Henry II left no issue. They drew out a pedigree, which showed them descended from Karl the Great: they had old claims on the throne of Naples. For the time, however, they were content to have Francis crowned and saluted as King of France and England: the royal couple quartered the arms of the two kingdoms. They also entered into communications with Philip of Spain, who condescended,—for they were strict Catholics in policy,—to promise his support. This, though it foreshadowed the combinations of the League, was not very sincere at the time; for Philip was seriously alarmed by the pretensions of Mary Stewart to the English crown: England and Scotland joined with France would have been a very powerful combination, and a menace to his authority in the Netherlands if not in Spain. It was in consequence of this fear that Philip allowed Queen Elizabeth's succession to the English throne to pass by unchallenged and unopposed.

Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, had not the brilliancy of his soldier-brother, the Duke Francis, but he had far more useful gifts of government: and he was a supple churchman, an acute

¹ Tavannes, *Collect. Univ.* xxvii. p. 17.

² Claude of Guise's daughter, Mary of Guise, married James V of Scotland; their daughter was Mary Stewart. See above, p. 263.

politician, a very successful and vigorous administrator both of his diocese and of the royal finance; he had enjoyed a great share of Henry's confidence, and had stood his ground even when his rivals seemed most powerful. Whether as a matter of mere policy, or sincerely, he showed a decided leaning towards the Lutheran theology, to which his Lorraine extraction made him a neighbour. He was a man of no moral nobleness, consumed with ambition, never forgetting himself, stingy, slow to pardon, careless of the feelings of others: on the other hand his presence was commanding and dignified¹: he may be reckoned among the most remarkable of the ecclesiastical statesmen of France. Over Francis II he was all-powerful, and rode the storms of opposition, of plot and outbreak, with a great sense of power. His brother, the Duke, was of inferior metal: a second-rate soldier, he had, by two fortunate chances at Metz and Calais, gained a reputation far beyond his merits; for he was inferior as a commander to the more obscure and rude Brissac, one of the first captains of the age, a blunt man without any gifts of intrigue or fitness for Court-life². On the other side stood the Constable Montmorency, stern, harsh, dull in warfare, an unwavering Catholic, head of the party of dissatisfied nobles; and his three nephews, the Châtillon brothers, Coligny the Admiral, D'Andelot, Colonel of the Infantry, and Cardinal Châtillon, who all became Huguenots. As yet Admiral Coligny was rather the link between the dissatisfied noblesse and the Huguenots, than an actual leader of the Calvinists: his conversion dates from this period. He was the great man of his side: his courage, nobleness of character, high morality, self-sacrifice; his stedfast qualities, which shone most in the gloom of defeat; his unswerving attachment to his principles; his hatred of civil strife, which helped to bring him to his death; all these qualities combine to lift him above any mere partisanship; he was a hero, and had his times been happier, might have been a great statesman. Their nominal head at this time was the

¹ See Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, i. p. 140, sqq.

² See Tavannes, *Collect. Univ.* xxvii. p. 23.

King of Navarre, Antony of Bourbon, who claimed the charge of the young King, as being heir presumptive to the throne. But he was frivolous and light of nature, irresolute, timid, now 'turning hither and now thither, fluctuating vaguely between the parties'.¹ His anxiety to recover his throne of Navarre, which had been seized by the Spaniards, or at least some compensation for the loss of it, made him the mere creature of Philip, who played on him with half-contemptuous falsehood, and led him about with dreams and hopes of a new kingdom in the sweet softness of a Sicilian paradise. His younger brothers were the Cardinal Bourbon, and Louis, Prince of Condé, a man of far stronger character, who soon came to the forefront, though in the beginning he stood aside awhile to let the head of the family take the lead. Quiet and unobserved, Jeanne of Albret, Antony's spouse, had not yet shown her great qualities, which were not fully evoked till the successive changes of the civil wars swept away all the chiefs except Coligny, and left her with her young son Henry of Navarre, at the head of a dispirited and beaten party.

In the midst of them all stood the Queen Mother, Catherine dei Medici, a not unworthy third with Queen Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots, in the trio of remarkable women of her time: they were all obliged to exert their skill in intrigue, in flattery, even in flirtation; all were called on to move cautiously between parties, to attach men to themselves personally and politically, to play their weakness off against the strength of faction. But while Elizabeth, in circumstances more fortunate, in character more noble, steered a safe course among the reefs and shoals of her long reign, and left behind her a great reputation, built up on the greatness of a nation, Mary of Scots, after long buffetings, made sad shipwreck of her career, and Catherine was destined to see her high ambitions wither in the hot party strife of France, condemned to play on the more disgraceful passions of men or even stoop to the dagger of the assassin, fated to pass down to posterity as an immoral and

¹ Tavannes, Collect. Univ. xxvii. p. 41.

unprincipled adventurer. And yet she has claims to consideration. Her circumstances were hopelessly difficult and intricate; she was almost without a party in France; she balanced and shifted ground and played with men, but all in the interests of moderation and even of toleration; she liked to listen to L'Hôpital, the wisest man of his time: at first she really sought the welfare of France, and strove to lift the monarchy above the din of contending factions. In working for these ends she showed more circumspection than enterprise; she was crafty, flexible, cat-like; but 'not cruel or bad-natured on the one side; nor, on the other, well-principled or naturally good; her virtues and vices always depended on circumstances external to herself'. The portraits we have of her in her later life do her no justice: she must have grown coarse and heavy-looking: for when she first came into France she is described as handsome, tall, always well-dressed; 'with the prettiest hand that ever was seen': a cheerful, pleasure-loving woman, with winning manners and a ready laugh, 'of her own nature she was jovial'²: she was a beautiful rider, played well at all games, excelled at 'Palle mail,' could shoot with the crossbow; dearly loved a new dance, was ever getting up gay little ballets for bad weather; she embroidered in silk with marvellous skill; she was sparkling and clever in talk, very intelligent and subtle: she delighted in astronomy, and built an observatory for her 'astrologer' Ruggieri, and listened eagerly to his science and predictions. With all this, she was exceedingly ambitious, and desirous of power. Her early life in France must have been very trying: she was a foreigner, something of a parvenue; the Constable treated her 'as a merchant's daughter'; she bore no children for years, and men wished Francis I to send her back to Italy; her husband neglected her for Diana of Poitiers. But she had infinite tact; her prudence was only equalled by her patience; and in course of time she bore the Dauphin sons, and was in the end

¹ Anquetil, *Esprit de la Ligue*, i. p. 72.

² 'Elle rioit volontiers, et aussi de son naturel elle estoit *joviale*,' says Brantôme, Collect. Univ. lxiii. p. 176.

the mother of seven children, who brought her little happiness, except in so far as they assured her position. Such a woman would quickly understand the difficult problems around her, and easily hit the weak points of the men with whom she had to do. 'To-day,' says Hénault, speaking of Henry's accident, 'the face of France is changed. The unfortunate death of the King has just put his spouse at the head of affairs:—You will see her full of application, serious, absolute, jealous of her authority, haughty or affable as need may be, reserved, seeming now to capitulate, and then suddenly escaping . . . she really loves but two things, authority and gallantry.' And Le Laboureur adds that 'on her husband's death she used both parties, and kept things at a balance, without any support for her authority except her wit and cleverness.' Her inclinations no doubt were with the Guises; she at first sided with them 'under a promise that all should be done by her advice'¹; they and she were foreigners alike, as too was their powerful ally Mary Stewart; they were all decided Catholics. But she knew that even against the princes of the blood the Guises might become too strong, and determined to balance: her career has been called 'Macchiavellianism put in action,' for she deceived now this side and now that: both avenged themselves by abusing, perhaps by slandering, the ablest woman of their day.

But her highest good fortune lay in her becoming connected with Michel de l'Hôpital, 'one of the greatest men of his time,' as Bayle calls him, and perhaps of any time. In 1560 Jacqueline, Duchess of Montpensier, was her favourite lady in waiting: she even then was a Huguenot, but secretly for fear of her husband, a vehement Catholic. De Thou tells us that, seeing the Guises too strong, she advised Catherine to nominate L'Hôpital as Chancellor, and to try to find a sure basis for her policy in the moderation of the law, a great power in France at any time, and not least in such days as these. The Queen Mother happily acted on this advice; and the Auvergnat lawyer became Chancellor of France. He had studied law in Italy, and was a man

¹ Tavannes, Collect. Univ. xxvii. p. 18.

of great learning, infinite patience, and freedom from partisanship. His mind was pure, cold, logical, and equal. He represented the highest French legal culture, the best that the Parliament could produce. He did not live to see his wise advice successful; he heard from afar the din of the S. Bartholomew massacre, and must have deemed his life's work a failure. But it was no failure: he left behind him a school of thought which developed into the party of the 'Politiques,' and led up to the triumph of Henry IV, which laid the foundations of the greatness of France in the most brilliant epoch of her history. It is almost needless to add that the strict Catholics hated a man who was too wise and too great to attach himself to any party: to them the doctrine of toleration seemed more dangerous even than heresy; he was accused, as usual in such cases, of atheism; the Jesuit-party clamoured for his imprisonment, for his banishment; the influence of the Pope himself was brought to bear on the Court. At last even Catherine, in the time of Charles IX, dreaded his influence; and he was compelled to retire, after having been Chancellor for eight years. Mézeray says of him that 'the integrity of his character, his experience, wisdom in affairs, were acknowledged in all the world; as also his inviolable affection for the good of the state, the defence of the law, the comfort of the people, and his constant courage in resisting the injustice of the great'. He lived just long enough to lift up his voice in condemnation of the massacre of S. Bartholomew's Day: Ronsard celebrated his virtues in a classical ode, likening him to the great lawyers of Greece and Rome. Could any one have saved France from civil war, it had been Michel de l'Hôpital. His was a broad, wise forehead, a calm and benevolent countenance; his white hairs, and grave dignified manner, a melancholy gentleness of act and speech won respect and confidence; even the frivolous Brantôme treats his character with reverence.

In the strife of parties the Guises, who had seized on the whole power and government of the state, were at first, as we

¹ Mézeray, Histoire de France, III. p. 296 (ed. 1685).

have said, approved of by Philip of Spain only so far as they represented the strict Catholic party and tended to support that great scheme of repression, which was at this moment being tried in Spain, in the Netherlands, and in Italy, where moderate churchmen were now undergoing persecution at the hands of the Papacy. As time goes on, the fear lest Mary Stewart should become too powerful ceases, and Philip draws towards the French Catholic party; the Jesuits, whose influence rises with the rising tide of the reaction, are borne into France with this foreign movement: they, the Spanish monarchy, and the renovated Papacy, join hands with the Guises; and the days of the League begin. At first, the Huguenots, with the malcontent nobles, seem to be by far the stronger party: but, tested by the actual struggle, they are found to have little root in popular sympathy: Antony of Navarre is their weakness; his defection and that of Montmorency are sore blows to them: presently, the massacre of S. Bartholomew's day cuts off their natural leaders.

But that great crime was also a great blunder. From that moment the character of the struggle changes: the wars, religious before, are now political: the country recognises the fact that the Leaguers are the anti-national party, resting on foreign support, led by half-foreign chiefs. The Politiques, the moderate Catholics, a purely national party, ready to subordinate their religious to their political feelings, now rise into prominence. The change of feeling and position is somewhat analogous to that of the two parties of the previous century, when the Armagnacs of the South and West gradually became the national side, while the Burgundians of the North and East came to be looked on as foreigners. This middle party protect the remaining Huguenots; they make possible a solution of the difficulties of the age by evoking a sense of patriotism in the country. And lastly, when once they have allied themselves with that great Huguenot chief Henry of Navarre, and when he has in turn accepted their views in Church and State, the civil wars of France come slowly to an end.

But when Francis II, an unhealthy feeble youth, slave to his beautiful young wife and her uncles, came to the throne, the air was 'full of cries and sounds and defamatory libels'.¹ The Guises treated their rivals with unwise pride: they showed contempt for the Princes of the blood; they persuaded Francis to dismiss them and the Constable with scant courtesy; the trial of Anne du Bourg was pushed on, and he was beheaded; severities began against the Huguenots. The malcontents made common cause with them: the agitation grew and spread. The Huguenots corresponded with Geneva, with the German Princes, with Queen Elizabeth²; they consulted the greatest lawyers and theologians as to their right of resistance and conspiracy. Most of these ruled that as the King was manifestly incapable of governing, and was misled by the Guises, the Princes of the blood, 'being born magistrates,' had an inherent right of resistance. It is an early example of the way in which the troubles of this age provoked speculations on the theory of politics. Calvin alone had hopes that by legitimate means the malcontents might gain their point: he warmly condemned the appeal to force. But he was not listened to: they proclaimed that foreign princes had possession of the King, to the exclusion of his kin; they called for the States General, debated as to what was due to the King and what to the people³, and finally resolved to seize on the person of Francis. A somewhat obscure gentleman of Perigord, Godfrey du Barri, lord of La Renaudie, whose reputation had suffered from a severe if not an unjust judgment⁴ at Dijon, was chosen to organise the conspiracy. In February 1560 he called his party together at Nantes: men came from every corner of France; nobles and burghers met, and called themselves a States General: they declared that they desired to do no harm to the

¹ Tavannes, Collect. Univ. xxvii. pp. 25, 26.

² Lingard credits her with originating La Renaudie's conspiracy, but with what authority? History of England, vi. p. 24 (ed. 1855).

³ Tavannes, Collect. Univ. xxvii. p. 27.

⁴ De Thou says (Hist. lib. xxiv. tom. iv. pp. 136, 137) that it was the fault of others rather than his own.

young King, but only to depose the Guises, who, as they affirmed, were not only crushing 'those of the Religion'; but were overthrowing the nobles, and even the royal House. It was agreed that their 'mute captain' should be the Prince of Condé: he was ambitious and resolute, and safer than his feeble brother Antony, who 'whatever he thought to-day, would repent of it to-morrow': Condé should not be compromised, till success was assured. The Châtillons were, apparently, not entangled at all in the affair.

The plans were well laid; La Renaudie was indefatigable: although Philip's agents served him well, and sent him tidings of the plot, the French Court paid little heed to his warnings; the young King lay at Blois, an open place, easy to be surprised. But an advocate, whom La Renaudie had incautiously let into the secret, gave the Court such intelligence, as could not be doubted: the King was moved to the safe shelter of Amboise; his guards doubled, more vigilance exercised. The Châtillon brothers were summoned to Court, and cleared themselves by fearlessly coming: they even persuaded the Queen Mother that the severities against the Huguenots ought to be relaxed. The conspirators, however, thought themselves strong enough to venture on their attack, which failed utterly: La Renaudie was killed; the Guises struck hard and sharp; the Loire was choked with corpses. Condé, summoned to Court, offered to clear himself by ordeal of duel, and the Duke of Guise offered to be his second: there was no proof against him, they hesitated to assassinate him; and he returned to Bearn. The Duke of Guise was named Lieutenant-General with unlimited powers, the King in fact delegating all his powers to him as a Dictator. The Huguenots loudly declared that the conspiracy had been political, not religious; while on the other hand the Guises professed to see in it nothing but an attack on the Catholic faith. The Chancellor Olivier who was afraid to resist the cruel

¹ 'Ceux de la Religion prétendue réformée,' is the full official phrase, as it occurs in the many edicts of the time.

² De Thou, Hist. lib. xxvii (tom. v. p. 71, ed. 1609): 'Qui quod hodie probet cras improbaturus sit.'

vengeance of the Guises, and became the legal instrument of the massacre, took to his bed in agonies of remorse: 'Ah, Cardinal,' he cried to the Cardinal of Lorraine, who came to visit him, 'you have been our perdition': he died with the name of the judicially-murdered Du Bourg on his lips.

Then the Chancellorship, thus vacant, was given by the Queen Mother, with full consent of the Guises, who seem to have mistaken courtesy and suavity for weakness, to Michel de l'Hôpital, who at the time was acting as Chancellor of Margaret of France, Duchess of Savoy. He brought back to France a great reputation for learning and integrity: the device which he afterwards gave to Charles IX,—two columns with the legend 'Pietate et Justitia,'—expresses his character and his principles; by piety and justice, by moderation and fair dealing, he hoped to assuage the angry passions of party, and to give to his country the benefit of the good-will and help of all: toleration and equity should be his means of action. It was in vain, against the vehemence of either side, the fanaticism of the Catholics, the arrogance of the Huguenots. Could France have listened to his wise voice, she had been spared much suffering, and her utter subjection under the monarchy had been averted. Perhaps the most melancholy element in this great man's life is his fate in being attached to so unprincipled a politician as Catherine: her supple feline policy was a kind of distorted reflexion of his principles: were we only to regard him as having inspired her career, we might conclude that he was a mere waiter upon time, a hand-to-mouth statesman, ever trying to make the best of miserable materials. But L'Hôpital was far greater than his mistress: what might have been his fame and his career, had he been Chancellor of France a few years later, under the beneficent sway of Henry IV!

His first act as Chancellor was characteristic. By wise advice and judicious yielding, he saved France from the Inquisition, which the Guises, following their natural instincts, wished to introduce after the Amboise plot. In May 1560 the Edict of Romorantin, which the Guises accepted as a compromise

instead of the Inquisition, was decreed, and registered in the Parliament of Paris. It enacted that henceforth the Bishops should have exclusive cognisance of heresy. The Chancellor drew it, and interpreted it in such a way that its power of offence was but small. Neither party was much pleased with the result; but the attention of the Guises was called off by affairs at a distance; for Scotland was in the throes of her struggle against their party; the Calvinists, aided by England, now threw off the French and Catholic domination. The immediate result was a lessening of the authority of the Guises; for Mary Stewart could no longer count on Scotland against England: the foreign influence of their party was ruined at one blow, and the old Franco-Scottish alliance snapped at once and for ever. But in its farther results the Scottish revolution was a misfortune to France: for it relieved Philip of Spain from all anxiety as to a combination between France, Scotland, and England against him; and consequently led him to interfere more distinctly and with weight on behalf of the high Catholic party in France during the coming troubles.

Catherine, seeking for some counterpoise to the omnipotence of the Lorraine princes, called an Assembly of Notables at Fontainebleau. Thither came Coligny, and many Protestants; they spoke out boldly and well for their liberties; two bishops, Montluc, Bishop of Valence, and Marillac, Archbishop of Vienne, created a great impression by their moderate counsels; they were hotly accused of Calvinism. Who could venture to be moderate in those days? Still their advice was taken, and it was agreed that the States General should meet at Orleans, a national Council should be assembled, and, meanwhile, all punishment of heretics should be suspended. It is said that this threat of a national Council was the true motive which led to the third and last convocation of the Council of Trent.

When the Estates did meet, the King of Navarre and his brother Condé, who had called for their assembly, were full of misgivings as they came up to Paris; their anxiety was well-founded; Condé was arrested and imprisoned; Antony of

Navarre was kept as a prisoner at large. The Guises had proof which, it was said, implicated the Bourbons in a plot formed by the Huguenots to seize Lyons. The Guise party, led by the Cardinal of Lorraine, who had taken every step to secure success by gathering together soldiers from Picardy, Piedmont, Scotland, and others whom they could trust, vehemently pushed their trial on. The scheme they had laid so carefully seemed on the verge of success; the leaders thus stricken down, they would at once crush all the mutinous South, and with full approval of the feeble King, forthwith rule omnipotent in France. Repression had in fact already begun in Perigord and the Limousin, whither Marshal Thermes had been sent with stringent orders to destroy the Huguenots by martial law. But just at the critical moment Francis sickened. It was whispered that his wretched constitution had given way entirely; the executioner's hand was stayed. The intriguers of both parties waited in awe-stricken truce, till after three or four days' illness the poor King breathed his last. It was a cruel blow; the supremacy of the Guises was shattered at the very moment when they seemed about to crown the edifice. They tried to play one last stroke, and offered to Catherine the Regency with ample powers, if she would allow the Bourbons to perish. She, with L'Hôpital at her elbow, was far too well-advised to leave the Lorrainers without any counterpoise. Antony of Navarre, easy-going, friendly man, 'weak from excess of good nature,' as Tavannes says¹, was half-frightened half-persuaded into an alliance with the Queen Mother, by the terms of which she should have the position of Regent and the real power, while he should succeed to the post of Lieutenant-General of the Realm, an office which had been a kind of Dictatorship in the hands of such a Prince as the Duke of Guise, but was not likely to be of more than nominal power when held by one so wavering as Antony, in whose household there were always two parties, pulling equally in two ways, and in whose heart were many divided counsels. But as yet

¹ Tavannes, *Collect. Univ.* xxvii. p. 49.

neither did Catherine call herself Queen Regent, nor Antony Lieutenant-General. The Queen Mother also brought about his reconciliation with the Lorraine princes, who had treated him so ill; had kept him out of that charge of the kingdom, which was due to him as the nearest Prince of the Blood, and had but just now been eagerly pushing on his judicial murder. All parties made a momentary armistice. The aged Anne of Montmorency, the Constable, stupid and honest, and full of the loyalty which marks the heavy guardsman, an excellent drill-sergeant, a miserable general, professed on his knees with tears in his eyes his devotion to his new sovereign. Condé was released from prison, though he was still regarded as on his trial, and was sent away into Picardy; the Guises nominally retained much of their power, though the finances were undertaken by the Privy Council. 'To an imaginary majority,' as men said, 'had succeeded a real minority.' Charles IX was but ten years and a half old; it was no longer possible to carry on the government under a 'roi fainéant': there must be some Regent, a recognised and real power. Antony, who ought to have held this all-important post, let himself be frightened out of it. In vain did the Huguenots urge him to seize the reins of government; in vain Calvin, with all the weight of his great authority, besought him to act vigorously; he was listened to as little now as when he had tried to dissuade them from the rash attempt of Amboise.

The position of parties now somewhat changes. The three discontented groups,—that is, the Princes of the Blood, the Constable and his friends, who had been pushed aside when Francis II came to the throne, and the Huguenots,—were now no longer united. Montmorency returned to court, and, as a strong Catholic and royalist, soon fell away from the others; the Princes of the Blood were rather fearful of committing themselves too closely to the Huguenot party.

On the other hand, the Guises felt their footing to be insecure; they had seen their schemes suddenly shattered, and

scarcely knew what step next to take. There remained the Queen Mother and L'Hôpital, who drew towards Montmorency, who headed the war-power, and made, as we have seen, a compact with the King of Navarre. The question for the country was,—Can this triumvirate, Catherine, Antony of Bourbon, and Montmorency, hold its own, and govern France moderately and peacefully, between Huguenots, who clamoured for freedom of worship and opinion, and the Lorraine-party, who were fanatically eager to crush them? Mary Stewart, whose footing in France became precarious from the moment of her husband's death, was forced, in 1561, much against her will, to set sail again for Scotland. She was but eighteen years old; all her ambitions, sympathies, happiness, were centred in the land of her adoption; she shuddered when she thought of the raw climate, the rigid moral code, the fierce Calvinism of her realm; she saw herself surrounded by angry parties, or ruled by the iron rod of John Knox: a gloomy prospect for one who loved the gay licence of sunny France. As her ship sailed out to sea, the sad young Queen, scarcely able to see through her tears, leant over the bulwark, murmuring, 'Adieu, France,' with a broken voice, till the blue shore slowly faded from her sight. Her instincts told her true: she was bidding farewell for ever to peace; henceforth her lot would be a life of intrigue and crime, leading on to long years of prison, and the scaffold at the end.

The discourse which L'Hôpital pronounced at the opening of the States General well expresses the aims this central party set before it. His wise and temperate sentiments, the gravity of his manner and of the occasion; his enunciation of the importance of the royal power; his appeals to the States General 'not to give up the name of Christian for the devil's titles of Lutheran, Huguenot, Papist, names of party and sedition';¹ his exhortation to the good towns to repress all lawlessness and

¹ 'His ab hoste generis humani cogitatis Lutheranorum, Hugonotorum et Papanorum vocabulis, ac specioso Christianorum nomine retento.' De Thou. Hist. lib. xxvii (tom. v. p. 12, ed. 1609).

disturbance; his glance at the pitiable state of the King's purse, which was a side stroke at the Cardinal of Lorraine;—all these things, duly listened to and pondered, might, had there been more love of country and less of bitter partisanship, have saved France from the terrible misfortunes of this disastrous reign. And at first these counsels seemed likely to prevail: the Estates of Orleans recognised the evils dominant in the Church, the confusion in the finances, the bad state of commerce and agriculture: on the very day on which the States General ceased to sit (31st Jan. 1561), appeared the Edict of Orleans, which embodied, in a moderate form, the reforms demanded by the Third Estate. But the Parliament of Paris, that stronghold of the lawyers, seeing that some of the most valuable reforms were directed against legal abuses, resisted violently, and refused to register the Ordinance; while the Huguenots for their part were dissatisfied and restless.

Intrigues fill up a dreary time; these are the days in which Catherine tried her new plan of management, and called into action 'the Queen's flying squadron.' By this means she secured the King of Navarre, who had been busy with a scheme for overthrowing the Guises. The Queen Mother would no more let him destroy the Guises than, a few months before, she had allowed them to crush the Bourbon Princes. The Bourbons had threatened, if the Lorrainers were not banished, to withdraw from Court, declaring that they would then march on Paris, and make the Parliament proclaim the King of Navarre Regent of the Realm. Montmorency, Antony, Condé, the Châtillons, and the leading nobles of the Court, were preparing to carry out their threat by sending forward baggage and servants, when Catherine skilfully stopped the Constable, by making the child-King command him on his loyalty not to desert him; the honest old man bowed his head and obeyed. She then entangled the King of Navarre, amusing him with a silly love-affair; the crisis passed by, and the whole party remained at Court.

But the fluctuations of parties began again: Montmorency was shocked by the audacity and opinions of the Huguenots.

He was also angered at hearing that it was proposed, in the interests of economy, to withdraw the ruinous gifts made to the leading favourites of the last two Kings, for he had received great wealth from Henry II; and here his interests were at one with those of the Guises, who had plundered the realm shamelessly. Consequently he drew gradually towards them, and before long had entirely changed sides. The influence of his son, the Marshal Montmorency, and of his nephews, the Châtillons, was powerless against the old man's prejudices, when ably played on by his former comrade the Marshal S. André, and fanned by the still more influential favourite Diana of Poitiers, and by the strong likes and dislikes of his wife, who hated the nephews. The upshot of it was the fatal Triumvirate of 1561. On Easter Day the agreement was solemnly made between Francis, Duke of Guise, the Constable, and S. André. The Queen Mother, seeing that the balance was endangered, drew more towards the Châtillons and Bourbons.

Then first sprang up serious rumours of a Catholic League, to support this Triumvirate. We find the name used as an entirely established term in 1562: 'Her Majesty,' says Prosper de Sainte-Croix¹, 'is going towards Blois, so as to be nearer the Huguenot forces, because she fancies they will be able to counterbalance those of the League.' Philip II of Spain was indicated as its recognised head; his influence should gain over the King of Navarre; the Emperor should be urged to coerce the German Protestants on the French border; the Italian Princes should threaten the spiritual capital of Calvinism, Geneva. Parties henceforth are simplified. On the one side

¹ March 15, 1562; Cimber et Danjou, I. vi. p. 54. There is no explanation of the word, it is simply 'ceux de la Ligue.' By that time Antony of Bourbon was leagued with the Guises and the Spanish party. Still 'the League' proper is not definitely established till several years later. Prosper de S^{te} Croix was Bishop of Chisamo and Nuncio of Pius IV at the French Court from 1561 to 1565. His letters addressed to Carlo Borromeo are a most interesting expression of the ideas, aims, and partisan proceedings of the High Catholic party, of which the great and sainted Cardinal Archbishop of Milan was a violent and cruel supporter.

stood the Triumvirs with the strong Catholics; on the other the Châtillons with the Huguenots and the discontented nobles. The Queen Mother, with alarm, saw herself powerless between them. Daily disturbances broke out: partisan feeling grew more and more embittered: the Edict of July, the result of hot debates in the Parliament of Paris, expressed the decision come to by a majority of only three votes¹ that 'those only should be condemned to death who took part in heretical assemblies, and that all others suspected of simple heresy should be handed over to the ecclesiastical tribunals.'

This Edict, to the delight of the Duke of Guise, who boasted that to give it effect his sword would leap from its scabbard, was a severe blow to the Huguenots, who were demanding the right of freedom to hold services and to preach. It may be noticed how through this period the efforts of the High Catholic party were concentrated on this question of liberty to preach. Then, as ever, the pulpit seems to have had an influence in France far beyond anything known to us: the hereditary Gallic love of oratory may, in part at least, be the cause. They seem to have thought that freedom of speech granted to 'those of the Religion' would be fatal; that all men would be led astray by the preachers: they were as yet far from the greater sagacity of the Jesuits, who soon learnt to meet eloquence with eloquence, fervour with fervour, and who became the masters of logic and controversy².

No sooner was the Edict of July launched, than the Chancellor sought to modify it by a convocation of the States General at Pontoise: the deputies of the Noblesse and the Third Estate were almost to a man either moderates or Huguenots: they rallied round the Queen Mother, and gave her the title of Regent as well as the substantive power; they claimed biennial meetings of the States; abolished the Edict of July; called for a reform of clergy, and freedom of worship for the

¹ Some accounts say seven.

² Prosper de Sainte Croix always urges this repression of the conventicles as the one remedy for the dangers of the time.

Huguenots, and many other changes; above all they demanded the exclusion of the Lorraine Princes and the Cardinals from the Council. A colloquy was also held at Poissy to deal with religious matters: the Regent had been so successful at Pontoise that she hoped by prudence and management to conciliate the two great parties: it was a great step for the Huguenots to find themselves treated for the first time as on an equality with the Catholics¹: Beza, their chief speaker, made a deep impression by his eloquence: but the other party, ably backed by Lainez, the general of the Jesuits, threw matters into confusion, and the assembly, after much wrangling, was dissolved.

These things did but irritate the Catholics, while they also raised still higher the arrogance of the nobles and Huguenots. The Guises withdrew for a time, to mark their disapproval of the course the Regent was following: Philip of Spain declared his high displeasure, and hinted that he was ready to interfere: the King of Navarre, dissatisfied with his ally Catherine, and seeing that he had only nominal power,—still more allured by the 'entertainment of hopes'² dangled before him by Philip, who half-offered, as a mere bait, Sardinia in lieu of his lost kingdom of Navarre³,—now abandoned his old friends and joined the Triumvirs: it was a great and damaging blow to the moderates. These next, guided by L'Hôpital and the Queen Regent, placed their hopes in the convocation of an extraordinary assembly at S. Germain. The Chancellor selected from the eight Parliaments of the realm those presidents and counsellors whom he knew to be most decidedly moderate in opinions: to these were added the King's Privy Council: thus secure of a strong majority, he ventured, in his opening address, to point out to the assembly that the two institutions, Church and State, need not absolutely be coincident: 'many,' he said, 'may be

¹ De Thou, *Hist. lib.* xxviii (tom. v. p. 125).

² 'Entretenerlo con esperanças,' says Granvella, 15 Dec. 1561. Quoted by von Ranke, *Franz. Geschichte*, i. p. 177.

³ We see from the letters of Prosper de Sainte Croix (*Cimber et Danjou*, I. vi. p. 10, 11) how entirely the weak King was led by the hope of restoration in Navarre, or indemnification elsewhere: this is the clue to his policy, and this eventually proved his ruin.

citizens, who are not even Christians': he urged them to remember that their work was to settle the bases not of religion but of the body politic; he prayed them to support the King as one who stands between and above parties. These addresses of L'Hôpital are among the most remarkable state-papers of the age, though the truths they eloquently express were far from being accepted or acceptable; they belonged to a far later time, and, in fact, have not yet come to be fully understood in Europe. France, in the person of one who was perhaps her wisest statesman, has the honour of having first proclaimed those doctrines of toleration and civic equality before the law, round which so many deadly wars have been waged; the simplicity and justice of his views have been but slowly and reluctantly recognised even in our days.

The Assembly of S. Germain drew up and promulgated a new Edict, which came to be called the 'Edict of January' (1562): the exercise of Protestant worship was allowed in the open country, though it was forbidden in towns; all penalties to which heretics were liable were suspended; the Huguenots were ordered not to disturb the ancient worship in any way: in a word, the Edict preached a fair and equal tolerance, guaranteeing, however, to the old Faith, as possessor of the ground, its churches, lands, forms and ornaments of worship, and the sole possession of the closed towns of France. The Edict is specially notable in this, that it is the first occasion on which the Huguenots received formal recognition by the State; and had they been more prudent, it might have been a great epoch in their history.

Unfortunately there are moments in the history of a state when nothing seems so ill-timed as moderation and justice. The Huguenots refused to listen to that part of the Edict which bade them respect their neighbours' faith: they deemed their battle won, and fell with fierce joy on their antagonists, attacking their churches, breaking images, throwing open convents, insulting the warmest feelings and convictions of the Catholic party. The Catholics, for their part, were equally determined

never to allow the earlier part of the Edict to pass into use in France. Paris was the scene of grave disturbances: Condé, with a troop of four hundred gentlemen, with insulting bravery, escorted the Huguenot ministers through the angry streets to their place of meeting at Charenton: the lesser cities saw similar scenes; and not without bloodshed.

These three assemblies, the States General of Pontoise, the Colloquy of Poissy, and the Council at S. Germain, all under the guidance and inspiration of L'Hôpital, are the nearest approach that France, in these earlier days, could make to constitutional life: they fell on evil times; they were not sufficiently representative, nor were the parties in the country willing of their own accord to bow to their decision, nor finally had the moderate party at Court sufficient strength to enforce the Edict when it appeared. The fair show of discussion in the State, in the Church, in the hands of the representatives of the Parliaments, only tended to aggravate the evils of the time; it did but lead to the outbreak of the civil wars. It is perhaps almost enough to quote the advice given by Prosper de Sainte-Croix at this moment: he is speaking to Catherine and the King of Navarre of the Estates at Pontoise: 'We represented how necessary it was that the Regent should reserve to herself the right of forming, at her own will, the final judgment; seeing that it was not suitable that her Majesty should allow the introduction of the custom of obliging herself to do whatever those folk there might set forth and conclude: their Majesties at once assented.'

The Duke of Guise had withdrawn to the East, and had even gone out of France into Alsace to persuade the Lutheran princes of Germany to stand aloof, by arousing their dislike to the Calvinistic tenets dominant in France, and by himself professing an inclination for the consubstantialist theology; he was now called back by his partisans in Paris, who judged that their time was come. For Catholic opinion was profoundly irritated: the defection of the King of Navarre had greatly weakened the other party; and finally offers of help came in from every

quarter: 'in case of need,' said Prosper de Sainte-Croix¹, 'we offered him (the French King), I for the Pope, and the Ambassador for Spain, all the forces of our masters, for the service of God and preservation of our religion.'

The Duke of Guise, receiving his summons, left Joinville with his brother the Cardinal and two hundred gentlemen; and on a Sunday (1 March, 1562) rode into the little town of Vassy², where a detachment of his men were to meet him. Here, by favour of the Bishop of Troyes, who was friendly to the Huguenots, a Calvinist church had been established, and service held in a large granary. As Guise rode up to the town, he heard the ringing of a bell; and when the people round him were told it was to call together the Protestants to worship, they went off noisily to disturb them: first they called them names, then threw stones³ at them; then some horsemen broke the doors down, and attacked the congregation with drawn swords, 'then arose a shrieking of women, children, and the unarmed crowd; a vast confusion of those who ran hither and thither to find escape; others climbed to the crossbeams of the roof, and pulling away the tiles, got outside; but only to be picked off by gunshot or stones; at last tidings came to Anne Duchess of Guise, who was supposed to be not unfriendly to the Protestants, and she sent to beseech her husband to appease the tumult. He had already ridden up; but at the granary door he was struck on the face by a chance stone which drew blood, and his followers, glad of an excuse, rushed in, smiting right and left. In vain the Duke with threats and prayers tried to stop them: their tiger-nature was aroused by blood; and they would not pause till all had either perished or fled. The place was utterly wrecked, the pulpit pulled down, the French bibles torn in pieces; some neighbouring houses plundered.

This lamentable massacre was the prelude to the long civil

¹ 15 Jan. 1562, Cimber et Danjou, I. vi. p. 26.

² Vassy is on the frontiers of Champagne, no great distance from Joinville.

³ So says De Thou, whom I follow here. Hist. lib. xxix (tom. v. p. 204, ed. 1609). 'Saxorum a laxis, ut fit, vibratorum grando consecuta est.'

wars. A shout of execration arose against the Duke of Guise, a man by no means savage or fond of blood, who had done his best to stop the tumult, and was in no way responsible for it. Beza stigmatised him as the 'murderer of the human race'; the excited and pent-up feelings of the Huguenots were aflame at once; the efforts of the Queen Mother and L'Hôpital to still the discord were fruitless: the civil wars begin.

CHAPTER III.

THE CIVIL WARS. FIRST PERIOD.

A.D. 1562-1570.

THE civil wars, which we do not propose to follow in detail, linger on till long after the accession of Henry IV. The Edict of Nantes and the Peace of Vervins (April and May, 1598,) are the two monumental columns which mark the end and boundary of this dreary waste, and secure that compromise between parties which is expressed in the career and character of the first Bourbon King.

We may divide the time into three periods; the first that of the civil wars before the League was actually formed (1562-1570); then the stormy transition-period of the S. Bartholomew Massacre (1570-1573); and third, that of the wars in which the League fought against the Politique-party (1574-1598). In the earlier time the struggle is between Catholic and Huguenot; the latter are looked on as unpatriotic; they rest on foreign aid, and seem to prefer their own aims and objects before the welfare of the nation: but in the last period the Huguenots became comparatively unimportant, and the struggle is carried on by the moderates, or 'Politiques' as they were called, who though mostly Catholics are in favour of toleration and become the national party, while the Leaguers, in their turn, rest on foreign aid.

I. The first Period (1562-1570) contains:—

1. The first war, beginning soon after the Vassy massacre,

and closed early in 1563 by the Pacification of Amboise.

2. The second war, after a brief interval of quiet, occupying the two years 1567 and 1568, and ended by the Peace of Longjumeau, which re-establishes the Amboise Edict.
3. The third war (in reality little but a continuation of the second) running from 1568 to 1570, ended by the Peace of S. Germain, in which the Huguenots, in spite of their reverses, get very good terms.

II. The middle Period (1570-1573):—

4. After the startling interlude of the Massacre of S. Bartholomew's Day, which was preceded by a short peace, the fourth war breaks out, and centres round La Rochelle; the 'third party,' or Politiques, beginning to show, and by their influence the Peace of La Rochelle is signed in 1573.

III. The last Period (1574-1598):—

1. The very next year Charles IX dies (1574), war having just broken out again; the Huguenots, who have become less vigorous and independent, fight under the banner of the Politique-party, headed by 'Monsieur,' the Duke of Alençon, the youngest son of Henry II. In 1576 the Peace of Chastenoy—'la paix de Monsieur'—gives the high Catholic party time to consolidate its new League.
2. In 1577 there are hostilities in Poitou, which scarcely deserve the title of war: in the autumn the Peace of Bergerac closes the strife.
3. In 1579 another obscure partisan-war breaks out, varied in its interest by the question of the Netherlands, which attracts Alençon (or Anjou as he is now called). The peace of Fleix, as obscure as the war, follows. Anjou dies in 1584, and Henry of Navarre becomes heir to the French throne.
4. This entirely changes the character of the warfare, which

breaks out again in 1585. It is now completely political; it is led by one great captain and several considerable chiefs, and being felt to be the supreme struggle between the parties, lasts ten weary years. This war in its course ceases to be civil strife, and becomes European: the Duke of Mayenne and the chief outstanding nobles come in to Henry IV, as also do the principal cities, in 1594; the Jesuits, the moving spirits of the resistance to him, are expelled from France. War goes on with Spain four years longer, until in 1598 the Peace of Vervins closes the whole period.

I. *The First War, 1562-1563.*

Though Paris welcomed the tidings of the Vassy massacre with a shout of joy, the Catholic party generally was only ill-prepared for war. The clergy, and above all the Jesuits, beat the war-drum without stint¹; yet at the outset they seemed likely to be overwhelmed. The Huguenots were eager for war: 'We shall never be friends,' cried D'Andelot, 'till we have had a few fencing-bouts together:' and Beza threw aside all moderation: 'I speak,' cried he to the King of Navarre,—who was certainly aggravating,—'for a Faith which is better skilled in suffering than in revenging wrong; but remember, Sire, that 'tis an anvil on which many a hammer has been broken in pieces².' There arose in them a mixed sentiment, in which religious exaltation, noble independence, and religious republicanism, were combined; in cities like La Rochelle it took a civic or even democratic tone, while in the mouths of the nobles of southern France it was proud and aristocratic.

The Queen and Chancellor at Fontainebleau were stricken with dismay when they heard of the outbreak at Vassy. They forbade the Duke of Guise to continue his journey; but he paid

¹ La Vallée, *Histoire de France*, ii. p. 423.

² Anquetil, *Esprit de la Ligue*, i. p. 136.

no heed to their orders, and entered Paris with amazing pomp, as if he had been a king. She also ordered Condé to leave Paris, with the view of avoiding an explosion, and he obeyed, directing his steps to Meaux, where he was joined by Admiral Coligny. With fifteen hundred horsemen they hastened down to Fontainebleau, intending to carry off the little King and the Regent, a sudden stroke which Catherine would gladly have welcomed in her despair. But the Guises were too quick; when Condé reached Fontainebleau he found that they had already been there, and had escorted the young King to Paris; telling the Queen Regent that she might follow, or return to Italy, as she thought best. In tears, deeply mortified, fearful for her personal safety, Catherine followed the Triumvirs to Paris.

Foiled in his great stroke Condé promptly repaired it by another attempt, which proved successful. He marched quickly on Orleans, and seized that important city, the bridge for him between North and South France, the point from which Paris might be observed and menaced, and through which communications could be kept up with the German Protestants, when they came in by Lorraine.

Both parties looked abroad for help. The Guises appealed to the Pope and the Spanish King, who sent six thousand seasoned troops into Guienne. Condé negotiated with the German Princes, and signed a treaty with Queen Elizabeth (20 Sept. 1562)¹. The document, which is interesting, first alludes to the massacre of Vassy; and then stipulates that English troops should occupy Havre, Dieppe, and Rouen, a triangle with its base on the sea, and apex stretching up towards Paris; it answered to the strong wedge with which Henry V of England had sought to rive the French kingdom asunder, except that the base line then stretched from Calais to the Seine-mouth, and the apex was Paris². The English treaty alludes also to

¹ Dumont, *Recueil de Traités*, v. p. 94.

² See Vol. i. p. 515.

the proposed help from Germany, especially from the Elector Palatine, whose sympathies had now become Calvinistic. Under this treaty, Queen Elizabeth sent over three thousand men and garrisoned Havre, accepting it as in exchange for Calais.

The Huguenot party seized town after town; over two hundred places fell into their hands; the Catholics were surprised and made but a poor resistance. Rouen and the course of the Seine below it, the Loire from Orleans, some towns on the Saone, Lyons, and many cities of the South, fell into their hands. Their spirits rose with every step: they hoped soon to be masters of the country. An attempt was made by the Queen Mother to reconcile the two Bourbon brothers, Antony King of Navarre, who on the Catholic side was at the head of a considerable force threatening Orleans, and Condé, who with an equal force had marched towards Paris; she failed, and the Huguenots heard with cries of joy that her offers had been rejected: religious enthusiasm, combined with an aristocratic pride in the trade of war, seemed likely to overwhelm all opposition.

Yet the very opening of hostilities shewed them how much they had deceived themselves. The French people were entirely opposed to them: and much as they might despise the mob, when it came to actual civil war, they were but a handful against a nation. At the very first stroke the Catholics recovered Blois, Tours, Angers, the whole course of the lower Loire: the Huguenots' hold on the Seine was endangered at once; Touraine, Anjou, Berry, Poitou, Saintonge were all speedily reduced. Wherever the Protestants prevailed, images were broken, old monuments ruined, monasteries sacked, altars desecrated; Christian art, so rich in France, received a sore blow; no difference was made between religious and other statues; the famous copper statue of Louis XI was broken, and the King's bones burnt: the tombs of William the Conqueror and Matilda were destroyed: the Rhone and the Loire received the remains of S. Irenaeus and S. Martin of Tours: the statue of Jeanne Darc on the bridge of Orleans was overthrown. But

their fury at first spent itself on things, not on men: while the violence of the Catholic party avenged itself on human beings; cruelties of every kind, wholesale executions, fire and sword, marked the progress of their arms: the example could not but be imitated by the other party; gradually, but all too fast, the war took the natural colour of all civil strife. On the one side the Baron des Adrets filled Dauphiny with the cries of the Catholics: on the other side, any one who reads 'The Soldier's Bible,' the Memoirs of Montluc, may see for himself with what brutal barbarism the war of Frenchman against Frenchman could be carried on. The Spanish veterans specially distinguished themselves by their savageness: and all in the name of Christ. 'In this war,' says Castelnau¹, 'the arms taken up to defend religion ended by annihilating it.'

The North and centre of France were strongly Catholic, as also was Provence: but the South and South-west side of the country, as well as Dauphiny, where the mountains still sheltered the Vaudois, were as warmly inclined to the Huguenot side. But the Catholic party was far stronger than its antagonists: of the many cities seized at the outset by the Huguenots all had been speedily recovered, except Rouen and Orleans in the North, with three or four lesser places, and a few towns in the South. The English at Havre made Rouen very formidable to the Catholic party: the threat of German interference made Orleans almost as dangerous: it was all-important that these places should be reduced. In Orleans lay Condé himself; Rouen was defended by Montgomery. As the danger from the latter place was the more pressing, the King of Navarre was at once sent thither to besiege it, and the Queen Regent accompanied him. Montgomery, who had already slain one King², now was fated to have a part in the death of another; for Antony of Navarre was wounded in an attack: the physicians thought little of the wound; but whether from his folly and self-indulgence, or from bad treatment or

¹ Castelnau, Bk. V. ch. i.

² See above, p. 292.

ill-health, the hurt instead of healing grew worse, and he died. 'He passed into the tomb, still flattering himself with the hopes raised by the King of Spain; he counted still on a kingdom of Sardinia; thus as he chatted with those round his bed he fancied he would spend a merry life, free from storms of war, where the pomegranate, the jessamine, and the orange groves mingled cool shade with sweet perfume, by the side of rivers whose sands were gold¹. His spouse Jeanne d'Albret, warmly devoted to the Huguenot cause, had quitted the Court for her estates when her husband fell back into the hands of the Catholics: there she busied herself with the education of the bright and sprightly boy, the little Henry of Navarre, destined for high fortunes, who even in childhood showed unusual gifts of body and mind. Antony's death made this child, now nine years old, his heir and a possible heir to the throne of France. So ended the poor career of this weak monarch, who could not abandon his pleasures even to save his life; who changed sides lightly and carelessly; who endowed his son with those faults which flecked the nobility of his character, and robbed him of his right to the name of the Great.

Before he died Rouen had fallen after a gallant defence: Montgomery escaped down the river to Havre, which, with its English garrison alone held out on the Seine: Rouen was pitilessly sacked and pillaged; legal executions followed cruelties of war; the place was well-nigh ruined. The only large cities now remaining in Huguenot hands were Lyons and Orleans: of these the latter was at once threatened. Condé, who commanded there, looked for help from the South of France and from the German frontier; but his friends from the South were repulsed and scattered by Montluc: to Germany he had despatched D'Andelot to gather forces, and about seven thousand men, levied by the Elector Palatine and in Saxony and Hesse, with pay found by Queen Elizabeth, crossed the frontier and joined Condé at Orleans. Then he felt himself

¹ Anquetil, *Esprit de la Ligue*, i. p. 172.

strong enough to march northwards.' An attempt on Corbeil failed; but he was not opposed in the open field, and came even as far as the faubourgs of Paris. A strong force of Spaniards and Gascons were now thrown into the capital, and Condé, too weak to besiege the town, turned to the west, proposing to meet the English troops who were expected shortly to land at Havre.

The Queen-Regent sent out an army in pursuit: Condé was overtaken at Dreux by Montmorency the Constable, under whom the Duke of Guise condescended to serve; and on Dec. 19, 1562, the first battle of the Civil Wars took place. It was a long and equal struggle, for if the Catholic party were stronger in foot-soldiers, the noble Huguenots, as was usually the case, had a decided preponderance in horse; the cavalry of the French noblesse was in these wars often pitted against the infantry of Spain and of the Catholic cities. The battle resulted in the defeat of the nobles, after heroic resistance. It was a singular fact that the commanders-in-chief of both armies were taken prisoners: Condé fell into the Duke of Guise's hands, and Montmorency was carried off by the Huguenot horse. The Marshal St. André perished, as did also the young Duke of Nevers. Coligny, ever greatest in defeat, drew off the beaten Huguenots in excellent order, with artillery and cavalry. He was named general-in-chief in the absence of Condé, and fell back to the south beyond the Loire. On the other side, the Duke of Guise, alone of the Triumvirs, remained at the head of affairs.

Coligny, feeling the need of English support, presently left Orleans with his cavalry, and rode towards the north-west: Guise saw his going with delight, and left him free, while he brought up all his forces to besiege the town, which commanded the critical passage over the Loire. In spite of D'Andelot's efforts, the south side of the city fell at once¹; and the Duke of Guise pushed on to attack the islands on which the

¹ See Map, Vol. I, p. 519.

great bridge of Orleans rests. But just as all was ready for the assault, just as the hearts of the defenders were sinking low—for they were dispirited, weakened by pestilence, cut off from all aid, and without tidings of Coligny—the Duke was treacherously shot down by a Huguenot assassin, Poltrot, a gentleman from the Anjou country. He lingered a few days, gave good advice to Catherine, beseeching her to use moderation and to restore peace to France; he also once more protested that he was guiltless, as indeed he was, of the Vassy bloodshed, and then made a tranquil end. The death of Francis of Guise was a mishap for France: he was a statesman, and not averse to moderate counsels; both he and his brother the Cardinal were inclined to recognise the need of some reform in the Church; some members of his family were not unfriendly toward the Huguenots. If the civil war could have been cleared of its political elements, if the rivalry of Bourbons and Guises could have been allayed, a moderate settlement of the Huguenot grievances might have been come to by the mediation of such men as Francis of Guise, L'Hôpital, and Coligny, all acting under the friendly eye of Catherine dei Medici.

The heads of the Catholic party were gone: the Queen Mother could now hope once more to rule indeed, for the ambition of the Lorraine princes was no longer to be feared. The Huguenots, accomplices after the fact, rejoiced at the fall of their most formidable enemy. Beza, who denied that he had urged Poltrot to commit the crime, still regarded the Duke's death as a just judgment of God; even Coligny himself confessed that he thought it a subject for anything but regret.

The face of affairs thus changed, Catherine again began to negotiate, and this time with great hopes of success. The Catholics were paralysed, the Huguenots disheartened: no one had any money; all France was ravaged and spoiled. The two prisoners, Condé and Montmorency, were consulted; each gave way somewhat; and the Edict of Amboise (19 March, 1563) closed the war. The Calvinists were allowed free

exercise of their religion in those cities which were in their hands; the liberty of preaching in the open country was limited: in each Bailliage, under immediate jurisdiction of the Parliaments, one town was granted them in which their worship should be free. Condé and his followers were declared loyal subjects. The Admiral was vexed; he had still a fine force at his command, and, the Duke of Guise being dead, had hoped to accomplish something great for his party: but his influence could not delay the peace, though his discontent prepared for future war. The Calvinists abandoned Orleans: the German 'reiters' were sent home: Lyons was given up: in August the English were forced to retire from Havre. The young King Charles was declared by the Parliament of Rouen to have attained his majority: the Regent gave him excellent advice, which was not followed. The boy was now thirteen; lively, fond of active exercise, delighting in war and hunting; tall, graceful, dignified, sensitive and intelligent; liable however to fits of anger, and easily led. Unfortunately he was surrounded by courtiers whose guidance could only be bad.

This same year was marked by the close of the Council of Trent: all hope of reuniting the Protestants and Catholics had long been abandoned: the Council had become a Council of the Latin races only; the union of the southern kingdoms for the support of the papacy was assured, and Rome took up her new position as capital of a narrower but far more compact spiritual empire. We are told that just before the Council was dispersed, the Cardinal of Lorraine, whose influence there had been very great, sketched out the first formal outline of the great League of the future: it was to be headed by Philip II, blessed by the Pope, Pius IV, and supported by the whole Catholic party in France, headed by the Guises¹.

More than three quiet years ensued, but they were only a truce; neither party was satisfied. Where the Huguenots were strong the Edict of Amboise was obeyed: in Catholic parts it was

¹ L. von Ranke, *Päpste*, Bk. III, § 6.

defied, and the Calvinists were insulted; murders were rife, the law courts gave them no redress; the Court regarded them as bad subjects, and too weak to be treated with respect: even Condé himself seemed to forget his old leadership; the little well-built Prince, with his bright eyes and open frank face, his lively ways and Frenchman's gallantry, was flattered by the Queen Mother, and allured by the pleasures of the Court, till he left the Huguenots to grumble as they would. The ambassadors of the Catholic powers hastened to urge Catherine to receive the Tridentine decrees in France, and to undertake the pitiless extirpation of heresy, and the revocation of all favourable edicts.

The Court, having disposed of these fanatical advisers with civil words, set forth on a progress through the East and South of France. The Queen Mother, with the young King and Henry of Navarre in her train, first visited Lorraine: there she tried to get from the neighbouring German princes an assurance that they would not interfere in French affairs: she learnt on the contrary that they were only too ready to take part on either side when the moment came: thence she passed through Burgundy, thence to the South: edicts still further reducing the liberties of the Huguenots and augmenting their discontent were issued. On the Savoyard frontier the Duke of Savoy visited her: at Avignon the Queen Mother was received by a special envoy from the Pope: farther on, the gay progress passed through the disaffected South: the stern and irritated Huguenots saw with anger the frivolous manners and debaucheries of the Court. Steps were taken to bridle the disaffected; citadels built to the chief towns; suspected governors removed; new edicts issued.

At Bayonne the Court was met by the Queen of Spain, Elizabeth, the King's sister, that charming French princess round whose memory hangs a sad halo of mystery; for, destined for Don Carlos, and then transferred to his father Philip, she seems in some quite unexplained way to have been connected with his untimely death. It was a great change for the poor lady, to find herself once more in the midst of balls and

fetes, and a thousand pleasant distractions, after Philip's gloomy court. She was attended by the Duke of Alva, who did his utmost to urge Catherine to take severer measures with the Huguenots. The Duke of Montpensier, the grim soldier Montluc, the Cardinal of Guise, all supported his views: they would have liked to see L'Hôpital dismissed, the policy of moderation abandoned, the heretics crushed. But Catherine was not likely to hand herself over entirely to them, or to take steps which must inevitably lead to war: the young King expressed his horror at Alva's proposals: the Queen Mother suggested a National Council, before which the Tridentine Decrees should be brought. Alva could do no more than make his ground sure with the high Catholic nobles at Court: decidedly Catholic as Catherine was, she would never become the mere puppet of a party: it is absurd to believe, as some have said, that the Massacre of S. Bartholomew's Day was planned and agreed on at Bayonne.

The Huguenots, alarmed by the edicts, the citadels, the general tendency to restore Catholicism in the South, and the manifest preferences of the King, distrusting also the Queen Mother, and her colloquies with their terrible enemy Alva, stood on their guard, menacing war.

An Assembly of Notables held at Moulins in 1566, under the influence of the Chancellor, confirmed all the steps taken by Catherine in the direction of good government during these tranquil years; and these steps had not been few; though they were chiefly legal or administrative, such as the simplification of trials, establishment of commercial tribunals, ordering the beginning of the year to date from the 1st of January instead of from Easter, and other practical matters. The Ordinance or Edict of Moulins formed the basis of the judicial code of France down to the time of the Revolution; the crowning act of the Assembly was the outward reconciliation of the Guises and the Châtillons.

Yet true peace was as far off as ever: assassinations went on; a pamphlet-war raged: the Queen Mother herself was

threatened with the fate of the Duke of Guise; associations sprang up, brotherhoods, local leagues in which men banded themselves together to resist the Huguenots; all things were drifting ominously, if silently, towards a catastrophe. Though Catherine was cautious, and conciliatory with the Protestant leaders, Charles IX could not restrain his dislike for them: 'A while ago,' he said to the Admiral, 'you were content to be allowed by the Catholics to exist: now you demand to be their equals: soon you will want to be above, and to drive us all from the Realm'¹: and again he added, speaking to the Queen, that he at last 'believed Alva was right;—their heads were too high.' The Calvinists had also urged the Protestant princes of Germany to send an embassy to intercede for them with the King: but Charles dismissed them with a recommendation to cease meddling with matters that did not concern them, and to practise at home what they preached to him abroad, by allowing the Catholics to enjoy free service in their own cities,—a rejoinder to which the abashed Lutherans had no reply to make².

Things went on from bad to worse: the Huguenots threatened the Queen Mother's life, while she laid her plans to crush them quietly, by dispersing their meetings and armies, and even by assassination. Though she was far from desiring the coarse violence of the Massacre, she was still quite ready for a well-directed scheme of murders, which might destroy all the heads of the party, and leave them powerless.

II. *Second War.* A.D. 1567–1568.

So things stood, when foreign news brought about an explosion. Affairs in Scotland had gone ill for Queen Mary: her strange career of misfortune and crime reached in these years

¹ Davila, iv. p. 158, quoted by Anquetil, *Esprit de la Ligue*, i. 239.

² The Peace of Augsburg (1555), by the principle expressed in the well-known formula '*Cujus regio, ejus religio*,' had absolutely closed the door to religious toleration, by giving equal power of intolerant exclusion to Catholics and Lutherans, which they exercised alike against all dissidents.

its dramatic height: in 1566 Rizzio was barbarously murdered before her eyes: early in 1567 Darnley was blown up in his house by Bothwell's agency: the murderer carried off the Queen and married her. But the patience of Scotland was at an end; Murray, the Queen's natural brother, defeated Bothwell, who fled to Norway; Mary was locked up in Lochleven Castle. Thence she escaped, and after a weak attempt to recover her throne, took refuge in England, where Queen Elizabeth, deeply embarrassed by the act, could do nothing but hold her a prisoner. Her son James was proclaimed King of Scotland, and Murray as his protector and defence. It was felt throughout Europe that this was a great blow to the high Papal cause: the Huguenots were greatly excited by it: their Scottish brethren in the faith had triumphed over a shifty and crafty Queen; and why not also they?

Then came also tidings of great things in the Low Countries. The long-suffering patience of the Protestants in the provinces, they being also Calvinists, had at last begun to give way; the 'land beggars' had revolted here and there, but had been put down, and the noble-insurrection dispersed: in reply to the remonstrances of the chief nobles, Egmont, Horn, and William of Orange, who petitioned, protesting their loyalty, that the Inquisition might be abolished, Philip ordered the Duke of Alva to march with fourteen thousand Spanish veterans into the country. The wiser Flemish nobles escaped to Germany and elsewhere. The Huguenot leaders, who had already moved Orange and his friends to take up arms, now tried to persuade Charles IX that this was the moment for him to interfere; they told him that by a bold foreign policy he might win the southern provinces of the Low Countries for the crown of France.

On the other hand, the Cardinal of Lorraine was equally busy; he suggested that some strong places should be entrusted to the Duke of Alva; Alva too had a scheme which he imparted to Philip of Spain:—he offered to help Charles IX to crush

the Huguenots with five thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot¹; were Charles IX to die—and what more likely?—‘the possession of the strong places would enable Philip to assert his own claim to the crown of France, by right of Elizabeth his Queen; the Salic Law,’ he adds, ‘being a mere pleasantry².’ Thus the struggle round the middle party at Court developed itself: the Huguenot and noble party desired the King to shake off all connexion with Spain, to stand forward as protector of the national and Calvinistic revolt of the provinces against the Catholic repression and foreign domination of Philip, while, on the other side, the high Catholic party urged him to unite himself still more closely with Spain, to give play to his own religious sympathies, to take Spanish help and crush the Huguenots for ever: the revolt of the Netherlands and resistance of the Calvinistic south of France should be put down together. On the one side were national advantages, and the true foreign policy of France, which fostered on all sides the resistance against the power of Spain, her mighty rival, a policy which ruled French statesmanship throughout the next century; on the other side, were the Catholic likings of the Court, and its dread of that aristocratic independence and those civic-republican ideas, which lay behind the stubborn and pugnacious self-assertion of the Huguenot opinions.

The struggle continues throughout the reign of Charles IX: it comes to a dramatic height when the massacre of S. Bartholomew's Day gives the reply to the tempting and almost accepted proposals of Admiral Coligny.

Catherine was true to her middle position; refused to interfere on either side; would neither allow the Duke of Alva to pass through French territory, nor give the Netherlanders help. Troops were sent to watch the Spaniards as they skirted the frontiers of France, and to hinder their entrance into the kingdom; when, after Alva was gone, the Queen still retained these

¹ See Alva's letter in Gachard, *Correspondence de Philippe II.* i. p. 608 (quoted in von Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, i. 199).

² For this great intrigue see Anquetil's *Esprit de la Ligue*, i. 243.

soldiers in her pay, the suspicious Huguenots asked that they should be disbanded; Catherine however refused to do as they wished. It was rumoured, on the contrary, that she proposed to seize Condé and Coligny, to garrison the chief cities, and crush the Huguenots. They decided at once on open war, rather than endure such perilous and intolerable suspense. The seizure of the King and the Queen Mother was once more planned.

The outbreak took place in September, 1567: ‘it was the reply of the Protestant spirit in France to Alva's undertaking in the Low Countries¹’: it was one element in that new and general resistance against the Catholic power which marks the later years of this century. At the first news of the outbreak the Court, which was at Monceaux, in Brie, hastened up to Meaux, and sent on to Paris for escort: Swiss mercenaries and Parisian volunteers marched promptly forth, and brought the King and Queen Mother safely into Paris. Condé tried to bar their way, but he was not strong enough to do more than annoy the solid ranks of the Swiss, and irritate still farther the hostile temper of the King.

Condé and the Châtillons followed on the heels of the royal march, and sat down before Paris. Their force was small, some four thousand, with whom Condé tried by unwearied activity to starve the town, beleaguering it on the north side from river to river, just as Charles of Charolais had done in 1465: his headquarters were at S. Denis². Here he awaited the promised help from Germany and from the south of France, now in full revolt. But before any came, the Constable Montmorency marched out of Paris with a strong force to dislodge him. The old man was unskilful and unfortunate as ever on the battlefield: his artillery was useless, his infantry thrown into disorder, and he himself, as he led his cavalry to the charge, was struck down and killed. The Marshal Montmorency, his eldest son, took the command, and retrieved the fight: after a brief and

¹ L. von Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, i. p. 204.

² Cp. for this siege, De Thou, *Hist.* xlii (tom. vi. pp. 565, 566).

obstinate contest the Protestants were forced to retire. Condé fell back towards Lorraine, awaiting the coming up of John Casimir of the Palatinate with a strong force of Germans.

The Queen Mother, somewhat relieved by the death of the old Constable, determined that she would not again allow any subject to hold so important an office. Henry, Duke of Anjou, her third son, was named Lieutenant-General, with a kind of military council, which quarrelled as such councils do, and gave the Calvinists time to recover from the blow. Condé, now joined by the Germans, returned towards the heart of France: the Catholic and the Protestant armies were both in equal confusion and disorder. The Huguenots became dispirited; they felt that the Court and the people were both against them, and that their strength was not equal to the task they had set themselves. At last they accepted the very moderate terms offered them by Catherine, and the Peace of Longjumeau¹ (23 March, 1568) ended the second war. As before, no one was satisfied; but no one had much heart for fighting, and all were glad of a respite. The peace did but reaffirm the Amboise Edict; the Huguenots promised to lay down arms, to give up such places as they had taken, and to dismiss their German friends.

The struggle seemed to be drawing to an end elsewhere: in Spain Don Carlos had just perished; because, it is said, after the manner of heirs apparent, he had dealt with his father's enemies, Elizabeth of England, and the Netherland nobles: the cruel war which destroyed the Spanish Moors was beginning; in the Netherlands Egmont and Horn were drawing nigh to the scaffold. Germany was quiet, in spite of the sympathies shown by the Rhine princes for the Huguenots; in a large part of the Empire the strict Catholics were steadily and rapidly recovering their ground. All things promised them victory in Europe: the reigning Pontiff, the terrible Michael Ghislieri, had brought to the Papal throne the habits and temper of the

¹ This peace and that of 1570 were nicknamed 'la Paix botteuse et mal-assise,' from their two royal plenipotentiaries, Biron (who was a lame man) and Malassise.

Inquisition, of which he had been the head: Philip II redoubled his efforts, under the influence of the fanatical old man, grimmest of S. Peter's successors. There was a momentary pause in the struggle; the Protestants felt that a great cloud overhung them: their future was dark in Germany, the Low Countries and France; only in England could they feel secure. The Prince of Nassau's attempt to support the Netherland insurgents was crushed at Dillenberg; the one brother was killed, the other, the famous William of Orange, compelled to take refuge with Condé. The resistance of the aristocratic temper in France and in the Netherlands had alike proved vain: the old feudal warfare, in the spirit of which they still fought, was powerless against the trained soldiery of the most warlike race in Europe, the Spaniards: and as yet the Reformation movement in the Low Countries had not aroused the fervour of the bulk of the people. When, as in Scotland, Geneva, Holland¹, the resistance ceases to be aristocratic and becomes popular, a new page of the world's history begins.

III. *Third War.* A.D. 1568-1570.

In France, however, this phase of the contest never came: she fought out the struggle in her own way, with far less of dramatic interest, and to an incomplete conclusion after all. After the Peace of Longjumeau it seemed as if the Court had decided on ruining the Huguenots by all means, fair or foul. These heretic nobles, who were for tearing in pieces the religious and political unity of the realm, who muttered to themselves the old ominous phrases as to the 'Public Weal,' were regarded at Court as traitors: it was decided that they should be captured, and put away in detail. As preludes to the

¹ Holland and Zealand revolt in 1572: the effort of the 'water-beggars' follows that of the 'land-beggars'; the popular seafaring folk succeed where the landed nobles had failed.

S. Bartholomew, all these attempts of the Queen Mother are instructive: they show that the ideas expressed in that great crime were seething long before in the breasts of some at least of the perpetrators: during this time the quiet assassination of Calvinists all over the kingdom went steadily on: 'the dagger, the prison, and the slow execution of the secret cell, destroyed them'.¹ The air is full of murder all these years: neither moral reprobation nor judicial punishment intervenes to check it; and, worst of all, religion busily preaches and practises it.

An attempt was made to seize Condé at his castle of Noyers in Burgundy, where Admiral Coligny was with him. Suddenly all the roads, bridges, fords, of the province were filled with soldiery, and Tavannes received orders to arrest him. But that shrewd politician, who had once before refused to make a treacherous attack on the German Reiters as they left France, now said 'the matter was too great to be entrusted to him': that 'he was not good at such surprises,' and he added, like an honest old soldier as he was, that 'if her Majesty would be pleased to declare open war, he would let her see how well he could obey.' Thus knowing that stricter orders would come, he managed to let some of his people fall into Condé's hands, and so to give him warning. The Prince, startled at the news, escaped at once; Tavannes' men offered no obstacle, and the 'enterprise ill-drawn by distaff and pen,' as Tavannes says, only succeeded in rousing once more the war-spirit of the Huguenots. Condé fled to La Rochelle, the royal officers doubtless conniving at his escape; for the gallant Prince was a favourite among them, and they had no heart for 'women's work' as they deemed it. Condé wrote to Vieilleville, who was in command in Poitou, that 'he had fled the best he could, and as long as land had served him: but being at La Rochelle, he found the sea; and not knowing how to swim, had been constrained to turn him round, and get back to land as best he could, and there to stand

¹ Anquetil, *Esprit de la Ligue*, i. p. 273.

at bay against his foes'—alluding to the phrase with which Tavannes had warned him in Burgundy, 'the stag is in the toils, the chase is ready!'

Attempts were also made on other leaders: the Cardinal Châtillon, who was at Beauvais, escaped into Normandy, where he disguised himself in a sailor's dress, and boldly launched out in a little ship for England. Having safely crossed the stormy channel, he was very helpful to the Huguenots for the short remainder of his life, for Queen Elizabeth listened to him; De Thou speaks of his influence at Hampton Court¹. The Queen of Navarre and her young son also took refuge at La Rochelle, which from this moment became the most important head quarters of the Huguenots. Nothing, however, marked so clearly the revolution which had taken place at Court, as the dismissal of L'Hôpital, which occurred at this time. All moderation left the royal counsels: the King and Queen Mother seemed to throw themselves completely and finally into the hands of the Spanish-Catholic party; and yet it is interesting to see that, as though moderate ideas could not utterly perish in France, in these same days the middle-party, no longer favoured at Court, begins to take consistent form in the country: it is now that the strict Catholics affix to the moderates the opprobrious nickname of 'Politiques²,' the men who preferred civil and temporal interests to their religious orthodoxy. They were Catholics, not Huguenots: but, strange as it seemed to both sides, they embraced the tolerant opinions of L'Hôpital, and succeeded to the middle-policy now abandoned by Catherine.

War broke out in 1568; alliance with the Netherland nobles was projected; Condé and Orange stand side by side. As von Ranke says³, these great princes were not regarded as rebels either in England or in Germany: the aristocratic resistance to

¹ De Thou, *Hist.* xliv (tom. vii. p. 175).

² Anquetil, *Esprit de la Ligue*, i. p. 274, where he remarks that the name was at first used in an odious sense, as of those who (according to the well-known formula, which expresses the temper of French politics at their best) 'preferred political interests before religious orthodoxy.'

³ L. von Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, i. p. 205.

absolute monarchy, backed by the hierarchic decrees of the Council of Trent, seemed to have its natural leaders in them. It was fortunate for the constitutional life of England that her great Queen was driven to take the same side: Ghislieri's Bull of Excommunication was drawn up against her at this very moment, and she needed no farther proof that her interests and those of her country were one, and that they were closely wrapped up together in the great struggle which was now beginning.

Pius V sent troops across the Alps; Alva sent soldiers from the Netherlands, with the ominous instruction that they were to 'follow the example he had set them in the Low Countries.' The Huguenots showed unexpected strength in the outset; they mastered almost all the south and west, built a little fleet, and set on foot a considerable army. The whole of France was covered with partisan-troops, with the usual results: neither side spared the other: the war was more pitiless than ever throughout the late autumn and winter of 1568.

Condé had never been so strong: La Rochelle, a port well-known to the ships of England and the Netherlands, was his capital: it was a town of large municipal liberties, and of a stern republican spirit: there civic and seafaring independence were happily combined: Protestant views found there a natural home, and it became for nearly a hundred years the headquarters of the Huguenots. It is said that at this moment Condé dreamed of royal dignities; that he aimed at the overthrow of the feeble Valois, and establishment of a great Protestant kingdom in their stead¹.

Early in the spring the armies of Condé and the Duke of Anjou were face to face: Anjou, the stronger, eager to bring on a battle; Condé waiting for help from Quercy and from Germany, with which he expected to recover his superiority in strength. He first directed his course towards the south-west,

¹ It is even said that he had money struck with the legend, 'Louis XIII, first Christian King of France.' See La Vallée, ii. p. 455.

to meet the force coming up from Quercy; but Anjou out-marched him, and barred his way at the river Charente: thereon he turned back, thinking that he could speedily reach the Loire, and join John Casimir with his Germans. But Tavannes was swift and vigilant, and caught the Huguenot rear-guard under Admiral Coligny not far from Jarnac on the Charente; Condé, after much vigorous fighting, charged with head-long bravery, and with a mere handful of men, into the heart of the enemy, and there surrounded met his death; the day was lost. The royal army gave no quarter to such officers as fell into their hands, with the exception of La Noue, who was with difficulty saved by an old comrade. Coligny with the main force fell back towards Saintes.

The news of Condé's death flew through France and made a deep impression: Charles IX heard of it at Metz, whither he had been taken to support the Duke of Aumâle in his endeavour to bar the way against the Germans: the joy of the King's party was extreme; it was as if a formidable rival for the throne had perished; it was believed that with his fall the Huguenot power would entirely disappear. On the contrary, it is doubtful whether Condé's death was not rather an advantage for the party. It cut them clear of all dubious and unpatriotic political aims, and made room for the wiser leading of Admiral Coligny: above all, it gave to the party its natural head, the head of the House of Bourbon, young Henry of Navarre.

The moment Jeanne D'Albret, Queen of Navarre, heard of the misfortune, instead of flying or of lingering irresolute where she was, she hastened to head-quarters, where she found Coligny, D'Andelot, and the main part of the beaten army. The 'Prince of Béarn' her son, was now fifteen years old; the young Prince of Condé, the eldest son of Louis, who had just fallen, some years younger. Holding these two boys one in each hand, she presented herself before the soldiers; with the heart and bearing of a heroine, and in a few inspiring words, she called on them to accept the young Henry as their chief: he was received with loud enthusiasm; Coligny rejoiced to serve in his name,

while he kept the real command; many noble partisans of the cause who had been too proud to take their orders from their equal the Constable, eagerly obeyed the little Prince; discipline was restored, confidence returned; and the confederates took up a strong position at S. Jean d'Angeli under shelter of the Charente, behind Saintes. Here they awaited tidings of their friends, while the Duke of Anjou, who had shown plenty of courage at Jarnac, now displayed a want of confidence and energy which gave the Huguenots breathing-time: it was even suspected that he no longer cared to press them hard, now that the formidable rivalry of Condé was at an end. Expecting a strong force of Gascons under 'the Viscounts',¹ as well as Germans from the side of the three Bishopricks, Coligny presently moved out from behind the Charente to join them. The Gascons came up by Auvergne, the Germans, brilliantly handled by the Duke of Zweibrücken, though he was wasted by fever, eluded or beat all opposition, and safely crossed the Loire at La Charité: just as the junction was about to be made, the Duke succumbed to disease, and died. He was a great loss to the Calvinists, although Count Mansfeld, the father of the hero of the earlier days of the Thirty Years' War, well filled his place: he easily completed the junction of the Germans with the Huguenots. Tavannes tells us that the failure of the French army to bar the way, arose not from its weakness,—for it was a far stronger force,—but from a Court intrigue. The Cardinal of Lorraine, now once more in the ascendent, sedulously poisoned the King's mind against the Duke of Anjou, while the Cardinal's kinsfolk in command, Nemours and Aumâle, were hindered by secret measures of the Queen, who now supported Anjou warmly, and dreaded any successes won by the Guises. This war was fatal to several chiefs of name. Of Calvinists, beside Condé and the Duke of Zweibrücken, D'Andelot, one of the noblest and most sincere of the Huguenot leaders, died of sickness²: while on

¹ For these seven Gascon Viscounts, see Tavannes, Collect. Univ. xxvii. p. 154, and xxv. p. 436.

² Of course it was alleged that both he and Zweibrücken were poisoned.

the other side, on which good captains were scarce, Brissac perished, of all the fierce and brutal soldiery of the day one of the most savage, and worthy to rank with D'Adrets as among the worst products of civil war. The Huguenots were now strong enough to take the field, and began to recover their confidence in skirmishes: they even won a battle at La Roche-Abeille, and treated the royal army ill, massacring their prisoners in cold blood. The Duke of Anjou found his forces melt away; the war became desultory and weak. On the other side the fruitless siege of Poitiers wasted the Huguenot strength. Anjou with reinforcements compelled Coligny to fall back towards the south. After crossing the Dive at Moncontour, the royal army came upon him: his men were in the utmost confusion, and fell an easy prey to Tavannes, one of the few great soldiers who remained in either camp. It was a mere carnage: the Huguenots lost everything, and hardly made a stand; Coligny, brave as a lion, but destitute of gifts of generalship, escaped with the remnant of his force to La Rochelle. It was everywhere thought that a fatal blow had been struck at the Huguenots. But the Cardinal of Lorraine had saved them; Charles IX, through the Cardinal's machinations, had now become intensely jealous of Anjou, the nominal commander at Moncontour: he himself took the command, and with the usual results: precious time was wasted on sieges of petty towns; S. Jean d'Angeli resisted for six weeks, and gave the Huguenots time to re-organise their forces. Coligny, always best in adversity, set forth on a half-marauding expedition through the south; defeated Montluc and reached Nîmes with a growing army, eager for booty and adventures; he announced that he would march thence on Paris, and ransack and ravage France as he went. He passed up the Rhine and reached Burgundy.

The Court was alarmed and wearied: after Moncontour the Papal and the Spanish troops had been recalled: Coligny in the East, La Noue in the South-West, in Saintonge, seemed daily to grow more menacing. La Noue, the ablest of their captains, had organised a little fleet, which relieved La Rochelle

from all fear of blockade from the sea: the Queen began to negotiate. After a fierce battle at Arnay-le-Duc, in which Coligny cut his way through the Royal troops with much loss, he too became ready for peace.

The Peace of S. Germain (8 August, 1570), which conceded excellent terms to the Huguenots, though it may be doubted how far the Court was sincere, closed the third war, which had been terrible in its ravages and in the savage tempers it evoked. It was the best peace the Calvinists had made as yet: beside the old points of amnesty, and liberty of worship, restitution of confiscated goods, and right of holding offices under the State, they both got a footing in the Parliaments (the first germs of the 'Chambres mi-parties,' or mixed tribunals), and won also the power of selecting four cities of refuge, four strong places in which they might put governors and garrisons of their own. They chose La Rochelle, and Cognac, Montauban in Languedoc, and La Charité on the Loire. The first and second were important for their hold on the south-western maritime Provinces: Montauban was their natural head-quarters in the south: La Charité gave their German friends a bridge by which to cross the Loire.

The Papal Court and Philip of Spain resisted and protested; for they thought the Huguenots might have been crushed: the Catholic party in France was greatly dissatisfied; the omens were not favourable for a settled peace.

CHAPTER IV

THE EPOCH OF THE S. BARTHOLOMEW.

A.D. 1570-1573.

It is one of the open problems of history:—was Catherine dei Medici sincere? or were the favourable terms of this Peace of S. Germain intended to lull the Huguenots into a false security? Was the Massacre of 1572 already decided on? or did it spring up suddenly, an unpremeditated natural result of the general tendencies of the time? It is remarkable that almost every public act of this age in France can be interpreted either way; and probably in this case at least neither interpretation would be altogether wrong.

The point is not easy of solution: but a glance at European affairs may help us.

The eager zeal of the high Catholic party had not flagged in these years. While Catherine grew more averse to the Huguenots, and more willing to be rid of them by any means, she also became more and more aware of the perils which threatened Europe from the other side. Philip of Spain had already shewn that he was eager to interfere in French affairs; it seemed likely that when he had reduced the Netherlands, (and no one doubted his power to do that,) he would exercise overwhelming influence on the kingdom which lay between Spain and his late-revolted Provinces. His power seemed to increase, year by year; he was known to cherish far-reaching schemes, whose orbit centred round his own omnipotence as the one focus, and the restoration of Catholicism as the other. He would crush Queen Elizabeth, and the Protestants of England,

winning over to himself the English Catholic nobles; marry Mary of Scots to Don John of Austria, now in the highest bloom of reputation after Lepanto (Oct. 1571); Alva had been charged to connect himself secretly with the Duke of Norfolk¹, so as to secure the succession of the English Crown to Mary of Scots and her spouse: thus Scotland and England would be united together under his protection, and his supremacy in Europe would be safe. With these realms at his feet, the Netherlands appeased, and Italy submissive, France would be overshadowed and presently overpowered.

It is clear that these are not the schemes of a stiff 'pedant scribbling in his closet,' but the far-reaching plan of a tenacious if narrow statesman, whose religious ideal involved little morality and no pity, and whose political creed was completely subordinated to his theological predilections. It had a definite and distinct character, which rendered it very formidable: it admitted of no half-measures, no counterpoises; it kept no faith with the heretic, but also it let him know that he must expect none, nor look for mercy. Pius V, that Grand Inquisitor, and his great friend and shadow Carlo Borromeo, were in complete harmony with Philip: working together, they hoped to subdue all independent thought, and to lord it over Europe in body and soul.

These threatening prospects could not fail to influence France: her fanatic-party grew more restless, more exacting and vehement, while the Huguenots found that the great middle-party, the Politiques, made overtures to them, and that even the Court, opposed to them as it was, still for the moment at least found it desirable to hold out to them a really friendly hand. And besides this, the Court itself was much split up; and the young King had begun to think himself old enough to have a policy of his own. Two things must be especially noted: first, that the tragedy of S. Bartholomew's Day was rendered possible, and took its darker tone, from the infirmity

¹ See De la Mothe Fenelon, quoted by von Ranke, *Franz. Geschichte*, i. p. 209, note 1.

of the King's character; and secondly, that it was an attack as much on the middle-party as on the Huguenots, though only a few of the victims of the massacre came from the ranks of the Politiques.

There were two lines that might be followed: either reconciliation with the Huguenot noblesse, and their employment in Flanders against Spain, or the destruction of their leaders and subjection of the rest by whatever means might be needful. It seems clear that Charles IX desired the former of these courses, and Catherine the latter. The end arrived at in both cases was the same;—a united kingdom able to resist and thwart the great schemes of Philip;—the fear of that monarch is the true key to the whole affair. It must be added that at the outset neither Charles nor Catherine had the least wish to exterminate the whole Huguenot party, though there are distinct indications that the more vehement Catholics hoped for some such catastrophe. The chief political blunder lay in the ignorance shown by the Court as to the real strength of what we may call the Politique feeling in France, which as yet had not taken definite form: had the Court, which was without any strength of its own, allied itself with this middle-party, it might have roused in the nation a sense of its true interests, and rallied it round the throne; and so have made a united and constitutionally tolerant life possible for France.

The moment the Peace of S. Germain had been signed, the chief Huguenots, full of suspicions, and regarding its favourable concessions as a snare, withdrew sullenly to La Rochelle, where they grouped themselves round Jeanne of Albret and the young Henry of Navarre, vigilant, with their hands on the sword-hilt. To messages calling them to Court they replied that they could not come so long as their deadly enemies the Guises remained there: to the King's more urgent appeals and promises they at first made no friendly reply. Yet the more they held back, the more he appeared to desire them. His political position seemed to change: Catherine, the Queen Mother, fell into the back-ground; the

Guises lost favour: the party of Montmorency, which was connected with the Huguenots, became powerful¹. Charles allied himself to the Imperial party in Germany, which was now antagonistic to the Spanish Court. He married, in 1570, Elizabeth of Austria, the daughter of Maximilian II², whose home-policy was marked by a distinct spirit of conciliation and moderation between the great religious parties.

To crown the whole, Charles now proposed an alliance which, in connexion with the other projected or accomplished marriages of the day³, gave evidence of a complete change in the royal policy. This was the offer of the hand of Margaret of Valois, the King's sister, to Henry of Navarre, a proposal almost immediately followed by overtures for the marriage of the Duke of Anjou with Queen Elizabeth, a scheme which was also set on foot by Charles. The plan seems to have been this: The Duke of Anjou, whom Charles disliked,—for the Cardinal of Lorraine had poisoned his mind against him,—who had hitherto been the prominent man on the royal side, and had won some repute in the late war, who was also his mother's favourite, was to be got rid of by this splendid alliance with the Queen of England. At the same time his marriage would secure a powerful friend on that side, and one who was thoroughly opposed to Spain and to the great schemes of the Court of Philip II. Next, it was thought that the wedding of Catholic with Protestant, of the Court with the Huguenots, in the marriage of Henry and Margaret, would secure the loyalty and put an end to the suspicions of the noblesse, while

¹ Tavannes, ch. xxiv (Collect. Univ. xxvii. p. 205).

² Tavannes, *Memoirs*, (ibid. p. 197) gives a different colour to this alliance: 'Esperant (en vain) . . . par ce mariage rompre les levées de Reistres si accoutumés à venir en France.' But Charles must have known how powerless the Emperor was on the Rhine. It is curious to notice that at this same moment Maximilian married another of his daughters, Anne, to Philip II; it was the fourth wife of that unpleasant husband.

³ (1) Coligny now married the wealthy Savoyard widow Jacqueline of Monbel; and (2) gave his daughter to Teligny, the best negotiator the Huguenots had. (3) Condé offered marriage to Mary of Cleves, a German Protestant alliance.

an interference, more or less marked and formal, in the Netherland troubles, would embarrass the Spaniards, would drain the warlike Protestants, who would gladly flock to fight for their brethren against the Inquisition and the Spanish troops, and would win back to the French crown those frontier-towns which she had often claimed, and sometimes for a while possessed. The Duke of Alençon, the King's youngest brother, was to command here; and at his service would be the high abilities of Admiral Coligny. There was a sketch also of farther operations on the Italian side; and it may be that Charles had dreams of glory there, by which, and by the exploits of Alençon, the reputation of his brother Anjou might be outshone. The Earl of Leicester came to Blois, where the Court lay, as ambassador from Queen Elizabeth; Louis of Nassau, and the great Prince of Orange himself¹, were in France, to concert measures respecting the war in the Low Countries. In spite of Bethune's² ominous prophecy—'at that marriage the liveries will be blood-red'—we must conclude that in the mind of Charles IX himself there was no connexion whatever between the 'noces vermeilles,' the 'crimson wedding,' and the massacre. It was proposed in perfect good faith. Margaret was averse to it, for she wished to marry the young Duke of Guise; and Charles forced the wedding on in a harsh and unnecessary way, if we choose to think he meant it only as a snare.

We must not forget that at this time a great and distinct divergence had taken place between the views of Catherine and those of her son. Charles IX was growing more jealous of Anjou, feeling that he was no longer a child or a puppet in his mother's hands, but a full-grown man³, wishing to distinguish himself and play the man in war, and, with a

¹ So convinced was William of Orange that the King was in earnest, that he in consequence refused terms with Spain, which were offered him through the Emperor.

² He narrowly escaped in the S. Bartholomew, and was the father of the famous Duke of Sully.

³ In 1570 Charles IX was 20 years of age.

view to this, more inclined to favour his nobles of the Calvinistic strain; above all, showing more of that petulance and intemperate eagerness which so much affected his action in the new direction. His mother was daily growing more convinced that the Huguenots must be rendered powerless, that she must side distinctly with the high Catholic party, and that Coligny was the one barrier to French unity in Church and State. She had no wish to see her favourite son, Anjou, banished to the honourable but perhaps painful dignities and duties of husband to Elizabeth of England. She despised the young King's character, and foresaw no trouble in reducing him again to order. She had determined that Coligny must be got rid of, and believed that the assassination of some half-dozen leaders of the Calvinists would effect her purpose. The Queen Mother's own confession that she had but six of the Huguenot deaths on her own conscience, and the well-known answer of Cardinal Guise to the messenger who brought him news of the Massacre (speeches which have been quoted as proofs that the S. Bartholomew had been planned long before its execution), may best be accounted for by the existence of a vague determination to be rid of the chiefs of the Huguenot party¹. It is this alienation of the Queen Mother from her son which complicates the difficult questions as to the Massacre; at the same time, the divergence helps us to understand what the true facts were, and where the blame chiefly lies.

It was against her will, then, that Charles made friendly overtures to the Huguenots; still more was she annoyed when she found how great an ascendancy Admiral Coligny had won over him. The more sincere and enthusiastic he became, the more anxious she grew, and the more inclined to violent measures.

In the end of 1571 Charles was at Blois, having gone thither to meet Jeanne of Albret, the Queen of Navarre, who, reluct-

¹ For a judicious account of the Queen Mother's hand-to-mouth policy, see Martin, *Histoire de France*, ix. pp. 271, 272, ed. 1857.

antly and anxiously, was obliged to enter into the negotiation for her son's marriage with Margaret. She liked neither the bride nor the manners of the Court, in which, as she noticed, 'the honour of no man was safe.' Her objection was chiefly a moral one: she was shocked and disgusted at the dissoluteness of the courtiers, and at the coarse and abrupt manners of the King. With her came Coligny and young Henry of Navarre. The King welcomed them very warmly, and was fascinated by the high reputation, noble bearing, and far-reaching schemes and views of Coligny. He 'was certainly theirs,' says the eye-witness Tavannes, who, when the Guises left the Court in haughty displeasure, stayed behind to counteract the new combinations, and to dissuade the King from his changed career. 'Incessantly,' he adds, 'does the Admiral with great assurance visit the King¹.' The Papal Legate also remonstrated; but his words and threats were powerless. The Queen Mother looked on awhile, half-amused, thinking that at any moment she could recall her son. It was noticed that the Duke of Alençon was particularly cordial in dealing with the Admiral, whose plans depended much on him. Alençon was apparently quite sincere in the moderation he expressed, and in his alliance with the Huguenots; it was his natural policy, and he did not abandon it even after the great shock of S. Bartholomew's Day.

In these days nothing was talked of but the plans for a war in the Low Countries. The King took eager part in all discussions; papers were drawn up for and against: Tavannes has left a specimen of his dissuasive eloquence in his *Memoirs*². Although the desires of Charles seem to have been completely with the Admiral, he still fluctuated and hesitated, afraid or unwilling to take the last step. Meanwhile La Noue raised troops in Normandy for Flanders, and the Admiral ordered a force of six thousand men to be embarked at

¹ Tavannes, ch. xxv (Collect. Univ. xxvii. p. 217).

² Tavannes, ch. xxvi (ibid. xxvii. pp. 229, sqq.).

Bordeaux for the same destination. The Huguenots, eager and presumptuous, were bent on forcing the King's hand. A treaty of alliance with England was drawn up and signed (22nd April, 1572); negotiations went on with the Protestant Princes; the French court reverted to its traditional policy of friendship with the Turk, who was still staggering under the tremendous blow of the Battle of Lepanto; the sudden revolt of Holland and Zealand, and the early successes of the water-beggars, were already causing Alva no little uneasiness. A considerable body of men, chiefly Calvinists, under La Noue and Genlis, surprised Mons and Valenciennes; the Huguenots made every effort to persuade the King to recognise these volunteers by sending a force to their support.

The Court came up from Blois to Paris, the Huguenot nobles accompanying it, and making a great show. The death of the Queen of Navarre which now occurred was of evil omen for the Protestant party. There was the usual charge and suspicion of poison; in this wretched age it was only too probable. Her death however is quite sufficiently accounted for by natural causes: 'On the fourth of June she fell ill of fever, caused, they said, by the diseased state of her lungs, which were disturbed and irritated by the great heats, and by the unusual amount of work and anxiety which she had to bear¹.' D'Aubigné says of her that she 'had nothing of the woman in her except her sex; her whole soul was given up to manly things, her powerful mind occupied in great affairs, her heart invincible in great adversities.' She was the noblest woman of her time, a pillar of light shining in the gloom and corruption of her age.

Her death deferred for a short time the much-desired marriage of Henry, who now took his title of King of Navarre.

¹ Jean de Serres, *Inventaire général de l'Histoire de France*, Tom. V. p. 283 a. L'Estoile (ed. Michaud, II. i. p. 24) believes in the poison story. The Queen's body was opened, and the lung disease plainly showed the cause of death. Palma Cayet gives details which amply account for her death by natural causes: there was a kind of inquest held on her. P. Cayet, *Collect. Univ.* iv. pp. 312, 313.

The Catholic party eagerly employed the interval. Paris was restless, and irritated at the sight of these half-foreign Calvinists, these gentlemen of the south of France, these austere Huguenots whom she hated. The clergy preached and printed inflammatory addresses; scuffles and struggles went on; the Queen Mother plunged deep into intrigues and plans to recover her influence, and to rid herself of these heretics, whether the King liked it or not. He meanwhile showed more and more favour to the Huguenot chiefs: one and another might be distrustful; but Coligny their leader, who was ever with Charles, and Teligny, their skilful negotiator, were full of confidence, which unfortunately, however well founded it might have been at first, did not take into calculation the King's shifting and unstable nature.

They did not remember that all his training, all the influences round him, were bad; partly an Italian, a Medici, with divided Papal and Florentine sympathies, partly a Frenchman, he had the faults of all, redeemed perhaps by his less malignant disposition. A man of violent temper, a furious and profane swearer, immoral, false and unstable, Charles was but a poor creature in whom in these slippery days an unpopular party could place its confidence. And yet Coligny had some good grounds for trusting. As he said, 'he would rather be dragged through the streets of Paris by a hook, than give up the chance of peace at home and war abroad.' He was convinced as to the King's sincerity; a man of boundless courage, he honestly preferred the risks of death to a renewal of the miseries of civil war. He redoubled his attention, his arguments, in favour of the Flanders scheme; he regarded it as the salvation of his country. 'Such was the temper of the French,' says De Thou, 'that unless they have a foe abroad, they find one out at home¹.' The King, too, 'was sick of the ennui of long ease.' Coligny told him that the time was most opportune; the Flemish cities ready to revolt against Alva;

¹ De Thou, *Hist. lib. li. tom. viii. p. 79.*

England prepared to help; Germany very friendly, and quite inclined to send her Reiters into the Low Countries instead of into France; the forces at the disposal of the Prince of Orange almost, taken alone, a match for those of Alva; the revolt already begun at the Rhine-mouths; the troops of La Noue and Genlis successful at Mons. Yet the King hesitated and doubted. Eager as he was for the Flemish enterprise, and easy as it seemed, it was hard for him to break away; he was a prey to many suspicions, jealousies, and doubts; he distrusted both sides. There exists a record of a talk he had with Teligny as to his chief advisers at this time: Tavannes, he said, 'is a man of good counsel, but conceited and jealous lest new enterprises undertaken by others should rob him of his laurels.' As to Vieilleville, 'one cannot talk to him of anything but good wine.' The Marshal Cossé was avaricious and selfish; 'he would sell us all for ten crowns.' Montmorency 'is a good fellow, and I could trust myself to him,' 'but he is too fond of sport and amusements, and is never there when he is wanted.' Retz¹ is a mere Spaniard; as to the others they are all 'beasts' and useless². Of Anjou the King was jealous; his mother he could not trust for an instant; it was said, and probably with truth, that she kept Alva informed of everything that occurred or impended in France³. So, though the King allowed Louis of Nassau to go forward with the Calvinists, and even to help himself to powder from the arsenal at Paris, he hesitated and lingered on the threshold; nor could Coligny persuade him to move: he seemed paralysed, when he ought to be in action; he was not sorry when news came that Alva had caught Genlis, had defeated him, and had butchered the prisoners he had taken. The tidings of this mishap form the turning-point⁴ in the history

¹ This was Albert of Gondi, the great-uncle of the more famous Cardinal.

² *Mémoires de Pierre L'Estoile* (Michaud, II. i. p. 25).

³ So stated in the 'Tocsain contre les Massacreurs'; *Cimber et Danjou*, I. vii. p. 22.

⁴ Tavannes, ch. xxvii (Collect. Univ. xxvii. pp. 247, 248): 'Ceste route jointe aux menaces et imprudence des Huguenots sont auteurs de leur massacre.'

of the Massacre: 'The Queen Mother,' says Tavannes, 'was thoroughly alarmed; the Admiral was vexed and provoked, and warned the King that he must choose between a foreign and a civil war.' And now the Queen Mother, feeling that her time was come, began to move; her idea was not to use the King 'till they might have need of some furious personage.' She was also seriously alarmed. The English alliance having failed, a new opening had been found for the Duke of Anjou; the throne of Poland was vacant. The Polish nobles would not choose one of themselves; they were determined not to have a German; they were attracted by Anjou's brilliant reputation; the able negotiation and management of Montluc, Bishop of Valence, the King's envoy, influenced them greatly; the matter was much discussed at the French court. Coligny set himself strongly against this new direction of affairs; he said that as Anjou had refused the English match and crown therewith, he was bound in honour also to refuse the Polish election. The Queen Mother, on the contrary, was eager to advance her favourite son; and finding Coligny more and more in her way, finally determined to recover her influence with the King and to rid herself of the Admiral, and of his power over the royal mind. Charles had gone to Montpipeau to hunt; the Queen Mother followed him thither with such hot haste that 'some of her carriage horses fell dead in the Martroy square at Orleans.' She then had a very stormy interview with her son, in which she was not sparing of tears and threats and prayers to be sent back to Italy, and showed him that she knew all his plans; she soon brought the poor unstable monarch back submissively to her feet. She and her counsellors feeling the King insecure, unless Coligny's influence was removed, at once laid their plot for the Admiral's assassination. The Guises, who still charged him with complicity in the murder of Duke Francis in 1563, were to bear the blame of his death, if the King inquired into it; but the true murderers were to be Anjou and the Queen Mother. The bravo Maurevel, who had already shown skill in assassination, was engaged by the Duke

of Aumâle to do the deed. While all this was being stealthily prepared, the marriage of Henry, King of Navarre, with Margaret took place, and the Court, with all Paris, gave itself up to spectacles and fêtes. All this, while the precious time was slipping away in the Low Countries, annoyed and vexed the Admiral, who 'continued his boldness and importunities'; he became aware that some secret 'remora' delayed the movements of the King. Things now came to a crisis. As he returned from the Council (21st August, 1572) he was shot at from a window and wounded, the assassin escaping 'on a swift Spanish horse.' The wounds proved but slight. When the King was told of it, he was playing at ball; he threw his racket down, with an angry expression, 'Will they never leave me alone!' and gave up his game. We may fairly believe that he was quite sincere in his anger; he swore he would bring the assassin and his backers to justice; he threatened the Guises, whom he suspected, visited the Admiral in bed, and held kindly talk with him, to the great annoyance of Catherine, who was present,—for she did not dare to lose Charles from her sight for a moment,—and stood there watching like a cat her foolish son and her prostrate victim. The Huguenots complicated matters by their menaces and armed remonstrances; for they frightened the poor King, who now fell completely into his mother's hands. The failure to murder the Admiral became the real immediate cause of the massacre of S. Bartholomew's day; for Catherine, in utmost alarm, real or simulated, confessed to Charles that she and Anjou were the authors of the attempt; and worked on his fears, by persuading him that the Huguenots were already in arms to avenge him, and that they had sent into Germany for help, while the Catholics, worn out by the King's marked preference for the Protestant party, had determined to elect the Duke of Guise as their chief, and to bring the matter to a speedy decision. She then pointed out to him the risk he ran between the two parties, and conjured him to throw in his lot with the Catholics, and to let them crush their enemies by a sudden blow; if not, the

Admiral's recovery would be the signal for a fourth Civil War. At first the King tried to escape from the toils; he refused to allow them to touch the Admiral, and cast about for other means by which to remedy the evils of the time. But they plied him hard; and the Duke of Anjou, whose account of the whole affair¹ still exists, tells us that 'at last we carried our point, and were aware instantly of a sudden change and strange metamorphosis in the King, who came over to our side. If he was before hard to convince, now he was hard to restrain. He rose, bade us be silent, and with a face of fury, with great oaths (after his sort) said that as we found it good to kill the Admiral, he wished it too; but that with him we must massacre all the Huguenots in France, lest one should be left to reproach him afterwards.' And Tavannes adds², 'from this present peril sprang the necessity, such as it was, of killing the Admiral, and all the party chiefs, a plan born of the moment, through the fault and imprudence of the Huguenots.' It was a terrible, almost momentary, impulse of the King's. On his part there was no premeditated guile; he was incapable of hiding his feelings; his coarse, rough nature blurted out just what he thought. His complicity in the great crime begins after the attempt on the Admiral. He was the last to consent, the first to repent.

The very next day, Sunday, the 24th of August, S. Bartholomew's day, was fixed on; for the Guises wished to make short work of it. They even proposed to kill the Bourbons and Montmorencys; but the Queen Mother would not hear of that. The King, to forget himself, went and worked at a forge which he had put up in the Louvre; thus seeking to exhaust his nervous energy, and his anger: the Guises meanwhile laid their plans: they were helped by the blind confidence of Coligny and his son-in-law Teligny, who, utterly unconscious

¹ In the *Memoirs of Villeroy, Discours de Henri III à son médecin Miron sur les causes de la S. Barthélemy* (Petitot, I. xlv. p. 508).

² Tavannes, ch. xxvii (Collect. Univ. xxvii. p. 265).

of the King's change of temper, and unable to get access to him, trusted implicitly to a goodwill which had been suddenly dissipated without their knowledge. The other Huguenots were disquieted: they appeared in arms, defiant and restless, half-conscious of some great and imminent peril.

Between one and two o'clock on the Sunday morning a bell began to ring through the stillness of the night from the steeple of S. Germain-l'Auxerrois: it was the signal that the hour was come. Immediately the bells of a hundred churches made reply to their sacred sound: the massacre began; the streets were suddenly filled with soldiers and citizens, all wearing a white cross. The Duke of Guise at once made sure of the Admiral, who met his death with a dignity worthy of his life and faith; the noblest spirit in France there fell. Then the whole passion of the Parisian mob broke loose. The leaders had wished to murder only a few chiefs: but Paris would not be held, and having tasted blood, her tiger-nature was up: she rushed with dripping dagger on defenceless victims, surprised in their beds. All who were on the north side of the Seine perished: those who were lodged on the other side were alarmed in time, escaped before the destroyer was on them, and galloping southwards, half-dressed, as they had leapt from sleep, outstripped their pursuers.

The daybreak saw the work almost done: in the houses, in the streets, lay the helpless dead: Paris was like a conquered city; corpses were flung out of window, dragged through the town, cast into the Seine. The Admiral, Taligny his son-in-law, La Rochefoucauld, whom the King had tried to save, all the Huguenot chieftains, perished: the renowned Ramus was murdered by his pupils, Goujon was said to have been killed chisel in hand as he was working at the sculptures on the Louvre¹. It is said by Brantôme that Charles, carried away by the excitement of the scene, took a gun, and fired at those who fled, screaming 'Kill, kill!' at the top of his voice. As the

¹ Most improbably; the massacre beginning in the night.

day wore on, he traversed the streets with a brilliant retinue, to show his approval of the ghastly deed. That night it seemed likely that the town would be sacked and plundered: many who were not Huguenots had perished; every debtor sought out his creditor, old grudges were paid off, old enmities found means to express themselves in murder: all law and order were at an end. So weak was the central authority, that the massacre went on for several days, dying out reluctantly, as a great fire sinks slowly down into thick smoke and ashes, after it has consumed some stately building, and brought it to the ground.

The King, in accordance with his sensitive, changeable nature, soon wearied of the disgusting scenes,—his remorse began even before the crime was half-committed. As he passed with his train through the streets, two days after the massacre began, a gentleman in his suite was recognised as a Huguenot: the mob at once fell on him, and killed him hard by the King's person: he heard the noise, turned round, and, on seeing what it was, said hastily, 'Pass on, would to God it were the last!'

Here and there an act of generosity gleams for an instant over the dark scene: the nobles of the moderate party saved all they could; the young Duke of Alençon was at no pains to hide his dislike and distress: 'it is said that he was so much vexed by such cruelties, that he even wept; whereat they scolded him well²'. A Querci gentleman named Vezins, meeting his private enemy, a Huguenot, set him on a horse, and bade him escape for his life. Here and there in the provinces a commandant refused to sanction disorder and murder. In Provence, Dauphiny, Burgundy, Auvergne, at Mâcon and Bayonne, the Huguenots were saved from the violence of their eager enemies; one Churchman, Hennuyer, Bishop of Lisieux, by personally undertaking the supervision of the orders received, saved all the Calvinists in his diocese. But such instances of humanity were rare; the massacre was a theatre for but little

¹ 'Le réveille-matin des François' in Cimber et Danjou, I. vii. p. 194.

² Cimber et Danjou, *ibid.* p. 132.

magnanimity; the Church vied with the civil power in crushing those who had so long been an eyesore to both. Henry, Duke of Bouillon, tells us in his Memoirs that 'this inhuman act, which was followed in all the towns of the kingdom, well-nigh broke my heart; it made me love both the persons and the cause of those of the Religion, even though I then had no acquaintance with their creed¹.'

The two Bourbon Princes were offered life and freedom if they would hear the Mass. Under compulsion, Henry of Navarre, whose religious impressions were not of martyr-stuff, yielded at once; the young Prince of Condé showed more firmness, but gave way at last: the Cardinal Bourbon, their uncle, made matters smooth for them at Rome. Most of these sudden conversions lasted just as long as the peril lasted, and no longer. The 'changed shield' of Burbo, which Spencer makes Queen Elizabeth regret so much at a later time, had once before passed from white to red, and from red to white again.

It is not easy to gather what the bloodshed amounted to. Davila puts it at ten thousand in Paris, of whom over five hundred were noble and gentle; he says that altogether, in Paris and the provinces, over forty thousand perished: Sully goes farther, and puts it at seventy thousand; Péréfixe, who exaggerates, says a hundred thousand: at the lowest computation two thousand fell in Paris, and about twenty thousand in the provinces. The numbers are unimportant: the guilt of this great crime does not depend on the figures.

At first poor Charles thought to shift the burden from himself to the Guises and the populace: but after a while Catherine persuaded him into believing that he must assume the responsibility himself; he therefore declared in a solemn 'lit de justice,' that the massacre was done at his command, and, amidst the plaudits of a delighted people, went to view the bodies of the victims displayed on the scaffold of Montfaucon. He declared that Coligny had made a slave of him: he even hinted

¹ Mémoires du D. de Bouillon (Michaud, I. xi. p. 9). He was the father of the famous Marshall Turenne, who was brought up a Protestant.

that there was a great Huguenot conspiracy to assassinate him and all the royal family, a charge made on the general principle that 'the absent are ever wrong'; for the men were dead, and there was no shadow of foundation for the charge. In taking it on himself the King at once received the honour due to him: not only did his popularity return, but pamphlets of apology, even of triumph, poured forth from the press; the Papal Court broke out into high rejoicings, Capi Lupi and Davila wrote eulogies on these grand acts which had abolished the Huguenots: the Papacy had a medal struck¹, a picture painted, high service² performed in honour of it. Philip II felt that he breathed again: the whole combination against him was broken up; he saw his deadly enemies destroyed, and believed that in the Netherlands he could now speedily crush their brethren; he wrote with warm and almost envious congratulations to his brother-monarch: a medal with the legend 'Charles IX dompteur des rebelles, 24 Aoust, 1572,' was struck at Paris. The high Catholic party in its triumph sought to prove that the massacre had been planned for eight years, and that Charles had shown the most profound wisdom throughout the period. It was not long before the King wearied of these sanguinary glories, these bandit-praises of Pope and Catholic King: remorse settled down, like a harpy on the defiled banquet, on his disgusted spirit; he was thenceforth broken in body and mind. Some eight days after the massacre, deep in the night, he called for his brother-in-law, the King of Navarre. When Henry came into his chamber, he found Charles standing on the floor, excited and feverish, declaring that cries and screams had wakened him from sleep. Henry listened, and to him also, in the dead silence of the slumbering city, there seemed to come

¹ Anquetil, *Esprit de la Ligue*, ii. p. 66. On the obverse, the head of Gregory XIII, on the reverse, the destroying angel making short work of his victims: the legend, *VGONOTTORVM STRAGES. 1572*. This medal exists in three different forms, an example of each of which is in the British Museum. The genuineness of it has been challenged by apologists; Bonanni, a Jesuit, in his *Numismata Pontiff. Romanorum*, 1699, has no doubts.

² A copy of the Office compiled for the occasion is in the Bodleian Library; as copies were sedulously destroyed, it is very rare.

up a confused clamour of shrieking and sighing. They sent men out into the town to inquire if all was still: these came back saying that the streets were quiet, but that there were strange noises in the air. The King of Navarre was so much affected that he declared that whenever the memory of this scene came back to his mind, his hair stood on end with fear¹.

The guilt of this terrible event must be spread over a broad surface: none of the actors are altogether blameless.

The party of the Guises, the instruments of bloodshed, must come first: they not only planned and approved of the massacre, but actually executed it: they stand out as the representatives of that fierce spirit, which (though far from being confined to them) characterises the temper of those who fought on behalf of the Catholic reaction. Their stem-principle was coercion; the Inquisition, or the assassin's knife, or any form of terrorism, seemed to them not only allowable but natural. They dabbled in murders; the chronicle of the years before the S. Bartholomew massacre is filled with acts of violence done by their agency: the massacre itself was but a larger and shining illustration of their principles. To their habits of violence, joined with the temper of the Parisian mob, we owe the spread of the bloodshed far beyond the limits which the Court wished to impose on it: the general massacre is to be laid to their charge. With them we must group the city of Paris, their ready accomplice through this period. In how many causes has she passed from a generous sympathy to ghastly bloodshed and excess!

But the most guilty of all was the Queen-Mother. Her hand-to-mouth policy may be pleaded as a partial excuse for her; we may think that she drifted into this crime, almost unconsciously. But, without affirming that she had long che-

¹ Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, i. p. 238. The authorities for the Massacre are exceedingly numerous and weighty. In the Cimber and Danjou collection a whole volume is given to cotemporary records; Tavannes was an actor in it; De Thou got his details from eye witnesses; Anjou left behind him his own narrative (in Villeroy's *Memoirs*); the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, Brantome, D'Aubigné, all contribute something.

rished a plan to assassinate those well-known six whom she had on her conscience, there can be no doubt that hers was the evil spirit which prompted the whole thing: she had no moral sense; the usual laws of a wholesome and pure life were unknown to her; Italian intrigue in love or in war, consummate falseness, absolute indifference as to the moral qualities of the means she used to compass her ends, these were the characteristics which we note throughout her career, and by these she was led into the very pit of moral shame, dragging down with her the Court, the Church, the French nation itself. To this at last came those Italian influences of this age of which she was the representative and chief exponent.

The blame due to Charles IX is of a totally different kind, and is bound up with the inherent faults of his character. His self-indulgence, his coarse and brutal manners, the violence of his impulses, checked by no power of ruling reason, made him a prey to the bad influences round him. We can see from the glimpse we have of his dealings with Coligny, that the poor youth had in him capacity of good; that his great faults might have been lessened, if not corrected, by the help of some stronger and purer nature. But this was not to be his fate. Diseased in mind and body, surrounded by every form of corruption, played on by cunning and unscrupulous partisans, with such a mother at his right hand, the wretched King had no chance of better things. We must not forget that throughout the whole affair he was pushed on against his will and judgment, passionately and feebly resisting, trying to hide the gross evil from his own consciousness, repenting at the very moment of execution¹, and when the paroxysm of fear and violence was over, at once giving way to bitter remorse.

The Pope and the Spanish King we may group together as accomplices throughout in spirit, who took on themselves a share in the blame in cold blood, by approving the massacre when it was done. They shewed themselves consistent and

¹ The Court sent out orders to stay the execution after the fatal bell had rung. But no one cared to obey; the massacre had already begun.

worthy heads in Church and State of the party of repression, now in full swing of the tide of that reaction which marks so distinctly the latter half of this century.

And lastly, we cannot acquit the sufferers themselves of all blame. Though we may set aside the scandalous abuse heaped on the memory of Coligny by his enemies, and the groundless tale as to a plot to assassinate the Court, we still cannot shut our eyes to the arrogance of the Huguenots, their armed threats and violent language, their declarations that the King must choose between war at home and war abroad, their contemptuous treatment of the Paris mob and its prejudices, things which helped to lash their antagonists into frenzy. Intolerance, political or religious, is the fatal characteristic, throughout its history, of French party-life: and the Huguenots again and again rendered concession and compromise impossible: they wanted only what was just, but demanded it in such a way as always to arouse most vehement opposition. A cause which is constantly exciting resistance, instead of smoothing away obstacles from the path, naturally ends in some terrible overthrow; and so the ill-treated Huguenots, depositories of almost all the virtue and thrift in the land, were not content to ask for a fair toleration, but mixed themselves up with the political projects of discontented nobles, and alienated from themselves any good-will the Court might have been inclined to show them; at the same time, by their narrow and unpatriotic spirit they made it clear that, were they ever to come into possession of power, their antagonists the Catholics would have no chance of living peaceably side by side with them. The history of the great massacre exposes plainly the weak side and inherent faults of French political life.

The effects of the massacre in France were not so great as was expected. For the principles of the Huguenots remained, though their leaders were stricken down: and as soon as the first stupor passed away, they became as troublesome as ever to the Court, though as a religious party they were sensibly weakened. But the reaction caused by violence brought the party

of the 'Politiques,' the moderates, to the front: henceforward they lead, and the Huguenots are but a wing in their army. Parties thus are simplified into two; that is, the Moderates with the Protestants, and the League: in spite of Catherine's wish to continue her balancing policy, the Court is sucked into the strife and itself becomes a partisan, joining now one side and now the other, dragged at the heels of this or that leader, without dignity or independence, it pays a terrible penalty for its complicity in the great crime. The result abroad is much more marked: for it is the entire overthrow of the policy of the party: for the moment Spain was the great gainer. In the Netherlands the revolt seemed to be coming to an end; Mons was retaken; the Prince of Orange, who was lying in the Southern provinces, hoping for the Huguenot help half-promised him by Charles IX, was obliged to retreat into Holland, and Alva treated the Walloon provinces with revolting cruelty: the Calvinist resistance seemed everywhere weakened. In England and in Germany alike there was a strong sense of the atrocity of the act: Maximilian II is said to have wept when he heard the news; Queen Elizabeth and her Court put on mourning, and received the French ambassador with cold severity: a new enthusiasm was aroused in England, of which Spenser became the eloquent spokesman: the Queen thought her life no longer safe; her people rallied round her, and resolutely determined to resist the Spanish power wherever an opening might be found¹.

IV. *Fourth War.* A.D. 1572-1573.

The South of France broke into open revolt: La Rochelle, Montauban, Sancerre, Nîmes, took up arms, and closed their gates against the royal troops. The Court at first tried to avoid war; for war was a confession that their great crime had been committed in vain: and moreover moderate counsels were once

¹ Hume, *History of England*, iii. p. 539 (ed. 1848).

more dominant in the breast of the Queen Mother. La Noue, the 'Bayard of the Huguenots,' had been taken prisoner in Mons by the Duke of Alva, who sent him to Charles IX. He expected nothing but death; but to his amazement found himself caressed and flattered: the duty of appeasing the revolt of La Rochelle was forced on him. After some reluctance he accepted the task; and the world saw the strange sight, so soon after the massacre, of the most noted Huguenot leader employed by the Court to reduce the resistance of the most important Huguenot stronghold. Stranger still, the Rochellois, instead of yielding to him, offered him the command of their forces; and La Noue filled at the same time the two incompatible positions of King's officer and general commanding the troops of the insurgent city. Both parties trusted him: the King believed that he would appease the troubles: the Huguenots were sure that he would not betray them to the King: the most amazing of all results was that he justified their confidence, without forfeiting the royal favour.

The Huguenot movement began to take a more distinctly republican tone: a scheme of organisation was drawn up: there was talk of a 'Roman dictator,' of a great Council in each town, of a federation of independent cities, based partly on the liberties of the Protestant towns, partly taken from the example of Switzerland¹. It was felt that La Rochelle, the 'white city' as the English called it, was the true centre of resistance. La Noue, while he steadily exhorted the people to submit to the King, as steadily busied himself strengthening the fortifications, and making every preparation for resistance: he withdrew from the town after a while, at the King's command.

In the spring of 1573 the royal army was reluctantly set in motion: it was commanded by Anjou, who had with him the Duke of Alençon, the Bourbon Princes, and twenty thousand men loosely gathered together, and but poorly furnished. La Rochelle on her side resisted heroically: assault after assault

¹ Martin, *Histoire de France*, ix. p. 353 (ed. 1857).

was repulsed: the nobles in the royal army kept the Huguenots informed of everything: a fleet of little ships, commanded by Montgomery, supplied the place with food. Elsewhere the same tenacious resistance went on: Sancerre underwent a long and terrible siege. The King had no heart for the struggle; everything fell into confusion: it was said that this war had exhausted the realm more than any that had gone before. The 'Third Party,' the Moderates, headed by the four Montmorencys, who had protected the Huguenots in the massacre, drew towards the Duke of Alençon, whose tendencies were also friendly to the Huguenots, and who already with the Queen Mother's approval began to scheme for the hand of Queen Elizabeth, and a Protectorate of the Netherlands. It became clear that the war could not go on; that the Huguenots were not crushed; that peace must come.

The Queen Mother seemed determined to follow her old lines of policy: the Edict of Boulogne (6 July, 1573) gave the Huguenots even more than they had got from the Peace of S. Germain: amnesty, restoration of property and honours, liberty of conscience, freedom of worship in La Rochelle, Montauban and other cities; all feudal possessors of the higher justice were allowed to have Huguenot service in their homes. The Huguenots seemed indestructible: their new allies the Politiques made them doubly formidable.

CHAPTER V.

THE WARS OF THE LEAGUE. A.D. 1574-1584.

JUST as the embers of the Fourth Civil War were dying down, Paris was astonished by the entry of a train of foreigners, whose strange looks and fantastic dresses were unlike anything known in the western world. These were the envoys from Poland, who had come to lay their crown at the feet of Henry of Anjou, whose prudent ambassador Montluc, Bishop of Valence, had at last triumphed over all opposition, though not without conditions which must have sounded like a sarcasm after the events of late years. Montluc promised, on the Duke's behalf, that not only should the rights of Poland be duly cherished, but that the French Huguenots should be fairly and clemently treated: the conditions of the Peace of La Rochelle were partly at least due to this Polish transaction.

Henry and the Queen Mother, after they had gained their wish, as is so often the wont of ambitious and mean natures, regretted what they had won: the Duke left France with many a sigh for a speedy return. His journey through Germany was not a happy one: at the Court of John Casimir he found himself unpleasantly surrounded by the dark faces of Huguenot refugees; the Elector himself did not disguise his abhorrence, and cut Anjou very short, when he began with the established excuses as to the treason of Coligny and the like: 'we know all that history,' was his scornful reply.

No sooner was Henry gone to Poland than fresh troubles began in France. His youngest brother, the Duke of Alençon, now left without a rival—for the King had withdrawn from

public life—chafed under the neglect and dislike of his mother. He declared openly that he feared her: he expected to be assassinated by her; he connected himself with the King of Navarre and the Montmorencys. The Huguenots, restless and determined, thought little of the late Treaty of Peace, and clamoured for better terms. All things pointed to fresh outbreaks; and the Court, utterly without resources, with the King slowly but certainly dying, was in the greatest perplexity and distress.

It is not clear what the plans of the disaffected nobles were: some said it was a plot to snatch the power from Catherine's hands and to dismiss her to Italy: or a plot to destroy the King; or a plot to secure the throne for Alençon to the prejudice of Anjou and the Queen Mother: others have conjectured that there was no plot at all, but a scheme of Catherine, to enable her to lay hands on the leaders of the opposition, under cover of a trumped-up conspiracy, a subtlety in government which seems to belong more to imperial than to monarchical days. The air was full of these ominous conjectures: men's minds had lost their balance, so deeply had the horror of the times affected them. Rumours of melting waxen figures¹, of influences occult and baneful, of sorcery and magic, were whispered from ear to ear: the wretched King strove to hide his coming fate and his remorse from himself, now by debauches deep and scandalous, now by violent hunting, now by working with fierce and feverish energy at his forge; till at last his strength utterly gave way, and the dark shadows he had striven to keep at bay crowded around his death-bed. The press teemed with pamphlets against the Court: the Politiques called loudly for the convocation of the States Général, and for a reform of the realm: the great work of Hotmann, the *Franco-Gallia*, appeared; it contained a new theory of civil life, and was a reaction against that based on the Roman Law, and dominant in France, the idea of absolutist monarchy; it advo-

¹ De Thou, *Hist. lib. lvii. tom. viii. p. 592.*

cated a return to the old Frankish system of elective royalty, in the hands of the nobility: its germ clearly lay in the late election to the Polish throne: and its aim, as clearly, was to strengthen the resistance to Catherine and Anjou.

It was in these days that Catherine either concocted or detected the so-called plot: it gave her a new lease of power. She seized the Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarre, and shut them up at Vincennes; Montmorency she also got into her power, with some of the lesser leaders: she carried the dying King from S. Germain to Vincennes. He for his part would gladly have favoured Alençon—he hated his brother Henry, loathed and tried to assassinate the Duke of Guise, chafed under his mother's management. But he was powerless: all he could do was to die (May 1574). He was not yet twenty-five years old: in spite of all his vices and faults, we feel some pity, as we draw the veil over the features of this wretched King. He had a heart, he was capable of remorse; he might have been so much better and nobler, had he not come in such times¹. His last words were touching: 'he rejoiced that he left no heir in such an age: for he knew of his own sad experience how wretched the state of a child-King; how wretched the kingdom over which a child ruled'; he added that France needed a man for its ruler;—not a Henry of Anjou, however, but a Henry of Navarre.

V. *Fifth War.* A.D. 1574.

He died just as the Fifth Civil War broke out in the old southern and western quarters; if indeed it is worthy to be called a war. It is only to be noticed because it brought out with some clearness the weakened state of the Huguenots, and the growing importance of the middle party, which now set itself in opposition to the Crown; it also saw the gradual formation of the League.

¹ For a good account of him see De Thou, lib. lviii. tom. viii. p. 605.

When Henry King of Poland received news of his brother's death, his only thought was how he should escape from the discomforts of his new throne: he was a man with no sense of duty or of honour, and was only too glad to run away from the disagreeable crown he had so eagerly schemed to obtain, and which he had solemnly sworn to wear for the good of his new subjects. Impatient of delay, he escaped like a fugitive, riding off with a small retinue of Frenchmen by night and in secret. The Poles formally summoned him to return, and when he made no reply, proceeded to declare the Polish throne vacant, and to elect another King¹. Had Henry hastened back direct to France it might have been said that anxiety for his crown there had prompted his hurried flight. But he turned aside, and passed through Moravia and Austria into Italy; perhaps he did not care to recross Germany and see once more those reproachful, plain-spoken Princes and fugitives. In Italy he amused himself three months, leaving his mother in charge of his wretched kingdom of France, and wasting his time, strength, and substance in idleness and debauch.

When he drew towards Languedoc, Montmorency-Damville its governor came to meet him, and did his best to persuade him to throw himself on the Politiques, and with their help to hold a middle place between the parties. But to accept this policy would be to break loose from the House of Lorraine and his old line of action; and this, though the great Cardinal died soon after this time², was more than he could be induced to do. From Dauphiny he issued a first proclamation, declaring that he would make no concession to the Huguenots,—Catholic they must become, or they must leave the realm. Louis XIV in his

¹ They elected Stephen Bathory, Waiwode of Transylvania, 15 Dec. 1575.

² He died suddenly in December, 1574, of a chill caught in a great procession of penitents. There were, of course, immediate rumours of poison. The next day came a terrific storm. His friends said it betokened the anger of Heaven at France, now bereft of the sheltering prayers of the Cardinal; but the Huguenots said Hell was unchained to meet its greatest guest. Such was the political temper of the time. *Mémoires de Pierre L'Estoile* (Michaud, II. i. 1. p. 49).

most imperious days used no stronger language. Wherever he went he flaunted before the people his ardent Catholicism; processions, prayers, church festivals, had no attendant so devout: he was ever either sinning or doing penance for his sins; and it was hard to say in which he showed the greatest fervour. He attached himself in policy, in opinion, and by marriage, to the dominant House of Guise. But he made no attempt to put an end to the loose irregular war which was eating up the vitals of the kingdom: his court was more bestial and corrupt than anything France had seen for ages. Nothing could be more scandalous and effeminate than this idle King: he and his unworthy favourites made night hideous within and abroad in the streets: the home of bloodshed and intrigue, of love and murder, of the worst passions in fullest licence,—such was the Court of Henry III. When his amusements were not vicious they were criminal; if not criminal, puerile. All parties alike fell off from him: in him the French monarchy reached its lowest point. The Protestants and Politiques made common cause and a definite compact; and they were followed, on the other side, by a similar combination of the Catholics: the Politique-Huguenot confederation of Milhaud in 1575 was answered by the Catholic League of 1576.

The compact of Milhaud was the first definite agreement between Huguenots and moderate Catholics; at that place the Calvinist churches had met (Feb. 1575) and had elected as their chief the Prince of Condé, then a fugitive in Germany; and before the meeting broke up Montmorency-Damville sent them a formal offer of alliance. It was accepted with joy. The combined party sprang up at once to formidable dimensions; a manifesto was put out claiming freedom of conscience, and the convocation of the States General: it was a new feudalism, defying the weakened crown. To this great party Alençon, who had escaped from Court, forthwith attached himself; he was at once accepted as head of the party. England should give money, Germany men: zealous John Casimir the Palsgrave was to march into Eastern France, and to undertake the

administration of the Three Bishopricks; and Condé was ready to return from Germany with a powerful army.

The Duke of Guise, Governor of Champagne, set himself to stem the incursion of the Germans; in so doing he got that wound in the cheek which gave him the name of *le Balafré*, the scarred. Elsewhere no effective resistance was made. The Queen Mother, seeing that the Monarchy was perishing, tried to make peace. War however dragged on its weary length through the spring of 1576; Condé and the Elector Palatine entered France with eighteen thousand men, crossed the Duchy of Burgundy, and joined Alençon at Moulins: Montmorency-Damville was unopposed in the South: Henry of Navarre at last escaped from Paris, rejoined his friends, and threw aside his forced Catholicism. His appearance in the camp of the Politique-Huguenot army is the true beginning of his great career. Hitherto, with the Court, he had taken his share in all frivolity and debauchery; it was time that the greater qualities of the man should appear, and that he should show himself the son not only of pleasure-loving feeble Antony, but also of the stern heroic Jeanne.

The Court could do nothing; even the strict Catholics stood aloof; Catherine could only negotiate and treat. The upshot was another hollow peace, the '*Paix de Monsieur*,' as the Duke of Alençon now began to be called¹, the Peace of Chastenoy (6 May, 1576). The Huguenots obtained freedom of worship throughout the realm, except in Paris; they got possession of some strong towns in the South; of the right to establish schools and hold synods; and an equal share in the Parliaments. The Politiques also secured great concessions for their chiefs; for Henry of Navarre the government of Guyenne; for Condé Picardy; for Alençon Anjou, Touraine, and Berry, together with all his appanages.

Terms so favourable to the nobles and Calvinists could not

¹ From this time the King's brother next himself in age begins to be called '*Monsieur*' alone; Gaston, brother of Louis XIII, was 'the first son of France who was truly and constantly styled '*Monsieur*' quite short.' S. Simon, iv. p. 358.

be acquiesced in without a struggle. If the King yielded, the high Catholic party would not; against one League they would oppose another: the true Wars of the League begin.

Since the days of the Triumvirate the Guises had kept in view the idea of a great Catholic League, which should be built up on the basis of the interests of the great nobles of their side, and of the popular hatred against Calvinism. The instruments of its action should be the rising Jesuit order; its foreign supports and stays the Pope and the King of Spain. From time to time partial and secret unions had been formed, chiefly in the North of France. The policy of the Guises, as foreshadowed by the Cardinal of Lorraine at the Council of Trent¹, fell in with the violent passions of the high Catholic party, and was forwarded by the contempt into which the Court had fallen. Little isolated leagues had begun in the provinces as early as 1563², but were broken up or died out, though from time to time, as in 1565 and 1572, they sprang up again. Not till 1576 did the 'Holy Union,' the League properly so called, come into existence³. After the high and almost independent position granted to the great confederates, Anjou, Henry of Navarre, and Damville, by the late Peace, Henry of Guise began to consider whether it was not time for him too on his side to secure himself, and to make sure that he could stand firmly without or against Court and King: he may have dreamt of even more; at any rate his more obscure and violent friends did, for they kept up the old language about the Karoling origin⁴ of the Guises, and the papers of the lawyer David⁵ show the thoroughness of the

¹ Above, p. 323.

² Anquetil, *Esprit de la Ligue*, ii. p. 171.

³ Negotiations with Philip II did not take serious form till 1583, when the death of Anjou brought the gravity of the succession-question more prominently forward, and Philip became perforce a principal in the strife. In January 1585 the foreign element was distinctly represented in a compact between the Guises, Philip, and the Papacy: about the same time the alliance with the 'Sixteen' gave the League a new and all-important centre at Paris.

⁴ As a fact this absurd appeal to the Karoling ancestors was of no value for the Guises: they were only the younger branch: the Duke of Lorraine was between them and that succession.

⁵ These papers have been called a forgery of the Huguenots to discredit

scheme: they have a curious antiquarian flavour about them, suggesting a parallel between the rois fainéants in the hands of the Karoling Mayors and the feeble Henry giving place to the Guises: 'Finally,' he says, 'the Duke of Guise, with advice of the Pope, and as Pepin treated Hilderik¹, will shut up the King in a monastery for the rest of his days².' The Church, and more particularly the Company of Jesus, which was now in the very flush of its earlier success, seconded the Duke warmly. The Jesuits formed the cosmopolitan and almost anti-national element in the combination; they were in a certain sense the radical party of the age. They were aided by the network of official influences, which since the days of Henry II had been entirely in the hands of the Lorraine-family throughout a large part of France. That Condé should step into office at the very heart of the Catholic strength, in Picardy, seemed to them monstrous and impossible.

D'Humières, who commanded on the Upper Somme, at Peronne, Roye, and Montdidier, directly he heard that Peronne was to be Condé's head-quarters, gathered round him the ill-affected nobles, ecclesiastics, and burghers of Picardy, the germ of the Holy Union, to defend the old faith in the North: they loudly protested their loyalty to Henry III, and steadfastly refused to do his bidding. The League was the immediate result: its principles were drawn up in twelve articles³, and circulated secretly; they are very clear and significant. The object of the League is stated in the first: it is styled an Association of Catholic princes, lords, and gentlemen with a view to the restoration and upholding of the sole supremacy of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church: so far it is a simple Church Defence society: the second clause goes much farther:—they will support Henry III, but only in subordination

the Guises; it is more probable that they were genuine, though not the work of the Princes, but only of a hot-headed partisan.

¹ See Vol. i. p. 109.

² Anquetil, *Esprit de la Ligue*, ii. p. 182.

³ Given in full by Palma Cayet, *Collect. Univ.* lv. pp. 3, sqq.

to the coming States General: in the third article we find the antiquarian claims and aims of the Guises peeping through: they will restore to the Provinces of the realm and the provincial Estates such rights and privileges as they had in the days of 'the King Clovis, first Christian King, together with still better and more profitable liberties and franchises, if such can be found.' The remaining articles declare the League to be intended for fighting purposes: they threaten as enemies all who shall hold aloof, all who resist, all who fall away; they promise obedience to their chosen head; they make arrangements for the secret spread of the League. Finally, the twelfth article contains the Oath to be taken on joining 'The Holy Catholic Association,' an oath which sets the authority of the League distinctly above that of the King.

It is, in short, a great League of the Catholic noblesse, supported by clergy and populace, opposed to the confederacy of the Huguenot Princes, helped by the moderate party and the burghers of the South. It spread like lightning over the whole face of France: Condé could find no footing in Picardy or even in Poitou; Henry of Navarre was refused entrance into Bordeaux itself: the heads of the League, the family-party of the Dukes of Guise, Mayenne, and Nemours, seemed to carry all before them; the weak King leant towards them; the Queen Mother, intriguing ever, succeeded in separating Anjou from the Politiques, and began to seduce Damville. She hoped once more to isolate the Huguenots and to use the League to weaken and depress them.

The Confederates had called for a convocation of the States General; the Leaguers now did the same: Henry III himself thought that he might gain some strength from their meeting. They were therefore summoned, and met at Blois in December, 1576. The new machinery of the League was set in motion, the Estates at first seemed to be entirely composed of its friends: the Huguenot Princes refused to sit, and sent only envoys to watch proceedings and to protest. The King shewed himself hotly opposed to the confederates of the South: the

Court and the League seemed to be in perfect harmony, the King even approved of the steps taken 'by those of Picardy,' and, in a way, subscribed to the League, though the twelve articles were considerably modified before they were shown to him.

But the Estates soon showed that there was no true unanimity in favour of a policy of repression, which must mean civil war. In many districts the bureaux named to draw up the gravamina either adjourned the religious question, or declared in favour of peace: there was but one man of commanding abilities in the whole assembly, and his whole weight was exercised in favour of peace and moderation. This was John Bodin of Anjou, who, settled at Laon, had been returned to the Tiers État for the Vermandois district, and who, in the very heart of the League country, had succeeded in getting the whole religious question deferred; who also, in the discussions which took place, gradually guided the Third Estate so prudently and sagaciously as to neutralise the whole influence of the war-party¹. A feeling against the foreigners, the Queen's Italians, the Spanish Jesuits, the Lorrainers themselves, began to show itself: it was seen that even in its strongest quarters the League was not all-powerful: Amiens refused to join it; even in Paris it met with stiff opposition; in many places it was distinctly unpopular. The Third Estate boldly refused to vote the 'One Religion' clause, and declared for peace: it went further, and, so far as it could, stopped the supplies: the King, amazed at this unexpected resistance, declared that as the requisite funds were refused him, he could not follow out his intention of securing one religion in the realm, and dismissed the Estates.

VI. *Sixth War.* A.D. 1577.

The Leaguers had succeeded in making war, and winning some successes: but on their heels came the Court with fresh

¹ Martin, *Histoire de France*, ix. p. 458.

negotiations for peace. The heart's desire of the King was to crush the stubborn Huguenots, and to destroy the moderates: but he was afraid to act; and so it came about that, though Anjou was won away from them, and compromised on the other side, and though Damville also deserted them, and though the whole party was in the utmost disorder and seemed likely to disperse, still the Court offered them such terms that in the end they seemed to have even recovered ground. Under the walls of Montpellier, Damville, the King's general, and Châtillon, the Admiral's son, at the head of the Huguenots, were actually manœuvring to begin a battle, when La Noue came up bearing tidings of peace, and at the imminent risk of being shot placed himself between the two armies, and stayed their uplifted hands. It was the Peace of Bergerac (17 Sept. 1577), another ineffectual truce, which once more granted in the main what that of Chastenois had already promised: it is needless to say that the League would have none of it; and partisan-warfare, almost objectless, however oppressive to the country, went on without a break: the land was overrun by adventurers and bandits, sure sign of political death. Nothing could be more brutalising or more brutal: but the savage traits of civil war are less revolting than the ghastly revelries of the Court. All the chiefs were alike—neither the King, nor Henry of Navarre, nor Anjou, nor even the strict Catholic Guise, disdained to wallow in debauch. Death, moral and physical, brooded over the country: orgies and murders, perfumes and blood, savage and dissolute women, effeminate and bloodstained men, met the eye at every turn: no virtue, no faith, no patriotism remained: France was a loathsome body, galvanised into a ghastly life in death. It was from this Court, not because he wearied of it, but because he had quarrelled with his brother, and dreaded the ever-ready dagger of the bravo, that Francis Duke of Anjou fled, in the beginning of 1578, to Angers, where, finding that there was a prospect of amusement in the Netherlands, he turned his back on the high Catholics, and renewed friendship with the Huguenot chiefs. He was invited to come to the rescue of the

distressed Calvinists in their struggle against Philip, and appeared in the Netherlands in July 1578. The ten revolted Southern Provinces declared him 'Defender of their liberties,' and rallied round him with fresh hopes: he had wealth, he was a possible, even a likely, spouse for Queen Elizabeth; the Belgic provinces had dreams of a restored Burgundian power, Catholic, brilliant, independent of both Spain and France. It was, however, a poor reed on which to lean; and had the Northern provinces not been stout and strong, and independent of the Southern, it might have been fatal to the whole resistance¹.

It is impossible to write the history of these odious wars:

¹ The dates of the movement in the Netherlands are these:—

- 1555, Oct. Philip succeeds his father Charles V. The Duke of Savoy, Philibert, is Governor.
- 1559. Margaret of Parma, Regent. Disturbances against the Spanish Inquisition and Granvella's policy, supported by William of Orange and Egmont.
- 1561. Granvella made Archbishop of Mechlin, representative of the new episcopate.
- 1565. Severities of Philip, to introduce the Tridentine Decrees, backed by the Inquisition.
- 1566. The 'Compromise of Breda' presented to the Regent: the *Geusen*, or Land-beggars, 300 nobles, who had signed that remonstrance.
- 1567. Alva in the Netherlands: Margaret resigns: Orange escapes.
- 1568. Great severities: Horn and Egmont beheaded. Unsuccessful attempts of William of Orange and Louis of Nassau.
- 1572. The Water-beggars seize Brill and Flushing: Holland and Zealand revolt.
- 1574. Requesens, the governor, fails at Leyden: William of Orange defeats the Spanish fleet at Middelburg; Louis of Nassau defeated and killed at Mooker.
- 1576. Requesens dies; Don John of Austria succeeds. The 'Pacification of Ghent' signed between the Northern and the Southern Provinces. Archduke Matthias invited to be Governor.
- 1578. Don John of Austria defeats him. The Provinces get rid of Matthias, and the Belgic or Southern Provinces elect the Duke of Anjou, hoping to revive the Burgundian power.
- 1579. The seven Northern Provinces form the Union of Utrecht; the ten Southern, in the main, submit to the Duke of Parma, as Viceroy of Spain.
- 1581. Declaration of Independence of the Seven United Provinces: Francis, Duke of Anjou, named as Sovereign; William of Orange, Statholder.
- 1583. Anjou retires into France, utterly disgraced. The ten Provinces almost entirely reduced by Parma.
- 1584. Orange assassinated: Anjou dies.

memory and imagination both revolt. It is like a scene from a new Inferno: the Court with its horrible amusements, now devout, now sunk in the lowest and most unnatural sins, and always God-forsaken, forms the centre of the picture: the figure of Catherine dei Medici, like a busy witch, broods over the seething cauldron: far off on the horizon rise clouds of war, the smoke of burning cities and ruined villages: we dimly discern combatants passing in and out; but there is no plan or aim, no general of note, no solid army. Even Henry of Navarre as yet shows but small capacity. The only element in French society that inspires respect is the group of great lawyers, who laboriously, throughout this desolate age, pile up a grand series of Ordinances. From the Edict of Villars Cotterets, to that of Moulins in 1566, thence onward to that of Blois in 1580, we have a steady progress of reforms in the administration of the country, doubtless far too bureaucratic in character, yet still of infinite value in the confusion and chaos of civil life in France.

VII. *Seventh War.* A.D. 1579.

Though Henry III in a Conference at Nérac (A.D. 1579) did his best to satisfy the King of Navarre, still those Huguenots who had already tasted the sweets of civil war were eager to begin again: they wished for war for its own sake, for plunder, adventure, revenge, not to advance some noble cause, or to secure the triumph of a wholesome principle. Each year we see the temper of the combatants growing worse; this Seventh War, 'the Gallants' War¹, sprang out of a mean intrigue. Henry III stooped to set afloat a scandalous tale, intended, by damaging the character of his own sister, to sow discord between her and her spouse Henry of Navarre. But the slanderous whisper, instead of having this effect, only drew the two together, by the

¹ 'La guerre des amoureux.'

bonds of a desire to punish the mean and shameless conduct of the King: it formed the pretext for this Seventh War. The wiser and better of the Huguenot party would gladly have kept the peace; but the 'gallants,' the frivolous youths who formed the petty court of Henry of Navarre, were set on more fighting. So the war came; in which the Catholics had by far the best of it; the insurgents were weaker than ever, and hopes of extinguishing them rose high.

But a fresh disturbing cause, in this wretched entanglement of public and private interests, now entered in and changed the aspect of affairs. Towards the latter part of 1580 the seven United Provinces offered the sovereignty over themselves to the Duke of Anjou; and he, longing for a fresh field for his ambition, urged his brother to come to terms with the Huguenots. Peace was signed at Fleix, 26 November, 1580: the terms were those of Bergerac unchanged.

The Duke of Anjou took advantage of this peace to collect a good force with which to make head against the Duke of Parma in the Walloon Provinces: Philip II saw with astonishment this revival of the plans and policy of Coligny, which he had thought long since dead and gone: but Henry III assured him that he had no hand in it, that it was Anjou's affair: and Philip was not prepared to make matters worse by quarrelling with France. The chief Huguenots followed Anjou across the border; and it looked as if the young Duke would have a great career before him: in truth, had he been a man of nobler character he might have successfully asserted the liberties of the Provinces, and, in close alliance with England, might have held the seventeen together, as a compact and flourishing nation with a free and vigorous life before it. But Anjou was not fit for much. Queen Elizabeth refused to give him her hand; for she saw that this last-born of the Valois had not the ring of true metal in him: the English help came not: the force he brought from France was of no avail: he was indolent and incapable, and neither knew nor cared to know how to secure his Dukedom of Brabant and County of Flanders. On every field the Duke of

Parma overpowered him; it was a strong man wrestling with a babe: and in spite of William of Orange's help and advice, in spite of a fine army sent to his support by Catherine under the Duke of Montpensier, in spite of the warm enthusiasm of the people, nothing prospered with him. At last, with the instincts of a weak tyrant, he tried to secure for his own purposes the chief strongholds in the southern provinces, and to surprise them all at one blow¹: but his traitorous scheme failed at the most important places; then, having scandalously betrayed his trust, and finding himself deserted by all, he escaped to France. Thence he negotiated with the Provinces, and was on the point of returning to them, when the hereditary disease of the Valois smote him down: he died of consumption at the age of thirty, in the year 1584.

During these years the power of the great lords in France had grown greater, while that of the Crown was dragged through the dust. In the wrong way at the wrong time, Henry III thought to exalt 'new men,' his favourites, such as the Dukes of Joyeuse and Epemon, as counterpoises to the great nobles. But his new men had no genius nor virtue, and did but add to his humiliation. The League grew more threatening: the gloomy figure of Philip of Spain was seen darkly behind it; by means of this fanatic party he avenged himself on France for the annoyance Anjou had caused him in the Netherlands. It was believed that the Spanish King was about to carry out his long-planned crusade against all Protestantism; that his eye was on England, on the United Provinces, on France herself; that he proposed to assassinate Elizabeth and William of Orange, and in union with the League to enter France, and depose Henry the foolish King².

¹ This was 'the folly of Antwerp,' as it was called.

² See the account of Salcedo Conspiracy in Anquetil, *Esprit de la Ligue*, ii. p. 236.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EIGHTH WAR, THE 'WAR OF THE THREE HENRIES.' A.D. 1584-1589.

IN the darkest times, and in the midst of the worst corruptions of France, there are always some noble natures who rise out of the mists into a higher and purer atmosphere. These men, some L'Hôpital, or Coligny, or Du Plessis Mornay, by force of character or position, out from the dreary present see into a hopeful future, and are helpful in giving those impulses which save France from perishing. Toleration with L'Hôpital, resistance to Spain with Coligny, and now the consolidation of the country by the hand of Henry of Navarre, as it was foreshadowed by Du Plessis Mornay;—these were the three elements on which the France of the future might be built up: and Henry of Navarre, born of a Catholic father and Huguenot mother, and by disposition rather indifferent than tolerant¹, was destined to restore peace between the parties at home, and to make the name of France formidable abroad.

As yet he had shown scarcely any sign of greatness to the outer world. Some stern lesson, some crisis in life, was needed to purge away the dross which clogged his character: and the time was coming. The death of the Duke of Anjou in 1584 changed all the prospects of the succession to the French

¹ Montaigne declared that neither Henry nor his rival Henry of Guise cared aught for their religion: 'C'est un beau prétexte pour se faire suivre par ceux de leur parti; mais la religion ne les touche ni l'un ni l'autre.' Michaud, I. xi. p. 265.

throne; Henry III was not likely to leave any children behind him; and he was the last of the Valois branch. Henry of Navarre therefore now became the next heir in the hereditary succession, and the King sent to him the Duke of Epemon, his favourite, whose views were those of the Politique party¹, to pray him to become a Catholic once more, and so to remove the only obstacle to his recognition. All the moderate Catholics besought him to take this step: his own convictions were but slight; the advantages seemed great. Yet the young King of Navarre, after some wavering, would not do it. It was well that he did not: for, from the political point of view, it would have been premature: the Huguenots would have attached themselves at once to the Prince of Condé, and Henry would have lost their support: his own stem-idea was toleration, and that placed an iron barrier between him and the strict Catholics; neither Paris nor the Guises would have joined him: the moderate Catholics had not yet shown strength enough for him to float on them alone in the troubled sea of French politics. He therefore wisely chose to continue at the head of the Huguenot party, cultivating at the same time friendly relations with those nobles who, though Catholic, disliked the Spanish-Guise line of policy. He waited patiently, and as the event showed, wisely, for the natural development of a patriotic and national feeling, which at the right moment he might make his own by a well-timed conversion.

In these years, from 1584 to 1586, his character grew in force and earnestness: these are the days of his conversion from boyish carelessness to a manly determination, to a clear view of his destiny, and a readiness to sacrifice himself for it. To compel reluctant France to accept toleration, firmly yet not cruelly to reduce chaos to order, securing his own throne and ruling like a true King, to stamp out the embers of party-fires, and to show himself to be the head not of this or of that faction,

¹ While the Duke of Joyeuse, his rival-favourite, went with the high Catholic party.

this or that religion, but of France as a whole:—this was the arduous task for which Henry of Navarre now began to gird himself.

At the very time that Henry III was urging him to return to the Catholics, he also received a letter, breathing a very different spirit, from Du Plessis Mornay. That great man, a keen Calvinist, a good soldier, an eloquent writer, a man of noble aim and life, at this time filled the place of Coligny, with even higher moral elevation, and greater breadth of political views. He had but lately presented to Henry III a memoir on 'the best way to lessen the greatness of Spain'¹: he now turned to Henry of Navarre, and saluting him as heir to the throne of France, besought him to show that he was conscious of his high calling. No longer should he waste his moral strength on disorderly attachments: now he must love first all Christendom, and next his country². Though Henry never rose to the moral height required of him, yet we do not again find him sharing in royal revels, or sinking to the level of the low debauches of the Valois. He ceases to be a mere partisan, becomes a great leader, a wise politician, a brilliant general; after a while, a splendid Monarch.

The prospect before him was very gloomy: the Huguenots were weak; the politiques and Henry III wavered; the Spanish party was full of confidence and high schemes. It was in 1585 that, on receiving news of the Treaty of Nemours³, Henry, as he himself told the Marquis de la Force, 'thinking deeply thereon, with his head resting on his hand, felt so heavily on his soul the apprehension of evils impending over his friends, that the half of his moustache turned white'⁴. It was the moment of his lowest depression: the turning-point which led to all his triumphs.

Henry of Navarre was born at Pau, capital of the Béarnais,

¹ Martin, *Hist. de France*, ix. p. 523.

² *Mémoires de Du Plessis-Mornay*, i. p. 355.

³ See below, p. 384.

⁴ Matthieu, *Histoire de France*, i. p. 501 (ed. 1631).

in 1553, and his birth, infancy, and youth were, one might think, fashioned on the Gargantua of Rabelais: his old grandfather, Henry of Albret, was a thorough Pantagruelist, who had made his will and hung it round his neck in a golden box; and when his daughter Jeanne was curious to know its contents, she received a promise that her desire should be gratified, if, when the time came for her child to be born, she would sing a Béarn song. This the brave mother did: the old man, delighted with her spirit, hung the much-coveted box round her neck, though he carried away the key in his pocket: he then took up the new-born babe, rubbed its little gums with a head of garlic, and finally gave it a taste of wine from his cup¹. They cradled him in a great turtle's shell². Thus came Henry of Navarre into the world: they named him after his grandfather. We learn from Palma Cayet what was the rough wild life of the boy; he runs about with village lads, barefooted, bare-headed, with hair unkempt, in the fresh air, winter or summer alike³, sometimes toiling like a labourer's son, eating heartily the coarse bread of the district, bold and blunt, yet full of a natural grace of manner, which commended him to courtiers and to friends. What greater contrast could there be to those four decrepit boys, the Valois-Medicean brothers! These stronger elements of his early training stood him in good stead in the perilous days now coming.

The League-party was quite clear that he must never reign in France: by war, by intrigue, by political writings, they would bar the way. Consequently, we owe to this time a decided advance in the study of principles of politics: the Jesuit-party, naturally allied, except in its trading days, to intellectual radicalism, now broached theories as to the sovereignty of the people, the reflexion of which we may even trace in the con-

¹ Palma Cayet, preceptor to Catherine of Bourbon, Henry IVth's sister, had ample opportunities of gathering these details. *Collection Universelle*, lvi. p. 104.

² Still shown at Pau.

³ 'Quelquesfois pieds descaux et nue teste, tant en hyver qu'en esté.' Palma Cayet, lvi. p. 109.

servative pages of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity. The existence of Elizabeth as a Protestant Sovereign in England, and of Henry of Navarre as heir to the throne of the most Christian King of France, quickly convinced high Catholic minds that thrones cannot be transmitted by strict hereditary right: they therefore posited a 'divine right' of Kings, very different from that soon to be set up in England: their 'divine right' was the doctrine that no heretic could reign; that the Church had the ultimate authority in matters of succession. It is a doctrine which, in a strangely changed shape, reappears in the Protestant Succession compact by which the House of Hanover came to and still holds the English throne.

Is monarchy based on hereditary right? or on the will of the people? or on the sanction of the Church? these are the three points debated hotly by pen and sword during these years. In France, where the bulk of the people was Catholic, where Paris was fanatically so, the Jesuit writers did not fail to see that the second and third questions, that of popular election, and that of orthodoxy in the candidate for the throne, could be combined in one, and answered in harmony: thus grouped they might hope to resist the old-established claims of hereditary succession, which, however weakened by the immense gap separating Valois from Bourbon, was still stronger in France than elsewhere in Europe.

To advance these views, Bernardino da Mendoza, Philip's envoy, who had just been ejected from England, was sent to Paris. He was a very firebrand, and his task was to kindle the inflammable materials gathered round the Guises and in Paris. The Parisian League now sprang up, and stretched out its hands to the Duke of Guise: it was agreed that the heretic of Navarre should be shut out from the throne, and the 'Mignons' of Henry III, Joyeuse and Epernon, banished from the Court. The critical question, Who then shall be King? was adjourned by the clever expedient of putting forward the old Cardinal Bourbon (uncle of Henry of Navarre), a wretched creature, decrepit and debauched, a gambler and a sot. Under his

shadow the Duke of Guise hoped to prepare for his own succession to the throne, excluding not only Henry of Navarre, but the elder Lorraine branch as well¹. With a view to this end Guise sold himself to Philip of Spain.

That shrewd tenacious monarch saw, as he believed, the crisis of his fortunes coming on, and all things favouring him. The Jesuit theory of assassination had been practically tried on William the Silent in 1584, and the United Provinces were staggering from the blow; Philip believed that their reduction was near at hand. Plots innumerable sprang up against the persons of Queen Elizabeth and Henry of Navarre: there were also plots to lay hands on James VI, heir to the English throne, so as to secure him to Catholicism or to prevent his reigning; there were plots also to embarrass Elizabeth on the Irish side. Pamphlets, songs, gross prints, teemed from the French presses; Rheims, where there was an English-Catholic seminary, was the centre of this evil activity; the air was full of lies. Spenser, in his wonderful description of the wood of Error, and of the monster its denizen, with her filthy brood of lies, 'Her vomit full of books and papers was,' refers to this moment²: it was to meet guile with guile, spy with spy, that the great Walsingham now organised his wide-reaching system of intelligences, and of anti-Spanish plots and plans³. On the last day of 1584, the Pact of Joinville was signed between the Dukes of Guise and Mayenne, Philip's envoys, and a representative of Cardinal Bourbon: heretics were to be excluded from the throne, and the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis to be taken as the basis of all dealings with Spain. The mere name of that treaty shows how unpatriotic, even how anti-national the Leaguers had become: they were entirely subjected to the power and interests of Spain. The Papal blessing came in February, 1585.

¹ See Table V. p. 251.

² Spenser, *Faery Queene*, I. Canto i. St. 20. The passage was first published in 1590.

³ See Michelet, x. pp. 168, 169 (ed. 1856).

On the other side, the Dutch and English offered to help and guarantee Henry III on his throne if he would follow out Coligny's policy, and unite again the bands which the S. Bartholomew Massacre had snapped. The League set itself to hinder the King, if not to overthrow him, or to carry him off: the scissors were shown with which he was to be shorn and made a monk, so clearing the place for the Karolingian Guises.

Now came out a great State paper, the Manifesto of the League: it should be read side by side with the splendid Declaration of Independence made by William the Silent, which had been before the world since 1581. This manifesto, which was signed by the Cardinal Bourbon, received the adhesion of the Duke of Lorraine, the elder branch not thinking it well to allow the younger branch, the Guises, to have in their hands the sole management of the party. Troubles broke out over the whole face of France; in most places the Leaguers were easily dominant, though they failed in Provence, in some scattered towns of Burgundy, at Bordeaux and Toulouse.

What would the King do? Montmorency drew to the Huguenots: a common danger once more attracted the moderate Catholics and the Calvinists together; and a very strong party would have welcomed Henry III as its head, had he been willing to act with them. But he hated the Huguenots, politically, religiously, morally: he listened to his chief favourite, Joyeuse: the Queen Mother, who had schemes of her own for the succession, was jealous of Henry of Navarre, and now leant towards the Guises. Even Margaret of Valois, Henry's unworthy and dissolute spouse, deserted him and became a Leaguer. Paris had throughout, in spite of a strong minority of Moderates, been a violent partisan of the high Catholics; she now proposed to go a step farther, and to become once more the centre of a strict Catholic kingdom, and to impose her will, in the reactionary direction, on France. Since the time of Francis I she had been organised more completely: she had a 'Provost of the Tradesmen' and four 'echevins,' elected by the citizens; the town was divided into sixteen 'quarters' or districts, each of which had its com-

mandant. From each of these sixteen quarters one man was chosen by the secret council of the League, and these, the famous 'Sixteen of Paris', soon gathered to themselves great power: they were mostly lawyers, ambitious and fanatical. They called for the King's deposition, and invited Henry, Duke of Guise, to Paris. Even now, had the King shown resolution and vigour, he could have done much, and might have made a good fight for the independence of his Crown. But to what could such a wavering enervated creature rouse himself? How could he fight against his favourites, his superstitions, his religious tendencies? He gave way, and authorised the Queen Mother to make such terms as she could with the League and the Sixteen. Her terms were a capitulation: the monarchy bowed its head, and became subject to its subjects. At Nemours (5 July, 1585) was signed a treaty, which sanctioned all that had been done by the Leaguers, promised the total revocation of all edicts of toleration, forbade the exercise of Huguenot worship, and granted huge concessions to the great Princes, to Cardinal Bourbon, to Aumâle, Mercœur, Guise and Mayenne. A gleam of popularity greeted the King as he entered Paris, and in the Parliament: but at what a price had he bought it! He was King no more of France; only nominal head of an unpatriotic faction.

The first step in the coming war was characteristic: the League-party induced the new Pope, Sixtus V, that splendid example of the force of great natural powers, that king of men,—who, being a true autocrat, had disapproved of the League-programme,—to excommunicate both 'the Béarnais,' as they called Henry of Navarre, and Condé, and to declare them incapable of succeeding, and to entrust to Henry III the task of deposing him from his Southern crown. Henry replied with a coarse and scornful protest, and war began.

Like his grandson Vendôme after him, Henry rose highest in a great emergency: he was never so active, or to all appear-

¹ Palma Cayet, *Collect. Univ.* lv. p. 27 sqq; and Ranke, *Päpste*, v. § 10.

ances so cheerful. He kept up communications with Henry III, professing his loyalty; issued addresses, concerted measures with the middle party, and appealed to Queen Elizabeth, who promised help in the Netherlands, and subsidies for a German army. She knew that the struggle was for life and death: with a firm hand and ready eye, she watched the oncoming of her great foe. All men regarded England as the stronghold of Protestantism and liberty: all knew that Philip thought it such, and was making ready for the great and decisive assault.

Now begins the 'war of the Three Henries,' Henry of Valois, King of France; Henry of Bourbon, King of Navarre; and Henry, Duke of Guise, soon to be styled the King of Paris. Bourbon and Guise were the two antagonists, representing each a distinct principle: Henry III fluctuated between them, victim of his own scandalous vices, and of his mother's fatal balancing system.

In 1586, the King of Navarre was at La Rochelle; Condé commanded the Huguenots in Poitou. Things at first went for the League: Condé was defeated, not far from Angers, whither he had rashly penetrated through a hostile country: his army was broken up, and he, escaping through Normandy, passed into England, whence he returned to La Rochelle with considerable help. Henry of Navarre stood firmly on the defensive against the Duke of Mayenne, garrisoning his towns, and keeping up a lively partisan-warfare from La Rochelle: the League-army, worn out with fatigue and pestilence, disbanded, and Mayenne, full of suspicions against Henry III, withdrew to Paris.

There was also obscure warfare in the summer of 1586 in Languedoc, where Joyeuse opposed Montmorency; and in Provence, where Epemon defeated Lesdiguières and the Huguenots; the balance of success was here also with Henry III. But the usual weakness was on him: the money raised with great difficulty for the war was squandered on favourites: the Leaguers redoubled their clamours against him, as a secret friend of the Huguenots. He would gladly have made peace: but to what end could such a peace have served? The King

of Navarre knew well that the decision as to peace or war lay not with Henry III but with the Duke of Guise: and, moreover, why think of peace between parties in France, when all Europe was kindling with war? By her activity in the Netherlands, by her dealings with Mary Stewart, in the Spanish colonies and on the Spanish Main, Queen Elizabeth showed that she knew peace to be impossible. The Queen of Scots was tried and condemned in October, 1586, but not till the next February was that fatal step taken, which told the world, as nothing else could have told it, how great was the peril and alarm of the English Queen, and how hopeless all thoughts of conciliation or peace.

Through the summer of 1587 war went on languidly in France, while Philip gathered together his vast Armada for the next year. A German army threatened France from the usual quarter: Henry of Navarre, with a weak force, marched from La Rochelle to the Loire to meet it: Henry III had levied one more army, which he entrusted to his favourite Joyeuse, and sent it to prevent the junction of Huguenots and Germans. The King of Navarre, finding no tidings of the Germans, turned to the south, crossed the Charente, intending to make a great circuit through more friendly country, and so to reach the Germans to the eastward. He was overtaken by Joyeuse at Coutras, where his position was very perilous, for he lay between the King's army and that of the Guyenne noblesse, who were coming up against him: he had but a little force of some six thousand, with three guns, while Joyeuse had nearly double the number; and finally he was between two rivers, the Isle and the Dronne, in the angle of their confluence, where defeat would be fatal. But the King of Navarre's men were all veterans, while Joyeuse had only raw levies: he determined to fight. There was a touch of the Puritan spirit in the temper in which these old soldiers prepared for battle, in the prayer on bended knee, the solemn hymn with which they met the onslaught of the courtiers' army. Their earnestness prevailed: the brave, ill-disciplined army under Joyeuse was utterly defeated,

their commander killed. It was a great triumph for the Huguenots and their chief: it was their first victory and his; it stamped him as a bold and successful general.

No results followed from it: Henry made no attempt to join the Germans under Baron Dohna, who, left to themselves, were unable to cope with the Duke of Guise: he beat them on the 26th of October, 1587, at Vimory, near Orleans, then in November at Auneau; so driving them out of France with terrible loss. His success in relieving France from this foreign scourge raised his reputation as high as that of Henry of Navarre, whom men blamed for his inaction after Coutras: it is one of the uncertain points of history, whether that inaction arose from the actual weakness of his force, or from the reluctance of his soldiers to march after they had just won so large a booty, or from the charms of the 'fair Corisande,' at whose feet he hastened to lay the trophies of his victory, or from the significant fact that only six days after Coutras Guise had defeated the Germans more than eighty leagues off at Vimory. Perhaps Henry ought to have attempted more: it is hard to think that he could have been successful: it is even possible that after his victory he did not care to tempt the Germans still further into France.

Paris, proud of the achievements of the Duke of Guise, invited him to come thither: the King forbade it—but what availed an order which had no force behind it? On the 9th of May, 1588, with a very scanty escort, Guise made triumphal entry into the capital. 'Saul has killed his thousands, but David his ten thousands,' cried the preachers: Saul the self-willed, the disobedient to God, the King whose crown should pass to the more orthodox David of the Catholic party.

He was a vigorous man, of great physical strength and activity; his was a noble personal appearance, he was fair-haired and of a light complexion, showing the Germanic type quite clearly. Like all men engaged in the desultory warfare of the age, he was a captain, not a general; a party-leader, not a statesman; he could bear the hardships of campaigning with

his men; his ways were singularly winning; all who saw him loved him. He became in an instant the idol of the Paris mob, and ruled it as he would. It is fair to add that he was far less sanguinary than his followers. The capital would have destroyed the Swiss guards, and would have proceeded to extremities with the King: but he held them back, and the revolution of 1588 was achieved without cruelties or bloodshed. The King had shown a disposition to resist: he drew his Swiss and his body guards closer round him. The city was instantly crossed with barricades concentric round the Louvre; the Parisians showing their natural gift for street-warfare. The burghers attacked the Swiss and drove in the outposts: they soon laid down their arms. The citizens would then have assaulted the King in the Louvre; but Guise stayed them while he negotiated, and, as thorough master of the situation, dictated his terms to the Queen Mother. She, artful and clever to the end, debated these terms with him: spun out the affair, amused the Duke, till Henry had time to escape out of Paris: as he passed the Nesle Gate, the citizens fired on him: he turned, and, irritated at the ingratitude of the city, swore he would never re-enter Paris but through the breach. As he protested, he had 'done the city more good than ten of his predecessors;' for he was the first King for many years past who had made Paris his royal residence: yet the mob felt nothing but hatred for the lukewarm King, they had learnt by seeing to despise him; they 'blindly followed their Guise, and he was sold to Spain¹.'

Henry escaped to Chartres, and there silently brooded over his wrongs and the vengeance he would take: a small force grew up around him; his ministers joined him; for a short while Catherine had once more staved off the ruin of the House of Valois.

Paris would not be satisfied; the popular movement carried the Duke of Guise with it: all the government of the town was reformed, so as to be in harmony with the League; Politiques

¹ L. von Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, i. p. 320.

and Huguenots were proscribed: the anger of the capital against Epernon was especially marked; for he was regarded as the King's most noxious, because most tolerant, favourite. The King, pushed to the utmost peril, granted everything Guise chose to demand: Epernon was dismissed, and lost his government of Normandy; the States General were convoked; Paris received an amnesty for her rebellion; Henry III promised to take up arms for the destruction of heretics, declared that no heretic could succeed to the throne, and named Guise Lieutenant-General of the realm. The edict which contained this capitulation was styled the 'Edict of Union' (1 July, 1588): it meant the utter humiliation of the royal power: it was a 'union' not likely to be long-lived.

The Estates met at Blois in October. So powerful was the League in organisation and in public esteem, that no person professing even moderate opinions was sent thither. It was a representation of the Leaguers, and of them only. Their first step was to humiliate the wretched King still farther: they next declared Henry of Navarre guilty of high-treason and incapable of succeeding to the throne: then they busied themselves with finance. The country was utterly weary of the monetary confusion of these years, and had sent up the deputies not only to make short work of heretics, but to relieve the burdens under which all men groaned. The Estates attacked the financiers, abolished old taxes, refused to impose new ones, ordered expenses for which they made no provision: the King was powerless with them; he might chafe and fret, they would give him no help; his unpaid army melted away: he learnt with the rage of the powerless that the Duke of Savoy, without declaring war, had occupied the marquisate of Saluzzo. The more the luckless King yielded, the less the deputies listened to him: he attributed, no doubt wrongly, everything to the malign influence of the Duke of Guise, and persuaded himself that if he were gone, all would be well, he would once more be King. 'He must fall or I,' he cried; 'with the snake the poison dies'; the Italian blood in him was thoroughly roused: and at last

overborne by passion, he decided on ridding himself of his too-powerful rival. Guise, like Coligny, listened to no warnings, and went fearlessly into the King's chamber; there, two days before Christmas, 1588, he was killed by the King's guards; the Cardinal of Guise was arrested in the Council-Chamber, and the next day murdered also; many leaders of the League were seized; the Duke of Mayenne escaped for his life.

Catherine dei Medici knew nothing of this bloodshed; she lay on her deathbed. When Henry III hastened to her with the news, exclaiming, 'I am once more King of France, for I have killed the King of Paris,' the dying woman gathering up her strength replied, 'You have killed the Duke of Guise? God grant you have not thereby made yourself King of nothing.' 'Roy de néant,' how the fainéant title seems to hover round this last of the Valois! The great 'Mayor of the Palace' was dead: but behind Guise was a great party, with close organisation and a strong fighting-power; with this the miserable King, in spite of his bootless crime, must still struggle for his crown and life.

All France seemed to revolt at once: the Queen Mother, as if overwhelmed by this last blow, sank rapidly and died (5 January, 1589). She closed her eyes in the darkest moment of her children's career: for this she had intrigued and lied, had struggled and sinned. After all her sacrifices for her family, she must leave all uncertain, all in confusion: the King without any to counsel him, face to face with infuriated France; the question of the succession unsettled; her daughter, wife of the Duke of Lorraine, for whom she had intrigued with all her heart, no nearer to the throne: her last son, last of his race, drawing near to the worst crisis and tragedy of his life.

The new government, with Mayenne at its head, was at once firmly established at Paris; open war was declared on Henry III, whose sole remaining power lay in a few soldiers and a few places on the Loire: almost all the large towns in France revolted. Henry looked round for help, for he was all but powerless;—the whole horizon was dark, save on two points.

On the one side, the power of Spain had suffered a tremendous check in the utter destruction of the great Armada, which had sailed from Lisbon at the end of May, 1588. Not till early in August did it reach the English shores, and it was late autumn ere the last battered relics of the gigantic fleet, having strayed as far as Norway, came straggling back to Spain. The loss in power and wealth was fatal to the influence of the great monarchy: though Philip declared that he would begin again, the past was past, and the opportunity lost for ever. No such effort was again possible for Spain: Philip's ability to interfere in France and in the Netherlands was all but destroyed.

The other ray of light shone from another quarter: Henry of Navarre, who was in Guyenne, alone held up a dauntless head. Though the Huguenots were in great straits, with but a small army, some six thousand strong, and hampered for lack of places of refuge, still the King of Navarre was a power in himself, and his little army was composed of veteran soldiers; lastly, throughout France, lying between Huguenots and Leaguers, was a latent force of national and patriotic feeling which only waited to be called forth. Desperate men will leap far; and Henry III, in spite of old dislikes, and against the whole temper and policy of his life, saw that he must leap the gulf that severed him from Henry of Navarre, if he would find any sound footing among the quicksands on which he trod. The wise manifesto now put out by the King of Navarre was of great service: in vigorous language he spoke to the hearts of all who loved France better than party; he hinted that he might yet be reconciled with Rome; he offered himself as the leader of all who disliked the fierce and foreign policy of the strict Catholics. In April 1589 the helpless King, threatened by Mayenne's army, signed a treaty with the King of Navarre, placing, as a hostage, Saumur in the hands of Du Plessis-Mornay, 'to be held for both Kings.' The two Kings then met at Plessis-lez-Tours, where a century before the one great man of the race of Valois had spent his last sorrowful days. Henry III declared that

he would no longer brand the Huguenots as heretics; Henry of Navarre professed his loyalty to the Crown of France: the royal claims of hereditary right and the principle of toleration joined hands, and set themselves, as from a new standing-ground, to resist the Leaguers' doctrine of popular sovereignty supported by fanatical repression of opinion. The Huguenots gave up all ideas of democratic change; they became an element in the loyal and patriotic party in France.

The face of things changed at once: Huguenots and royalist Catholics hastened to the standard of the two Kings. Mayenne made an attempt on Tours, but was repulsed; the Duke of Aumâle was defeated at Senlis; Longueville, commanding for Henry III, threatened Paris: Mayenne was forced to fall back with all speed on the capital. The Swiss now began to move: they too felt the nearness of the Catholic and menacing power, and saw clearly that their cause was one with that of France. For the Duke of Savoy, after seizing Saluzzo, was threatening Geneva and the Pays de Vaud: the Swiss saw that he was only to be defeated at Paris. Thus the great wave of resistance to the strict Catholic principle, set in fresh motion by the defeat of the Armada the year before, spread across Europe: the onward movement of the Catholic restoration was arrested; an equilibrium between parties seemed not improbable. The Swiss, guided by Harlay de Sancy, whom Henry III had sent to them as his ambassador, joining the Protestant Germans, who were again roused to eagerness, entered North-eastern France; the French nobles in large part rallied round the throne; the Leaguers were unable either to make head against the increasing Germans and Swiss, or to check the Duke of Montpensier on the side of Normandy. The three forces, the King's from the South, the Swiss from the East, Montpensier from the West, when they had made their junction, formed an army of forty thousand men, which marched against Paris and lay at Pontoise. Henry III seemed likely to sate his vengeance on the capital, and to fulfil his threat of entering through the breach; Henry of Navarre wished to strike a blow at the

heart of the League; royalist nobles and Huguenots longed to bring down the pride of Paris, perhaps to enjoy the spoils.

From Pontoise the King came on to S. Cloud, where he took up his head-quarters. The Leaguers were much dispirited: even in the capital there was a strong moderate party, though the majority and the mob were still devoutly Catholic. The defence was languid, in spite of the efforts of the clergy, who even preached assassination. At last, out of this hotbed of fanaticism came forth the instrument prepared for a great crime.

Jacques Clement, a half-witted creature, a jest to his friends, a Dominican friar lately made a priest, a man of a type of character not rarely found in days of high religious excitement, the despised hanger-on and enthusiastic instrument of a determined and fanatical party, had brooded, as all in Paris were brooding, over the changed fortunes of the League, and grew daily more eager to rid the world of the hated King. But he was a priest, and had scruples: higher authority, however, relieved him by the answer that such an act as the assassination of a monarch who had joined hands with heretics might be irregular in a priest, but would not be a mortal sin. Fortified by this authority he set forth from Paris, and walked in his priest's dress to S. Cloud: Henry III, not suspecting evil from one of the sacred race, and perhaps hoping for some offer of submission from the capital, unguardedly allowed him to approach: Jacques drew a dagger from under his sleeve, and plunged it in the King's body. What availed it that the courtiers fell on him and killed him? the deed was done; in a few hours Henry III breathed his last. His last act was to lament the state of France, to commend Henry of Navarre to the nobles round him as his heir, and to exhort that Prince to become Catholic, if he would be King.

In Paris there was a shout of joy¹: a swarm of scandalous

¹ See L'Etoile's *Memoirs*, 1589, Collection Michaud, 2^{me} Série, I. ii. p. 3: 'Le peuple . . . en porta le deuil vert (qui est la livrée des fous). . . . Elles firent faire aussi des feux de joie partout: tesmoignans par paroles, gestes, accoustremens dissolus, livrées et festins, la grande joie qu'elles en avoient.'

pamphlets came forth; Clement was hailed as a martyr; the League believed itself saved; the city raised its head still higher. The Valois, whose influences on France had ever been so fatal, had now run their race: suffering all from a physical taint, which seemed to run into their moral nature, one Valois King after another had disgraced the throne. The only humane prince of the race was Louis XII. The Valois princes crushed out all constitutional life, and prepared the way for the absolutist splendours of the Bourbon rule. Their worst state was their last; the children of Catherine dei Medici, like those of Philip the Fair, dragged on a miserable and barren existence; there seemed a curse on them, a curse of barrenness, of bloodguiltiness, of vices bearing only deadly fruit: the assassin's knife fitly closes the dreary series.

Yet, though ill-government under Henry III reached its height, though all virtues seemed turned to gall, all vices to corruption; though the people were oppressed, taxes heavier and heavier, money gotten anyhow, squandered anyhow; still Henry III, like the others of his family, had some higher tastes, overwhelmed though they were by the heavy weight of vice. He was the first sovereign who returned to Paris, and did much for the capital. He befriended learning: under him we find such scholars as Henry Stephanus (Étienne) and Scaliger; the classical tastes of the time found expression in their labours. The Platonist Ramus had perished; but Hotmann and Bodin introduced to the notice of France the field of political science and speculation; while the great Politique lawyers and writers, Cujas, Pasquier, and Du Moulin, laboured hard to advance good ideas as to law and administration. Poetry smiled on either party: each side had its 'Prince of French Poets': the Catholics claiming that proud title for Ronsard, the Huguenots for Du Bartas, whom Bacon and Milton studied, and Spenser must have known. But the one great name in French literature in this age is that of Michel Montaigne, the easy-going sceptic, who, though mayor of Bordeaux, would not expose his precious person to risks of contagion, when that city was

plague-stricken, but selfishly stood aloof, watching men, and painting their moral portraiture, with the liveliness of a Reynolds, the anatomic skill and merciless dissection of a Harvey.

Still, great men are rare in this age in France: nor did even the peaceful days to come produce any literature to be compared with that splendid outburst of genius which gilded in England the later days of Elizabeth, and shone on the incoming of King James.

CHAPTER VII.

HENRY OF NAVARRE SECURES HIS THRONE.

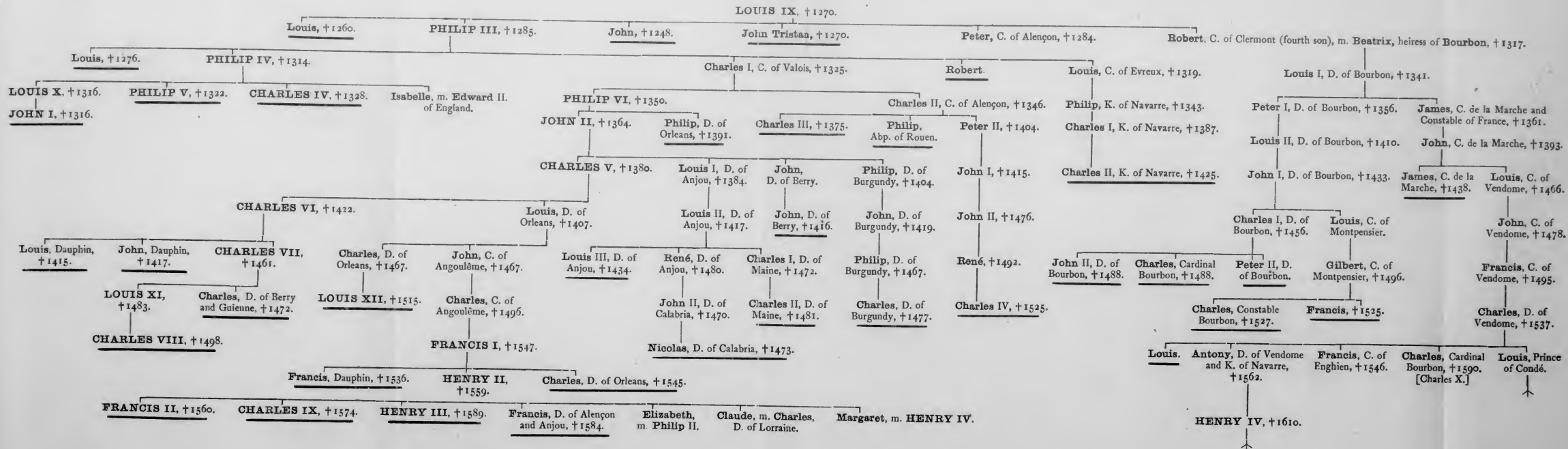
A.D. 1589-1598.

HENRY, King of Navarre and Prince of Béarn, who on the death of Henry III became King of France by right of male succession, was many degrees removed from his kinsman the late King. Their first common ancestor in male descent was S. Louis; and in the three hundred and nineteen years that had passed since his death, more than forty different branches of the royal Houses of France, eight of whom had worn the Crown, had come to an end without leaving male issue. Henry of Navarre was tenth in descent from S. Louis, and was only the eldest son of the younger branch of that younger House of Bourbon which began when Robert of Clermont, one of the sons of S. Louis, married the heiress to the lordship of Bourbon, Beatrix, who, by right of female succession, carried over that fief to her husband. The whole pedigree is like an ancient oak, which dies away bough after bough, until the whole stands stark and bare against the sky of time. The marks of the thunderbolt, too, can be seen on the fatal tree.

It lay with the young Henry to decide whether these great titles of France and Navarre, this double Crown, should be a real or a titular sovereignty. The struggle of these nine years gives his answer to the question. There was no lack of competitors for the throne: Charles, Duke of Lorraine, claimed it on two grounds; first, his pedigree went back beyond the Capet revolution of 987, and he deemed himself the heir of the Karoling Kings; secondly, he had espoused Claude of France,

**REDUCTION
RATIO CHANGES
WITHIN TITLE**

TABLE VI.—THE DESCENT OF HENRY IV.



Reckoning therefore directly from St. Louis, Henry IV is tenth in descent; while in cousinage he is so far removed, that above forty branches of the family became extinct in the male line before he became heir to the throne.

the younger daughter of Henry II, and thought it high time that the Salic Law should be set aside. Catherine dei Medici had set her heart on the fulfilment of this ambitious scheme for her daughter. Philip II, though agreeing with Charles that the Salic Law was 'a mere pleasantry,' urged that as he himself had married Henry II's elder daughter, his claim to the throne was better than that of Charles of Lorraine. These two claimants through the female line were clearly, if the female line could succeed, the nearest to the throne. Beside them, the younger branch of the House of Lorraine, the Guises, had also hoped to seize the Crown, basing their claim chiefly on their great popularity at Paris and with the Leaguers. The Duke of Guise, however, had perished, and Mayenne, now head of this party, was a man of less vigour and less showy qualities than his brother. He was content to carry out the policy agreed on some time back, and to proclaim the wretched old Cardinal of Bourbon as Charles X. Beside Mayenne, the Prince of Condé, head of the younger Bourbon House, and possibly some other personages, had hopes that in the coming troubles some unexpected wave might land them on the throne: still, the King of Spain, the Duke of Lorraine, and Cardinal Bourbon were the only serious competitors with whom Henry of Navarre had to cope.

Of these the Duke of Lorraine was neither a powerful prince nor a Frenchman; the other two might be very formidable: the Spanish King because he wielded a great power on both the northern and southern borders of France, and had a strong party among the nobles and not a few of the higher ecclesiastics on his side; and Cardinal Bourbon, though insignificant enough in person, because the whole force of the League was at his back, and because the old Guise party, now led by Mayenne, was using him as a screen behind which to mature their own plans.

So long as Bourbon lived, the King of Spain and the Guises made common cause; though their ambitions, as we have seen, were opposed to one another, their general aim, the restoration

of a strict Catholicism and the exclusion of Henry of Navarre, was completely the same; it may be said that their hatred for 'the Béarnais' kept the Spaniards and Lorrainers together. The Duke of Lorraine sent his son, with a force of about three thousand horse and foot, to Paris. Some said he had hopes of the crown for his son, as being grandson of a King of France (Henry II); but these only deceived themselves, for 'the kingdom of France falls never to the distaff'¹. To represent the Spanish cause the Duke of Parma sent five hundred horse and some Walloon foot; some German reiters came in; the Duke of Nemours appeared from Lyons with a force of war; reinforcements arrived also from Cambray. With these troops the Union was soon strong enough to be ready for a forward movement, when the time came.

La Noue, in a speech he made in the Council of Henry IV, 'like a great and prudent knight, as he was, summed up in a few words the position of affairs on the side of the Union. The cause is Religion; its power of command lies in the Council-General of the Union; its supports are the Pope and the King of Spain; its chiefs the Princes of Lorraine; its end and aim the assembling of the States General to elect a King'². He saw clearly that a junction between high Catholic principles and constitutional forms had already taken place in France; he even goes so far as to say that they were aiming at some form of sovereignty, which should combine Democracy with Aristocracy, crowning the union with a new and more limited Monarchy. The old aristocratic appeal to the States General for the better ruling of the land is here combined with the new Jesuit speculations as to the sovereignty of the people. The Bourbons were destined to defeat and crush both aspirations.

Against these formidable forces what had Henry of Navarre to depend on? The Huguenots were much weakened; though

¹ Palma Cayet, *Chronologie Novenaire*, Collect. Univ. Ivi. p. 152.

² *Ibid.* p. 221.

their army was well-seasoned, and there was round him a fine nucleus of veterans, yet its numbers were very small; he could also command a few towns, chiefly in the South and West, while he was faintly supported by the nobles of the moderate Catholic party. For a while these seemed to be shaken, though they were far from going over to the other side. After the death of Henry III his army did not rally, as he had wished, round the king of Navarre, but melted away, the nobles in great numbers prudently going home to their estates. When Henry paid a solemn visit to the remains of the murdered King, as he lay in state, he was received with murmurs and gloomy looks by the priests and other Catholics watching round the bier; in audible tones they said to one another that they would never accept a heretic as their King. On the other side it must be remembered that the soldiers of the royal army were little minded to make common cause with those who had slain their master. The Council, which hitherto had ruled for Henry III, now met and discussed the future; the great gap in hereditary succession between Valois and Bourbon was urged; it was proposed to offer to Henry only the position of Commander-in-Chief, and to use him as a whip to chastise the League and the Sixteen of Paris, reserving the question of the crown to a better moment. But the feeling that they were fighting for the hereditary Kingship prevailed; they decided that, if Henry would but be converted forthwith and declare himself Catholic, their scruples would all be set at rest, and they would recognise him as King. This they accordingly at once besought him to do.

His reply was noble, and worthy of the moment. He told them he might well abandon his old faith, and become Catholic; but that he could not do it under compulsion, and as a mere matter of interest; he referred it to a Council to be held in six months' time. He did not absolutely refuse; he showed that his religious opinions might easily subordinate themselves to his political duties and interests; he showed them also that, as an honest and noble gentleman, he could not

change in a moment, and incur the natural and too well-founded charge of selling his faith.

The effect of this colloquy was that the chief Catholic nobles in the camp ceased to negotiate with the Leaguers, though they did not as yet attach themselves closely to Henry. Epernon, the greatest among them, left the army, determined to wait and watch awhile, as also did many others. Some, however, passed over to the League-party. The Huguenots naturally remained firm; the Swiss, of whom there were many in the royal army, were delighted to serve under a Protestant warrior-chief, instead of an effeminate Catholic: the army nevertheless was much weakened, and Henry saw that the siege of Paris must at once be abandoned. As he broke up from before the walls, he felt how insecure the ground was under his feet; his partisans few and many of them dispirited, his enemies exultant, and daily growing stronger. How should he win his way to be true King of France? How unite under one sceptre so many hostile interests? How allay such chronic enmities, such family feuds, such religious bitterness? He might take the title; the reality seemed yet far away. They had proclaimed him as Henry IV in the camp; but within Paris the Spanish Ambassador Bernardino Mendoza had already protested to the League that his master would never recognise the Béarnois as King, and after some deliberation it was agreed that Cardinal Bourbon should at once be proclaimed as Charles X. Though he was old and useless, and at this time a prisoner in the hands of the King of Navarre¹, still his proclamation (5th March, 1590) set up a new standard of civil war. The Duke of Mayenne had wished to seize the throne as nominee and Viceroy of Spain; but many of the Catholic nobles were unwilling to recognise as sovereign a man who was but one of themselves, and who had no hereditary claim to the crown; they also appealed to the States General shortly to be held. It is curious to see how a tendency to become con-

¹ Henry III, after the murder of the Guises, had shut him up in prison at Tours, where he still lay.

stitutional now marks the principles of the League; it grows in proportion as the power of Henry of Navarre grows, and as his absolutist views respecting the government of the country develop themselves. Not the Leaguers only, but the King of Spain also, thought it better that Mayenne's ambition should not be gratified. Philip thought he would be surer of his influence with a nominal and hereditary sovereign than with a strong King the real leader of his party and the choice of the people: it was all-important for him to move slowly and cautiously. France was essential in his general scheme for the restoration of Catholic uniformity in Europe; he felt also that, with Mayenne as king, the claims of the Infanta (through Elizabeth of Valois) would become worthless. Under these influences Charles X was proclaimed King by the Union, as the League was now called; and the war was to be carried on under his name, with the Duke of Mayenne as commander-in-chief, and with Spanish gold to pay the mercenary Swiss and Germans, some twenty thousand strong.

With these foreigners as the nucleus of his force Mayenne came forth from Paris, to 'drive the Béarnois into the sea, or to bring him back in chains.' Henry, when he broke up the siege of Paris, had divided his army into three parts: one he sent into Picardy, under the Duke of Longueville, the second, commanded by the Marshal d'Aumont, into Champagne, the third he himself led into Normandy; his force was small but sound: twelve hundred good horse, three thousand French infantry, all veterans, and two regiments of Swiss¹. Thus the royalist army was now no longer in the south and west, but in the north of France; its pivot no longer Rochelle, but Dieppe or Havre. The detachments in Picardy and Champagne would encourage all friendly feeling in those districts, keep an eye on Paris, and be within call in case of need; while the main body in Normandy kept open communications with England, whence a strong force was coming, and by drawing the army of the Union after

¹ Palma Cayet, *Chronologie Novenaire*, lvi. p. 140.

it, left the friendly elements in the south and east unmolested. It was a complete and fortunate change of policy. The prize was now no longer some royal edict of tolerance, to be evaded or revoked at the first moment; nor was it sought by the old means of partisan warfare, a game of pawns, the capture and pillaging of single towns and castles, a brigand-war carried on without plan or master-mind: but the prize was Paris and the crown of France; and the new means the generalship of a great prince, bold and fearless in battle, cool and clear in command. With him a living interest is breathed into the age: we feel that as we hold by him we have the clue out of the maze, and that history begins again for France.

Henry's plan was to secure Dieppe and threaten Rouen; for that would be certain to tempt the Duke of Mayenne thither: he hoped by drawing him away from Paris to find himself strong enough to fight a decisive battle and to defeat the League at one blow. But Mayenne, though he came as was expected, was far stronger than Henry had supposed; and he had to give way before him, falling back toward the sea, and sending into Picardy and Champagne for succour. Dieppe he had already secured; and, as he marched thence to threaten Rouen, had noticed, with the eye of a great captain, a splendid defensive position at Arques. Thither he now retired; and, himself working at the spade with his worthy comrade in arms Biron, aroused such life and enthusiasm in the army that in three days a fine fortified camp sprang into being. As the lines of Arques saved the monarchy for the Bourbons, the place must be briefly described. The little river Béthune runs quietly towards the sea at Dieppe through a marshy valley, as it then was, of meadowland, bounded on either hand by wooded sloping hills. About four miles up this valley, on the south side, stands the little town of Arques, with its fine church between the river and the rising ground, which here forms a broken slope with a spur just above the town: on this spur stands a castle, now in ruins, but then in tenable condition; it commands the town, and was taken as the citadel of the King's lines. Entrenchments connected castle

and town, and were pushed on to a hospital which stood not far from the river, forming the outermost point of the King's defences: a body of men was stationed on the river's bank, as outposts. Henry also fortified a large suburb of Dieppe, called Le Pollet, lying between that place and Arques; and occupied and strengthened a mill commanding the approach to it. Mayenne brought his army down the north side of the little river, as Henry had expected, and encamped just over against Arques. Here the King stood boldly on the defensive. First he repulsed an attack on Le Pollet, and another, at the same moment, on the entrenched camp. Mayenne found himself face to face with a new warfare, of which he and his had no idea: science, vigilance, and determination, made the little army more than a match for a force four times as large as itself. For a fortnight he tried, now the camp, now the town; one serious battle was fought; and then, hearing that Henry's friends were coming up from Picardy and Champagne, and that the English soldiers, five thousand strong, were really on the sea, he gave way and retreated into Picardy. The Lorraine Prince, weary of such war, withdrew altogether from the Union, finding to his vexation that the Guises paid scant attention to his claims and pretension; 'they preferred to begin their charity at home,' says Palma Cayet¹. The Union spread reports of victories, sent some standards taken by treachery in the battle to Paris, did what they could to keep up the spirit of their friends by lying reports: the city was soon taught how much it might believe, when it learnt that Henry, at the head of twenty thousand men in high spirit, as they saw that Mayenne had marched northwards, was on his way to the capital. He swooped down on the southern faubourgs and carried them by assault; his men pillaged at will: it was his only way of paying them. He had no thought of a serious siege of Paris: having shown his vigour, proved his success, pleased his army, he quietly withdrew, dividing his forces again; himself with one detachment

¹ Palma Cayet, *Chronologie Novenaire*, lvi. p. 172.

settling down at Tours. The Parliament of that city solemnly recognised him as king.

So ended the year 1589; nor was Henry dissatisfied at the results. Little as his own strength had grown,—for he was still almost without resources, and France as yet had either not pronounced for him or had pronounced against him,—yet his position was relatively much improved. Discord had broken out among his enemies, whose private aims diverged: in the field he had shown himself more than a match for his rival Mayenne, who was but ill-obeyed at Paris; one of his antagonists, the Duke of Lorraine, had withdrawn; another, the Duke of Savoy, was intent on his own schemes against Geneva and Provence, and refused to send help to the Union; and the Pope, Sixtus V, who had a great man's power of discerning greatness, declined to take any farther steps against the King, and expressed, in his own passionate way, an earnest wish for his conversion. Had Sixtus lived, he would have rejoiced with all his heart when Henry, three years later, conformed to Catholicism: he would have welcomed him back eagerly, as the counterpoise to the overweight of Spain. It was in vain that Philip and the Union sent embassies to beg him once more to excommunicate the Béarnois: he refused, and received the Catholic nobles of Henry's party with marked favour: the priests of Paris in their fierce anger called him 'a bad Pope and a Politique'.¹ England and the United Provinces had at once recognised Henry as King. Queen Elizabeth sent him what seemed an immense sum of money, some £22,000, 'more,' as he said, 'than he had ever before seen in his life': the Netherlands had forwarded a like amount: the other Protestant powers speedily followed; the Turk was not far behind in welcoming the foe of Spain, and three Catholic states, Venice, Mantua, and Ferrara, sent him ambassadors and money.

Early in 1590 Henry took the field with good heart: he had

¹ Ranke, *Päpste*, vi. § 3. 'Politique et fauteur d'hérétiques,' says L'Estoile, *Mémoires* (Petitot, I. xlv. p. 34).

cleared the Leaguers out of Anjou and Maine, and turned once more towards Northern France, where the strength of his enemies lay. His activity was startling; he was at home in the camp: there he was hearty comrade with every brave man: the hardships, the perils, the excitement of the war roused the better nature in him: he never shone more than in these years—he probably was never so happy.

The Duke of Mayenne, who, at the end of 1589, had won back the castle at Vincennes, 'taking thus a thorn out of the foot of Paris', on his side proposed to free the Seine and Oise, and to restore free communications to the capital: he therefore moved down to Pontoise, and having taken it, went on to Meulan, where good resistance was made, which stayed his hand. Though the cold was severe Henry had set out from his winter quarters; as he had cleared Anjou and Maine, he now proposed to reduce the hostile towns in Normandy; and while Mayenne was delayed before Meulan, he took first Alençon, then Falaise, Verneuil, and Lisieux, after which he mastered Honfleur, which might be very useful to him as commanding the Seine-mouth. Thence with all his force he marched up the river to relieve Meulan; and Mayenne gave way at once, and retreated into the Vexin. In spite of all the Duke's efforts, Henry assaulted Poissy and took it, thus neutralising the loss of Pontoise, and getting hold of a suitable place whence to cross to the right bank of the Seine above the Oise. The Marquis of Alègre also took Rouen, and all Normandy, save Havre and a few unimportant places, was now in the 'royal obedience.' But behind the King's back was the town of Dreux, warmly attached to the Union, and a constant danger to him; to it he now laid siege, hoping either to take it speedily, or to draw the Duke of Mayenne to a battle. The Duke was nothing loath; he had just received from the Netherlands a great reinforcement, of cavalry chiefly, under command of Count Egmont; the first army sent openly in the name of the King of Spain into

¹ Palma Cayet, *Chronologie Novenaire*, lvi. p. 283.

France during these troubles; and with this force Mayenne thought himself strong enough to crush his antagonists. Henry came out to meet him; the two armies soon were face to face in the plain of Ivry, half-way between Mantes and Dreux, and a battle, which both desired, was imminent.

In the night between the 12th and 13th of March, Henry worked hard at the plan of battle: his fighting was not of the hap-hazard type so long prevalent in France; he showed his arrangements to the Duke of Montpensier, Marshals Biron and Aumont, and entrusted them to the other Biron, Camp-Marshal, that he might carry out the details. A strong religious enthusiasm awoke in his army; in a grave and earnest speech the King solemnly placed the issue in the hands of the Almighty: the Catholics in the army crowded to the neighbouring churches and heard Mass; the Huguenots, 'who were but few compared with the Catholics, also made their prayers after their sort'.¹ In the morning the army all moved forward, in good heart and courage, and took up position on the southern edge of the great plain, in a regular line, with first Aumont and then Montpensier on the left wing, having landsknechts and Swiss mingled among their French soldiers. A little in front of them stood light cavalry, flanked by artillery; then came the Baron Biron, rather in front of Montpensier; in the centre was the King, with five lines of good cavalry;—the strength of the army, as of old on that side, still lying in its horse:—he was also surrounded by Swiss regiments to right and left; these were flanked again by French cavalry. To his right lay first the Marshal Biron, and beyond him the German Reiters, with French infantry to support them. Just as all was in order, the Prince of Conty and Du Plessis Mornay brought in, soon after midday, a welcome body of horse and foot; with these the King strengthened his centre. Judging that Mayenne was at Ivry, which was somewhat to his right, he pushed out light horse to feel the ground, and soon learnt that the enemy had already crossed the Eure, and was in

¹ Palma Cayet, Collect. Univ. lvi. p. 306.

fighting order, advancing to join battle. The armies skirmished during the afternoon, and bivouacked on the field that night. Their numbers were very unequal: Mayenne's force was reckoned at four thousand horse and twenty thousand foot; the King's at three thousand horse and eight thousand infantry; but the balance was redressed by the better discipline of the royal troops, and, above all, by the skill and valour of Henry, whose white plume showed, as he said, to every man 'the road to victory and honour'.¹

At first it seemed as though the troops of the Union would not fight; but when Henry had a little galled them by his artillery, their cavalry began to move: Egmont, who was hot and eager for the fray, charged up to the cannons' mouth, and the battle began. Egmont was killed, and the attack was repulsed on the wings; Aumont drove the light horse of the Union before him, while Biron and Montpensier threw the Walloons into disorder: next, Mayenne with the centre, which he had made as strong as he could, fell on the King, and well-nigh overwhelmed him; the royalist nobles began to waver, the odds seemed too great. And now the King, seeing that the crisis of the day was come, and knowing that defeat was worse than death, called to them to follow him, and in a moment the white plume was seen in the midst of the enemy. His nobles would not be left behind; they charged with heedless gallantry upon their foe; it was like the forward ride of the Black Prince at Poitiers; the 'iron point' penetrated deep into the heart of Mayenne's army; his onward movement was checked, his troops stood still, wavered, then fled: the battle was won. The centre thus broken, Henry at once, with a mere handful of horsemen², charged the Walloons and Swiss, who gave way, leaving their ensigns on the field: it was a great rout. The Germans and Walloons offered to surrender; but Henry remembered their treachery at Arques, and the order

¹ Les Histoires de Théodore Agrippa d'Aubigné, iii. p. 231 (ed. 1620).

² He had but thirty horse with him when he came out of the *melée*.

went out to slay the strangers and to save the French; in which words lay the true strength of the King's position:—his it should be to play the patriot king, and rid France of foreign dominance and interference. Exception however was made for the Swiss; the King 'remembering the ancient friendship and alliance between that nation and the crown of France¹,' granted them their lives, and received them into his service. The battle had been short, and won by the cavalry, the infantry having scarcely come into action at all². The rout and slaughter were great: the Union troops were caught in Ivry, where Mayenne had broken the bridge over the Eure, and were slain like sheep: four pieces of artillery and all their baggage fell into the victors' hands. The King followed up his success vigorously: Mayenne fell back in great disorder to S. Denis: in vain did he spread the lying report that the King was killed³, that the battle had been a drawn fight: Paris was in consternation. To crown the success there came in good news from the Low Countries: young Prince Maurice had won the important town of Breda by stratagem, and was pressing the Spaniards hard; he seemed likely to hinder any further help from being sent by Parma to the Union. Vernon and Mantes yielded at once, so closing the communications of Paris from the lower Seine: Corbeil was taken, and closed on the upper Seine the southern way to the heart of France; Lagny fell, dominating the Marne, Creil made the Oise secure. In April Henry had seized the bridge at Charenton, and had his batteries on Montmartre. Mayenne wisely refused to shut himself up in the capital; he left the Duke of Nemours in command there, and formed an army of observation to watch the King, and to await fresh help from the Netherlands. In Paris itself the richer citizens were minded to come to terms with Henry; the middle classes and the poor were still fiercely Catholic. Henry had felt a great change in public opinion since the battle

¹ Palma Cayet, *Chronologie Novenaire*, Collect. Univ. lvi. p. 322.

² See a letter by Marshal Biron in *Cimber et Danjou*, 1st Series, xiii. p. 185.

³ *Satire Menippée*, i. p. 22 (ed. 1752).

of Ivry; men no longer looked on him as an adventurer-captain, but as a great and victorious Prince fighting for his own; this led him to hope that Paris would come over without a siege, and made him unwilling to bombard and ruin the capital: the Church party, however, was still too strong; every pulpit re-echoed with cries of 'no surrender'; a great regiment of priests and monks, thirteen hundred strong, was formed, who marched to the ramparts in their clerical dress, with musquet and pike on shoulder: the Bishop of Senlis was their colonel¹. Their only feat of note was the exploit of an ecclesiastic, who at their review before the Papal Legate, wishing to show his loyalty to the Church, pointed his gun straight at the Legate's carriage and fired impetuously; the weapon happened to be loaded, and killed the Almoner, who sat by the Legate's side; the Legate drove away more quickly than he came, and the common folk cried out that the Almoner was 'a blessed man, being killed in so good a cause².'

The temper of the town was very Spanish: it was prepared to do or endure anything rather than yield; it was even willing to proclaim Philip 'Protector of France.' And much the capital had to suffer: Henry, who had occupied all the approaches to Paris³, kept up a very strict and effectual blockade; the clergy, who (especially the Jesuits⁴) had laid in good stores of provision, were compelled to feed the citizens for a fortnight; after that the misery became extreme⁵, and, as L'Estoile says, the only things cheap in Paris were sermons, for the League clergy never ceased preaching. Among other horrors of famine was what the Parisians called 'Madame de Montpensier's bread'⁶ (so called because she was delighted at the suggestion, though she

¹ The word Colonel came first into use in France about this time.

² L'Estoile (*Petitot*, I. xlvii. p. 52).

³ Among other points, he took S. Denis, key to the northern approaches to Paris by the river. There he was shown over the great abbey and the royal tombs; and seeing the effigy of Catherine dei Medicis, and remembering what she had been to him, he could not resist a smile, and said, 'O qu'elle est bien là!' L'Estoile, *ibid.* pp. 61, 62.

⁴ See how ill the Jesuits came out of it in L'Estoile's *Memoirs*, *ibid.* p. 57.

⁵ See 'Les Misères de Paris' in *Cimber et Danjou*, I. xiii. p. 271.

⁶ L'Estoile, *Mémoires* (*Petitot*, I. xlvii. p. 79).

did not try it herself),—bread made of human bones from the cemetery of the Innocents, ground up and baked like flour: men ate what they could get, asses, horses, dogs, rats, cats, even little balls of clay and slate, which they mixed with water and swallowed¹. Henry, to the great honour of his humanity, allowed six thousand starving wretches to pass through his lines and to go elsewhere: it was against all his interests, but the King's pity was too strong for his colder judgment. All through the weary summer months the blockade lasted; but help was coming. The King of Spain sent peremptory orders to the Duke of Parma to suspend operations in the Low Countries, and to march to the relief of Paris: affairs were becoming desperate, if his long-cherished plan for the reduction of the revolted provinces must be given up: yet if Henry took Paris, he would secure himself on the throne, and once safely there, his help would also secure the Netherlands. Paris was therefore the critical point; thither Parma must go. Reluctantly he obeyed, and in August crossed the frontier, forming a junction with Mayenne; the two generals directed their steps towards Meaux, to force the royal lines. On the morning of August 30 the starved Parisians, looking forth from their ramparts, saw that the King was gone: he had decamped in the night, and was on his way to offer battle to the approaching foe. It was just at this moment that Henry wrote a touching letter to Gabrielle d'Estrées, 'Tis the eve of a battle: the issue is in God's hands, who has decreed what is to be, and what he knows to be for his glory and the saving of my people. If I lose it, thou wilt never see me more; for I am not one to fly or to retreat: if I perish, be assured my last thought but one shall be given to thee, my last to God'². The battle did not take place, for Parma too was a great general, and allowed no such cast of the uncertain die; he knew that he could win without fighting: as a strategist he was better than Henry; and had his army splendidly in

¹ L'Estoile, *Mémoires* (Petitot, I. xlv. pp. 68, 69).

² *Lettres de Henri IV.*, 3 Aug. 1590 (ed. Xivrey, iii. p. 244), and L'Estoile, *ibid.* p. 85.

hand: for the royal host was full of restless feudal nobles of the old type, fiery and pugnacious, while Parma's was made up of paid soldiers, who knew nothing but their commander's will. With these men he out-manœuvred the King, and took Lagny. Paris was relieved after terrible sufferings,—it is said that a hundred thousand perished of hunger; mothers, it was whispered, even devoured their offspring¹,—a countless string of wagons brought provisions by every road. Parma also took Corbeil, and set the whole neighbourhood of the capital free. Henry could not bear to wait; delay was defeat. Before the end of the year many of the royalist nobles, feudal lords to the end, found that their private affairs called them home: Henry could only garrison the towns he held, and keep together a small nucleus of seasoned old soldiers, the kernel of his force. So ended the campaign of 1590 in failure: the King was not strong enough to face so great a force as Parma brought up, handled as Parma could handle it: he did not fear odds alone; against odds and generalship together he could not make head. Still, the results of the campaign, so far as his reputation went, were satisfactory enough: men recognised him as a hero, as a great general, as a cheerful friendly man, whose good sayings passed from mouth to mouth, as a humane and merciful prince, as a patriotic Frenchman. Throughout France arose the general prayer—would that he were Catholic!

The Duke of Parma hastened back to the Low Countries as soon as he could; things were going ill there, for the young Prince Maurice of Nassau, who was now beginning his great career, was far more than a match for the lieutenants he had left behind. Henry watched the great Farnese out of France, having called together his soldiers, after two months' rest: at the same time the Baron of Givry recovered Corbeil and Lagny for him. Parma recrossed the frontier with the proud satisfaction of having defeated the King without drawing the sword: he left with Mayenne a considerable force of Italians, Germans and Spaniards.

¹ L'Estoile, *ibid.* p. 67.

During the siege Cardinal Bourbon, the so-called Charles X, had died: what steps should the Union now take? Some time before (in 1589) Mendoza had proposed to make Philip 'Protector of France'; he assured the Leaguers that his master 'now old and ancient, was quite satisfied with the kingdoms, duchies, and counties he already possessed, and had no need to add the realm of France': still under this modest arrogance, which professed to care so little for so great a gift, lay conditions which would have subjected France completely to the crown of Spain; conditions which even the Sixteen could not accept. Now however, their straw-king having died, the matter came up again. Paris, galled by the miseries of her siege, and grateful to the King of Spain for his effectual help, had become thoroughly Spanish for the moment: there were also Spanish sympathisers in every province: the larger cities throughout France were strongly Catholic and inclined to support the Spanish policy: the opinion that the Estates had the right to elect a king grew stronger. It was argued that heretic Henry, so distant a cousin, had no standing-ground; that the throne was absolutely vacant, that there was no heir to it. The difficulty was how to find a fitting prince to fill the place, one who should be a stout Catholic, and yet not absolutely under Spanish domination. The idea of preserving the unity and of never narrowing the boundaries of France was weakened; each neighbouring prince stretched out his hand for something. Dismemberment and subjection to the universal monarchy of Spain seemed imminent. Philip offered to accept the title of Protector, provided that the Salic Law should be suspended, and his daughter Elizabeth, granddaughter of Henry II, proclaimed Queen, and married to whomsoever he himself might select: he also claimed for her, on ground of hereditary right (the fief being female), the Duchy of Brittany, as an independent principedom. The Duke of Mercœur, on shadowy claims of his wife², also dreamt of becoming Duke of Brittany. The Duke of

¹ Palma Cayet, *Chronologie Novenaire*, Collect. Univ. lvi. p. 212.

² Marie of Luxembourg, of the house of Penthievre, a branch of the ducal

Savoy laid hands on what he could, overran Provence, entered Aix with every mark of lordship, visited Marseilles, and claimed indefinitely all that had been formerly fief of the Empire on the left bank of the Rhone. The Duke of Lorraine had views in the direction of the three Bishopricks. Such claims and such proposals could not but rouse opposition: the Catholic reaction was destined now to meet with forces more powerful than itself: for the spirit of patriotism, the desire for a strong monarchy, the determination that France should not be torn asunder, nor bow to a foreign lord, grew daily more distinct: it was felt that the Estates of the Realm, for which the power of election was claimed¹, were a danger to the unity of the kingdom; and that their rise to power would be, not the expression of a sound constitutional life, but the triumph of the great nobles and restoration of the old feudal independence, under cloak of an assembly pretending to represent the judgment of the nation. Hence it followed that the victory of Henry IV was destined to be the triumph of moderation, of the principle of hereditary succession, and of monarchy, while it incidentally as well as absolutely carried with it the overthrow of all ideas connected with the constitutional liberties of France, and led up directly towards that royal absolutism which marks the two centuries of Bourbon rule.

It is worthy of notice that one of the Catholic manifestos of this period is impregnated with republican ideas, mixed with echoes of an older feudalism. Applying afresh the well-known words of Charles the Bold, it says, that were France to abandon the faith, the author would be glad to see 'not six kings, but ten thousand:' 'I should wish,' he adds, 'each village to have its kinglet².'

From another point of view the King was also head of the

family of Brittany. Penthievre was made an appanage for Eudes (Odo), second son of Geoffrey Duke of Brittany, in 1034.

¹ See the *Dialogue de Maheustre et Manant*, in the *Satire Menippée*, iii. p. 562 (ed. 1752).

² Quoted by Labitte, *De la démocratie de la ligue*, p. 299.

'Politiques,' a name to which at this time a class of minds answered in England and in Germany also; it stood for those who shook themselves loose from the overwhelming influences of religious dogma, and 'looked out,' as von Ranke says, 'at the general politics and relations of Europe, and saw that the security of Henry IV on the throne of France was the guarantee for religious and political freedom throughout Europe'.¹ These men were as often Catholic as Protestant: while in Germany and England they were Protestant, in France they were Catholic, and consequently if Henry IV would be true head of this party, and make it and himself one with France, he too must become a Catholic. And to this all his thoughts henceforth began to tend.

From this party in North Germany came a fine army under Christian of Anhalt; from it in England, as represented by Queen Elizabeth herself, came plentiful encouragement, friendly messages, interchange of portraits, war materials, troops, above all, money in plenty; the Queen's economy, now and before, being set aside in the presence of the great need of the French King. With these he faced the new perils of the year 1591. He had in his camp three distinct parties, each with its own aims; that of the Huguenots, brave, devoted, inclined to be exacting on the ground of long services and sufferings, but weak in numbers and influence; secondly, the Politiques proper, the Catholic gentlefolk, who clung to the King and ardently expected his conversion; and lastly a clique, rather than a party, composed chiefly of old courtiers of Henry III and headed by the Cardinal of Vendôme, nephew of the old Cardinal of Bourbon, who now began to bid for the crown². The grand old Pope Sixtus V had died the year before: the present Pontiff Gregory XIV was heart and soul with the Leaguers; and in the summer of 1591 he despatched an army into France, which, joining the Duke of Lorraine, who had once more begun to side with the younger branch of his house, the Guises, entered

¹ Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, i. p. 387.

² Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, xxi. p. 110 (ed. 1836).

France through Verdun. Parma was under orders to bring them help when it was needed. But nothing decisive went on in the summer and autumn of this year. Henry IV kept firm hold of the north-west as well as of the south-west of France. It was one of the happy occurrences of his life that at this time (Oct. 1591) Gregory XIV sickened and died: the papal army was paralysed and melted away; the scanty remains of it were placed under Parma's command. The dominant party in Paris also began to show signs of weakness: their preachers clamoured for blood, a reign of terror was preached, a red-Catholic régime. In November, Brisson, first President of the Parliament, who had headed the rebellion against Henry III in 1589, was seized and summarily hung by a new committee of ten; he did not go fast enough for the League, and was suspected of being a 'politique'; confiscations followed, assassinations, proscriptions: the fanatical mob wrested all power from the respectable citizens; and called on Mayenne to reconstruct the government of the capital, and to entrust it to the most extreme section of the populace, which was completely under the influence of Spain. This was no small embarrassment to him: the war was just beginning to take a more serious form: Henry had kept the field unmolested all the year, and now in November had invested Rouen. It was a bad moment at which to throw the whole government of Paris into confusion. Mayenne therefore hastened to the capital, and with great vigour crushed the nascent revolution, hanging the most prominent and factious of the sixteen, and restoring the chief authority to the burghers and the Parliament. It was the victory of more moderate counsels over the fanatical ferocity of the League: from this time Mayenne ceased to be the head of the resistance to Henry IV, and his place was taken by Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, while Paris herself, now in the hands of the wealthy and the more learned among the citizens,—of the burgher and the lawyer, instead of the populace and the priest,—began to look eagerly for peace, and to long for the conversion of the King.

Meanwhile Henry IV, at the urgent request of Queen Elizabeth,

had closely invested Rouen, which was defended by Villars¹, a man full of the ideas of feudal independence now prevalent in the League-party; he even aimed at erecting Normandy into a Lordship for himself, with Rouen as its capital. The siege went on, with great obstinacy, through the coldest time of the winter, in spite of heavy mortality on both sides; until, towards the end of January 1592, Henry learnt that Parma, his old and formidable foe, was again advancing, now to relieve Rouen, as he had effectually succoured Paris in 1590. Leaving his trusty Marshal Biron² to continue the blockade, Henry took with him his cavalry only, for he had an infinite confidence in that arm, which had served him so often and so well. It was a cheerful ride of brave and spirited gentlemen, weary of the trenches and monotony of a siege, which suited them ill. The King himself was affected by their reckless bravery, and twice almost fell into Parma's hands, by riding thoughtlessly forward till he was in the midst of the enemy. The second time, near Aumâle, he escaped with great difficulty and some loss; had Parma not held his troops back, he might have caught the King and the flower of his nobility. When men reproached the Duke with his too great caution, he replied, like a true captain: 'I was not going to fall into his fault; I thought I was coping with a King, general of a great army; how could I know that he was nothing but a reckless guardsman?' But while Henry tried to check the Spanish advance, Villars, seizing the favourable moment, sallied with all his garrison from the town, broke the besiegers' lines, took or spiked cannon, blew up magazines, and did not withdraw into the city till he had utterly paralysed the attack. Parma would have taken the opportunity to give battle, but here Mayenne opposed him, begging him to make sure of certain places in the rear, beyond the Somme, so as to give time for the

¹ Not the Marquis of Villars, but Villars-Brancas, of a different house, styled 'the Admiral Villars.'

² Biron the Marshal, and the Baron of Biron his son, were perhaps the two men who did most to set Henry on the throne.

³ Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, xxi. 150.

Catholics in the King's army to abandon him quietly. Parma, against his better judgment, yielded: Henry saw with astonishment that the relieving army thought it had done enough when it had thrown five hundred men into the town; he repaired, as far as he could, the mischief done, and began to press Rouen more closely than ever. The weariness and the camp-fever began to tell on the royalist gentlemen: Mayenne's judgment was justified; the King's army melted away fast; and Parma from behind the Somme again moved swiftly forward. Henry felt himself too weak to check his advance and to continue the siege, while he was too good a soldier to be caught in his trenches like Francis I before Pavia; he therefore broke up the siege, and with all his army crossed the Seine at Pont de l'Arche. Once more Parma had outmanœuvred him: the King had not the Duke's science and coolness of vision. But once more also fortune smiled on the royal cause. A few days later Parma, assaulting Caudebec, was wounded, slightly as it seemed, in the hand; he made but little of it, yet it proved fatal to his career and to him. His expedition to Caudebec had been a blunder as well as a misfortune: he found himself hemmed in by his enemies, by water and land: it required all his consummate generalship to extricate him from the false position: by a brilliant passage of the Seine in face of his foes, and a rapid march through the Isle of France and Artois, he carried his army safely back to the Netherlands. His career was now ended: in spite of rest and care at Spa, whither he went to recruit, the wounded hand would not heal: he suffered great pain with fever, and lingered on, still cherishing great schemes for the overthrow of 'him of Navarre,' but destined to lead no more armies to victory. He had come down in November 1592 to Arras to organise his great expedition against the royalists: he was determined this time not merely to raise a siege, but to carry the affair through with a strong hand: his health and spirits seemed to have returned to him. It was his last effort: on the first of December he was seized with illness; on the third he died.

Early in 1593 the Estates, or a fragment of them, met in Paris to elect a king: Spanish envoys appeared, who demanded that the Salic Law should be set aside, and the Infanta Elizabeth recognised as Queen. Mayenne met them at Soissons, and made his own bargain with them: he sold his claims, his prospects, his help, for the all but independent government of Burgundy and Normandy, with a great revenue, a heavy payment of ready money, and the settlement of his debts. This granted, he agreed to forward the wishes of the Spanish court in the Estates, and to recognise the Infanta.

As a counter-blow, Henry IV now began to negotiate with the Papacy. Clement VIII, who, after the short pontificate of Innocent IX, had succeeded to the papal chair, was a man of blameless life, unusual abilities, and vigour: his views were moderate and conciliatory; he was suspicious of the power of Spain, and anxious to sustain the independence of France. Though he would not receive Henry's envoys, for fear of embroiling himself with Philip, he acted with great sagacity and caution: at first he made no change in his external policy; he maintained the fanatical envoy of his predecessors at Paris¹, and continued his subsidies to the League: he did not forget the explosion of hatred which had greeted the moderation of Sixtus V in 1590. None the less he privately let the King know his friendly feelings, and had a secret interview with Cardinal Gondi, Henry's envoy. The early part of 1593 was filled up with intrigues and negotiations bearing on the subject of the throne of France. Henry felt that the time for his conversion was at hand, if it could be done so as to be accepted by the Pope, and he negotiated for this purpose: discord reigned in the opposite camp, where the Sixteen of Paris disliked Mayenne, who had pursued his personal aims, and had punished their outbreak with severity; the influence and power of the more moderate section of the citizens grew daily. Conferences went on between the royalist Catholics, and those of the League party: the Duke of Sully tells us that it was about this

¹ Cardinal Sega, Bishop of Piacenza.

time that the King asked him his advice touching a change of religion; and got that answer, which (if Sully's somewhat egotistical temper may be trusted) led to the King's decision: 'to advise you to go to Mass, that you must not expect of me, a Calvinist: but I can tell you it would be the best way of sending off all these rascally plots and plans into smoke... to conform to the wish of the great majority of your subjects would relieve you from very many vexatious pains and obstacles in this world:—as for the next,' he added with a smile, 'I cannot answer for that:' whereon the King too began to laugh.¹ The moderate Clergy were specially anxious that his conversion should take place: they declared that they would receive him into the bosom of the Church, pending the papal revocation of the excommunication: there was even talk of the sufficiency by itself of the absolution of the leader of the Gallican party, the Archbishop of Bourges, who was in the royalist camp. It seemed to the Gallican section of the French clergy a fine opportunity for the assertion of their rights and position in face of the Papacy. The Spanish party in the Estates visibly lost ground: even there the French sense of independence was outraged by the unguarded way in which Philip's envoys made known their master's ambition, and his full determination to become the real overlord of France. In vain the fanatic preachers of the League hurled their worst epithets at the King's head; declaring that a relapsed heretic could not be absolved, affirming that his proposed conversion was a mere hypocrisy, forbidding their hearers to listen to it;—in spite of every effort, the King's friends grew in strength, and daily his enemies lost ground. The princes of the two Houses of Lorraine and Bourbon intrigued, meanwhile, for the hand of the Infanta: on the one side the Dukes of Guise and Nemours and the Cardinal of Lorraine dealt privately with the Spanish ambassadors; while on the other side, in the King's camp itself, the malcontent Bourbons,

¹ Sully, *Œconomies Royales*, I. p. 106 (ed. aux trois v. v.).

the Prince of Conti, next heir after the little Henry II of Condé, a deaf half-witted creature, the Cardinal Bourbon (or Vendôme, as he is called, to distinguish him from the first Cardinal Bourbon), who was 'deemed even worse than the Béarnais, and reputed an atheist,' and lastly the Count of Soissons, a more likely prince, but poor and discontented¹, also had hopes of success with the Spanish Princess. Philip however really designed this great prize, with the throne of France and the Duchy of Brittany, for the Archduke Ernest, his viceroy in the Netherlands, and for the present his envoys held back, simply playing with these proud and selfishly ambitious French nobles.

Meanwhile Henry IV was not idle: he held long and apparently earnest conferences with Bishops and theologians: the Archbishop of Bourges proclaimed that his sovereign was almost convinced, that it was a mere matter of time; and in the interval offered truce to all his foes in France. The whole country was delighted at the tidings; in the presence of the popular enthusiasm for peace, and of the news that Henry had brilliantly taken Dreux², that strong and important Leaguers'-town, which watched over the approaches to Normandy and Brittany, the Spanish ambassadors saw that it was time for them to play their last card: they set aside the foreign Archduke Ernest as hopeless, and announced that Philip selected the Duke of Guise as his son-in-law. But the card was played too late: though Paris, where the name of Guise was like magic, warmly received the news, still the Parliament of Paris, the legal instincts of which were strong as ever, stoutly declared that the Salic Law must rigorously be maintained³. In the face of this declaration the States hesitated to elect the Infanta as Queen, and the peril passed away.

¹ From the Report of the Ambassador of Savoy given in Capefigue, *La Ligue et Henri IV*, p. 225 (ed. 1843).

² The stages by which Henry IV advanced and grew stronger are admirably given by von Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, i. 407, 408.

³ Arrêt de la cour de Parlement de Paris, 28 Juin, 1593.

During these days Henry IV seemed daily to draw nearer to his conversion: his whole court was eager for it, the little band of faithful Huguenots alone excepted; even the all-powerful mistress, Gabrielle d'Estrées, whose tendencies were the other way, now urged him to take the plunge; it would secure his throne, and—who knows?—pave the way to her marriage and elevation, and the acceptance of Cesar her son as Dauphin of France¹. For she saw that a papal dispensation alone could set the King free from his nightmare of a wife Margaret of Valois, and that such a dispensation could not come till Henry was reconciled with the Papacy. The conferences went on: at last (23 July, 1593) after a five-hours' discourse from the Archbishop of Bourges, the King could hold out no longer; he declared himself convinced; he signed a profession of faith, and the very next Sunday, after provisional absolution by the Archbishop, 'took the great plunge,' as he calls it, and heard Mass at S. Denis. We must remember that Henry had dealt throughout not with the High Catholic clergy, with their unpatriotic and ultramontane leaning on Spain, but with the royalist national Bishops, who cherished the thought of a Gallican Church with its independent life and liberties. The Leaguers, lay and clerical, still refused to recognise him; how could they do so, when his whole position was opposed to their strictly intolerant views? It was one of the main objects of his life to find a middle course, whereby Catholic and Huguenot might live in peace together, and his ultimate success in these endeavours forms the chief glory of his reign: for it made quiet in his borders; and more, it taught his subjects the lesson which often afterwards stood them in good stead; it taught them to remember that before all things they were Frenchmen.

Looked at dispassionately, we may condemn this act of the conversion, as religiously insincere, and as brought about by wrong motives, but politically it was a wise and successful step².

¹ César, Gabrielle's firstborn, was afterwards made Duke of Vendôme.

² On this point see De Lezeau's account in *Cimber and Danjou's Archives*, I. xiv. pp. 64, 65.

Henry had the rare virtue of knowing when to act and when not. It is said that when he first took the suburbs of Paris he might easily have got into the capital; and he has been blamed, then and at other times, for slackness in pushing his advantages. If however we look at the circumstances closely, we shall see that there have usually been good reasons for caution: thus, after Coutras, a rapid forward movement would have been too late to save the Germans from defeat, and would probably have led only to a disaster; the taking of Paris would have swallowed up his little force in the heart of a city then bitterly hostile. And thus, again, in the matter of his conversion, had he changed faith in 1589, when the Catholic nobles urged him to do so, the force of faction was still so strong that it is very doubtful whether any great result would have followed: whereas now, with all France ripe for it, when patriotic men everywhere were eager to welcome him, and the selfishness of his many antagonists had been fully displayed; when even Paris wished for rest,—the conversion had an electric effect. It is almost idle to ask how far it was sincere. The King's letters show that he treated the matter almost with scorn: there is no small truth in the sayings attributed to him, 'Paris is worth a Mass,' and the like, though he may never have uttered one of them; for Henry was in this respect the Talleyrand of his day; he said so many good things that every epigrammatic saying was fathered on him. These sayings express the tone of his mind, which was one of simple indifference: without with Montaigne calling him a sceptic, we may well believe that he took no interest in theological questions, and that when it came to the point, and religious convictions strove with political exigencies, Henry proved himself a genuine Frenchman, and the instincts of King and statesman in him prevailed. Men said at the time that 'he held the opinion that a man may be saved in either religion'; a view not known in that age, and rarely held even in our own.

¹ De Lezeau in Cimber and Danjou's Archives, I. xiv. pp. 65, 66.

The act was speedily justified by its results: it took the heart out of the opposition. City after city laid its keys at his feet with enthusiasm: Meaux came first, then Orleans and Bourges, then Lyons: by the end of the year a great part of France had declared for the King, and was at peace¹.

Early in 1594 Henry was crowned at Chartres, without waiting for the papal absolution: he did not even think it well to delay till Rheims, the coronation-city, came over to him. The Bishop of Chartres officiated, personating the 'first Peer of France²,' the Archbishop of Rheims: in place of the six lay Peers, nominees of the King sat in state³; for of the six great fiefs, five had fallen in to the Crown, so that the titles were no longer held by subjects⁴, while the sixth, Flanders, was now foreign, and lost to the Crown. All the six ecclesiastical peers were absent, and represented by other Bishops: only one of them, the Bishop of Châlons, had come to Chartres, and he fell ill, so that he could not be present at the ceremony. The ambassadors of two powers only were there, Venice and England; for Queen Elizabeth, though she protested against 'Burbo's changed shield,' was too shrewd to quarrel with the King, and renewed her alliance with him; while Venice hailed him as her natural ally, in her lifelong struggle with Germany and Spain.

Ere long the capital opened her gates to the brilliant King: he was received with such enthusiasm as the former Duke of Guise alone could have aroused a while before; the crowds and the excitement reached their highest point when Henry went in state to hear Mass at Notre Dame. The hottest firebrands among the League-preachers and citizens were expelled the town: they might have passports to join Mayenne, or they might submit and settle where they would, but not in Paris:

¹ L'Estoile (Petitot I. xlvi. p. 372) testifies to the great longing for peace which marked this year 1593.

² Cimber and Danjou, I. xiii. p. 405.

³ *Ib.* p. 411.

⁴ These were Burgundy, Normandy, Guyenne, the three Dukes; Flanders, Languedoc, Champagne, the three Counts.

Henry's whole conduct was that of a humane and moderate Prince, who wishes to conciliate and pacify, and is too strong to persecute.

War went on awhile on the northern frontier, where the fragments of the League kept up communications with the Spaniards in the Low Countries. Thither Mayenne betook himself, and soon learnt from the Archduke Ernest that Spain cared only for her own interests. All through the early part of 1594 he and Count Mansfeld molested Henry, who had invested Laon, the last stronghold of the Leaguers in those districts¹: after a long and perilous siege he took it. With the fall of Laon all resistance ended on that side. The Spanish army withdrew, the chief places submitted.

For a time Villars held out in Normandy, but the King won even him at last, in spite of his great pretensions in the west. With him Rouen also came over and Havre. He was made Admiral of France; and as two could not hold that office at once, Biron, who held it, was removed, and made a Marshal; his discontent with the master he had served so brilliantly dates from this beginning.

All through the latter part of 1594 submissions followed one another swiftly; the towns came in so fast that it was said the Leaguers in their panic had left the keys behind them at the Louvre, and the King had picked them up. The nobles he bought over, making separate treaties with the chief ones, and following his marked policy of appointing his old adversaries to office even to the neglect of his old friends. The Houses of Lorraine and Guise were appeased with bribes of money and honours.

The reaction in Henry's favour spread irresistibly across France: even in Paris the Sorbonne, and with it the University, followed the example set them by the Parliament, which was now joined by the royalist Parliament from Tours, and professed its profound loyalty. Only the Jesuits resisted, faithful

¹ It was the last stronghold of the Karolings in the days of Hugh Capet. See Vol. i. p. 175.

to their principles, hostile as ever to a moderate King. The attempt of Chastel, who had been in one of their seminaries, to assassinate the King, was made an excuse for proceeding to extremities against them; though they were certainly not guilty of instigating the act, the would-be murderer had learnt in their schools, and had been imbued with their political opinions, which were in every way antagonistic to the monarchical absolutism and religious tolerance of Henry, and certainly did not discourage violence; in consequence they were banished the realm early in 1595. The Parliament of Paris, perhaps anxious to show that it had abjured those anti-royalist views which it had expressed with emphasis but a year before, eagerly became the instrument of their expulsion.

There remained one enemy, the most formidable of all: by intrigue, by moral support to all discontent, by money, even by armies, the Spanish Crown had harassed France through these years, interfering on every frontier, but never deigning to declare war or in any way to recognise Henry IV as King of France. It clearly was the Spanish policy to treat the throne as vacant; to put forward now the Infanta, now some powerful Prince as a candidate, to foment all ill-will and trouble, to hinder the country from settling down in peace. So long as this went on Henry could never be safe, nor France recover her lost health. And yet there could be no end to it, except by open war, which should compel the Spanish Court to recognise Henry as Sovereign of France; and for open war the King was little prepared. He had no standing army: he had always trusted chiefly to the levies of friendly nobles, a half-feudal force, under little discipline, apt to melt away if things grew tedious or went amiss, and led by men who wanted to be paid in lands and dangerous dignities of half-independent lordships. He had no money to hire mercenaries from Switzerland or Germany; there was no solid army of foot-soldiers; he had trusted chiefly to his cavalry, with which he had done many exploits, but who were all but powerless against the infantry of Spain. Even his

artillery had been neglected: in the battles of the civil war it had played but a little part, and had been found an encumbrance rather than an advantage to the light and loose armies of the adventurer King. Every one knew how formidable the Spanish footmen were, the world had not yet learnt that weakness had eaten into the very vitals of the power of Philip II: he was still the dread of Europe.

Yet unless Henry would brave the risks of war, his labours might all be lost; and after all, open war could not be much worse than the existing state of things, when, at any moment a Spanish army might pour over the frontier and raise some ill-affected province. England moreover and Holland promised help, and cheered on the King: he might also look for some support from the North German princes. So he decided on open war: it would bring intolerable evils to a crisis; he loved the stir of a campaign, and was accustomed to fight against overwhelming odds; by war he would make the quarrel a national one: any French noble who then sided with Spain would be a traitor to him and to his country.

The King was also much urged to war by the Duke of Bouillon, who hoped to increase his power in the direction of the Netherlands: Henry's acts were ever much swayed by personal motives, and Bouillon, whom he afterwards disliked and treated with sternness, may have had as much to do with the declaration of war as reasons of state had.

From yet another point of view this war was of importance: Henry had promised himself to group together all the European antagonisms and jealousies against Philip: he had the Pope's countenance on the one side, and the promised support of England, Holland, the Swiss, the German Protestants on the other: the Lorrainers were also now friendly, and anxious for the war; their position being entirely changed.

War was declared against Spain in November 1595: Philip at once replied that he was not the enemy of France but her friend; that he was fighting only against the Béarnais

and the Huguenots. The answer showed that there was wisdom in Henry's act: and that Philip was not, or chose not to be, aware of the change of times.

The war began in Franche-Comté: thither Philip had sent Velasco the governor of the Milanese, who formed a junction with Mayenne, and threatened to overwhelm Biron, who had occupied Dijon. Henry came up, with cavalry only as usual, and, learning that the Spanish-league forces had crossed the Saone, fell on them at Fontaine-Française near Saint Seine: it was one of his wild and brilliant actions, 'elsewhere he had fought for victory, here for life,' and his horsemen gallantly supported him in a mad attack on a whole army, horse and foot. Velasco haled, drew back: he could not believe that the King was there with only a handful of cavalry; it seemed to him that an army must be at the back of such audacity; and instead of advancing as he should have done, he fell back across the Saone. It was only a skirmish, but it settled the fate of the campaign on the eastern frontier. Velasco ventured on nothing more; and the King established himself firmly in the County and Duchy. On the Picard frontier things went otherwise: the Duke of Bouillon and the Count of Nassau had been bidden to penetrate into Luxemburg and the Liege bishoprick: Fuentes, who now commanded in the Netherlands, easily drove them out, and in his turn invaded Picardy: Ham, le Catelet, Capelle, Ardres, were quickly taken, and he came down to Dourlens. Discord and ill-feeling existed between Henry's lieutenants; the Dukes of Nevers and Bouillon could not agree: Villars, generous, brave, and vain, cared only to distinguish himself. In an assault on the Spanish lines he was defeated with great loss, and slain. It was said that Bouillon had not chosen to support him in his gallant ride against the entrenchments. It was another characteristic cavalry battle: we are for ever saying, during these campaigns, that the charges of the French horse 'are magnificent but are not war:' they were full of the fire, the dash, the undisciplined boastful bravery of the noblesse: no one was

a more serious offender against the rules of warfare than the King himself.

Dourlens fell; Cambrai revolted and opened her gates to Fuentes; Calais herself was menaced; the King seemed to be utterly powerless to stem the tide of Spanish success, and the ground was shaking beneath his feet, when suddenly a turn of fortune's wheel saved him. For some time past the Cardinal D'Orsat and Du Perron, Henry's ambassadors at Rome, had been skilfully urging Clement VIII to take the great step, and to absolve their master: now at last he yielded: Henry, without his countenance, would be too much the King of the Gallican Clergy: the Pope hoped to make him the faithful subject of the Papacy, and a counterpoise to the dangerous preponderance at Rome of Spain, and of the high Catholic party in Austria. So great a boon as the restoration of a relapsed heretic could not be granted lightly: long time had the Pope hesitated and delayed; now he made onerous terms with the King, the aim of which was to prove the dependence of the Gallican Church, and to molest the Huguenots. He denied the competency of the Archbishop of Bourges to give the King absolution; he demanded that Protestants should be excluded from all offices whatever, that the Mass should be re-established in Béarn, that the Tridentine decrees should be published and received, that the Jesuits should be allowed to return to France. The King took good care not to carry out those conditions which aimed at the extirpation of heresy: the rest he fulfilled.

The Absolution was a final blow to the League: the outstanding nobles speedily came in; and Henry, after his usual habit, treated with each separately. The Duke of Joyeuse, third of the name, was made a Marshal, and Governor of part of Languedoc: Nemours also submitted; Mayenne, the old chief of the League, having shown them the way early in 1596, and having made good terms with the King. The meeting between him and Henry was very characteristic: the King was walking, hand in hand with Sully, in his park at

Soissons, when Mayenne came up, and falling on one knee declared his fidelity, and thanked the King 'for having freed him from Spanish arrogance and Italian trickery.' Henry received him warmly and kindly after his wont; then taking him by the hand he set off to show him the improvements he was making in his park. The day was sultry, and the King walked very fast: Mayenne, portly and pompous, crippled with sciatica, and short of wind, could scarcely keep up, turned red, panted and perspired, till Henry turning to Sully, whispered in his ear, 'If I drag this big body much farther with me, I shall be cheaply avenged of all the ill he has done me,' and then he asked the Duke if he went too fast for him? Mayenne confessed that he was half dead; whereon Henry stopped and clapping him on the shoulder said gaily, 'Pardy, my friend, now I have taken all the vengeance I shall ever take of you;' and dismissed him charmed with his cheerfulness and gaiety of heart¹.

Mercœur, who still held an independent position in Brittany, and Epéron, who was establishing a sovereignty for himself in Provence, and treated as a Prince with Philip II, alone remained unsubdued. Provence, however, declared openly for Henry and received the Duke of Guise, who was now the representative of the royal authority: city after city, district after district, submitted; until at last Marseilles alone was left. That city fanatically devoted to the high Catholic party, and at the same time cherishing thoughts of civic independence under its Consuls, was supported by a fleet and army of Spaniards: but a revolution within the walls, to which the two Consuls fell victims, chased away the foreigners, and threw open the gates to the Duke of Guise. Epéron, seeing that all was lost, at last submitted. With the exception of Brittany France was now completely pacified, and better days began to dawn.

The northern frontier, however, was not yet secure; and Queen Elizabeth now offered to garrison Calais and to save it

¹ Sully, *Œconomies Royales*, I. pp. 327, 328 (ed. aux trois v. v.).

from the Spaniard. But Henry in his lively way said 'He would rather be bitten by a lion than a lioness, if he must be bitten at all,' and would not hear of it: whence came a coolness between the two great princes. Henry sat down before La Fère, with such little force as he had, to an arduous siege which ended in the capture of the place; the Archduke Albert, now governor of the Low Countries, slipped past him there, and by a sudden attack, took Calais, that great gateway into France: he mastered, in spite of Henry's efforts, Guines also and Ardres, and having secured them all went back in triumph to the Netherlands. From this moment the war languished, and both parties seemed equally worn out. Henry was anxious for peace, though the English and Dutch resisted: they drew more closely together in their common interest of resistance to Spain. Yet the King's successes had done nothing to lessen the burdens of France; the country was still overwhelmed by taxation, and distressed beyond measure; discontent lurked in every corner. Above all, the Huguenot nobles had no small ground for grumbling. Henry had neglected and depressed these faithful followers of his stormy fortunes: they had been set aside, while Catholics, who had fought against the King till yesterday, were flattered and caressed and promoted to posts of honour and trust. The nobles who had submitted were also eager to get more from the King's distress. It was at this moment that they put forward the Duke of Montpensier as their spokesman. The King, after the loss of Calais, had withdrawn to S. Quentin to watch the Spaniards thence, and to secure that all-important city from their clutches. There it was proposed to him, as the only way by which to resist his foes, that he should grant the lordship of their governments to the different governors of provinces, with hereditary rights, and the sole obligation of liege homage: these governors would then charge themselves with the defence of the frontiers, and would raise their own armies; they knew well how hard it was for the King to keep any army on foot. It is needless to say that Henry, who treated Montpensier very

generously, would have suffered anything rather than permit France to fall back into such a feudal anarchy: all his autocratic instincts, all his clear sight of what was the destiny of his country made it impossible for him to surrender, even in this hour of weakness, any element of power.

Still, the times were very disheartening for the King: the Assembly of Notables called by him at Rouen, ten ecclesiastics, eighteen nobles, and fifty civic magistrates, did but add to the confusion of the realm: Henry at the advice of Maximilian of Bethune, Marquis of Rosny, afterwards so well known as the Duke of Sully, allowed the Notables to establish a 'Conseil de Raison'¹ 'for the finances, and to divide the revenue of the state into two equal parts, one for the King and for war, the other for the public services.' This council proved quite unable to grapple with the great evil of the time, the confusion and exhaustion of finance: Sully² refused them his help; and in three months' time they were glad to be released from the hopeless task: the King had succeeded, as he was glad to do, in discrediting the body which in a sense represented his people; and Sully became his Minister of Finance. The King became ever more and more unpopular, and seemed to have given up all hope or wish to extricate himself; he went to Paris, and as it was winter, amused himself with fêtes and idle days and nights, seeming quite to abandon the unequal strife.

He was awakened from his careless dreams by a thunder-clap. We may let Sully tell it in his own words. In March 1597, there had been a superb fête at Court given by the Constable Montmorency; the King was there; it was the finest entertainment of the winter. Sully had gone away about two in the morning, and had been abed some while when a messenger entered his chamber with a scared countenance, and said the King had sent for him at once. 'I dressed as quickly

¹ The 'livre de raison,' 'libro dei ragioni,' was the great account-book of the State.

² He at this time calls himself Rosny, not being yet created Duke of Sully.

as I could, and ran to the Louvre. I found the King in his chamber, half undressed, striding up and down, his hands clasped behind his back, his head down, and care and vexation written on his face. The courtiers stood round, on this hand and that, leaning against the walls, in dead silence. The King advanced to me, took me warmly by the hand and said, 'Ah! my friend, what a mishap! Amiens is taken.' I confess that I, like all the rest, was struck dumb by such an unexpected blow. A fortress so strong, so well found, so close to Paris, the only key of the kingdom from the side of Picardy, taken in a moment, without a note of warning!¹ Sully however, gathered courage, and cheered the King by assuring him that he had in hand a plan which would soon enable him to recover not merely Amiens, but many other strongholds: from that moment King and minister had but one thought, how they might wipe away this disgrace. Fêtes and pleasures came to an end at once: there was no money, no army; but the King's restored energy and Sully's sagacity speedily arrested the evil, which threatened the capital itself, where there were many who sympathised with the Spaniard. Henry tore himself from Gabrielle, and posted his little army, some five thousand men, to watch the enemy; while the minister with feverish activity gathered money and troops. None seconded him better than the Leaguers of old. Mayenne hastened with a strong force: Paris formed a regiment, Rouen did the like: the offended Huguenots showed no such alacrity, but haggled over the price of their help. We see in them the beginnings of that stiff aristocratic resistance, which afterwards was forced to bow before the iron will of Richelieu.

In one way or other an army was got together, and the siege of Amiens vigorously carried on. Sully from Paris sent regular supplies, and kept the army together by an unwonted punctuality of payments: he thought for and organised everything: he even established a field-hospital for the sick. The Spaniards

¹ Sully, *Œconomies Royales*, I. p. 349.

attempted to relieve the place: though the Cardinal-Archduke Albert (of whom the King said that he came as a soldier and went back like a priest) brought up a fine army to the neighbourhood, the King's fame daunted them, and they achieved nothing, though the opportunity was good. The siege was then near its end: the garrison had done its utmost, and was daily more and more closely pressed: in the end of September it surrendered. With the fall of Amiens fell, says L'Estoile, all the Kinglets who had been raising their heads throughout France¹.

As the siege of La Fère had been the whole campaign of 1596, so that of Amiens was the campaign of 1597. The war was in reality at an end. Both Spain and France were heartily weary of the struggle; the Pope's mediation was gratefully accepted, and negotiations began at Vervins between the envoys of France, Spain, and Savoy. England and Holland still stood out: the Duke of Mercœur in Brittany had the audacity to wish to send his ambassador, as an independent power: this Henry would never have allowed. The English under Sir John Norris had reduced many of the strongholds of that wild district, and had driven out the Spanish garrisons: Mercœur, seeing how things went with Spain, thought it wisest to make his own peace with the King: he gave his only daughter to César, Duke of Vendôme, Henry's natural son, and accepted a large sum of money: and so the last disturbed district had peace.

Three things at once occupied the King's attention during the spring of 1598;—the miserable state of the finances, the discontent of the Huguenots, and the terms of peace. The first could not be remedied all at once: it formed the chief burden on Sully's shoulders. The second was urgent: the Protestants were 'angry and malign,' even to threats of arms: Henry disliked their independent spirit; he distrusted the Duke of Bouillon, the Count of Auvergne², Marshal Biron, his most devoted officers, and promoted over their heads such

¹ 'Tant d'autres petits roitelets desquels les royautez expirèrent avec la reprise d'Amiens.' L'Estoile (*Petitot*, I. xlvii, p. 216).

² Charles of Angoulême, natural son of Charles IX.

persons as Villeroy, an old Leaguer, who had dealt with Spain, but had at last come over to the King. Such men he appeared to like better than the old unchanging nobles, who seemed ever to reproach him for his weaknesses: and the Huguenots, conscious that they deserved more generous treatment, began to ask if they were any better off than under Henry III, and if those ominous stipulations attached to the Papal absolution were to be carried into effect. Henry felt that a great effort must be made to allay their anger; civil war seemed to be drawing near again. Accordingly in the month of April, 1598, he signed the famous Edict of Nantes¹. Hitherto the Huguenots had been treated to agreements which were mere truces, ever evaded, and leading to fresh outbreaks: but this Edict was made in good faith, and gave them at last, though it was not immediately put in operation, a definite and sufficient standing-ground. It allowed them rights of worship (except in some old League-towns, where separate treaties had forbidden it, places like Rheims, Soissons, Dijon, Sens); it gave them rights of holding office in the judicature and finance; it established a Protestant chamber in the Parliament of Paris, and joint-chambers in other local Parliaments. The Huguenots won by it a kind of independence: and had there been a spark of constitutional life in France, it ought to have had great influence in fanning and developing it. On the contrary, in the political result it only strengthened in the end the selfish aristocratic resistance to the monarchy, while in its social result it fostered a prudent, thrifty, hardworking, and ingenious people, whose influence on the prosperity of France was never fully known till it was destroyed².

¹ Dumont, *Corps Diplomatique*, v. p. 545.

² At this time (Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, ii. p. 43) there were not more than about 750 Huguenot Churches in France; of these over 200 were in Upper and Lower Burgundy, in Poitou and Saintonge over 100, in Provence and Dauphiny 94, in Guienne 83. In the north of France, where the Reformed tenets had ever been weak, the congregations were very scattered: in Normandy there were 59; the Isle of France, Picardy and Champagne made but a single province. 'It is said,' von Ranke adds, 'that there were now 274,000 Protestant families in France, but I should not like to vouch for these figures.'

The Edict was not received without some trouble; some flames of the old fire shot up again in Paris, where the fanatical spirit yet lived, though marvellously quieted; the Parliament was greatly moved; processions began again, an evil omen; the voice of the hot preachers was heard once more; three men were arrested for plots against the King's person. Henry, who was equal to any emergency when once roused from his idleness, met the Parliament sensibly and firmly, and the opposition gave way. The Edict was registered and became law.

Twenty days later the Treaty of Vervins¹ was signed (2 May, 1598). It was the simplest of Treaties; the difficult point respecting Saluzzo was slurred over, though only to produce a fresh trouble. The gist of it lies in a single article: which stipulated that Spain should restore all places belonging to France which might then be in her hands.

It was nominally a return to the position of affairs in 1559, at the Peace of Cateau-Cambresis; but how utterly changed was the state of things: then Spain was at the top of her repute and strength, and the Catholic reaction was in its most impetuous rush; now her strength was spent, and the force of the movement gone: then there were no United Provinces, sapping the fighting power and wealth of Spain, and Germany, that unruly land of Princes, was quiet; now the new combinations of European politics were beginning to show themselves, and the supremacy of Spain by sea was giving way, and on land was rudely shaken: then France was just beginning her thirty years of feeble Valois boy-Kings; now she was in the hands of a man of genius, whose energy when roused was terrible to the falling monarchy of Spain: and last of all, that dark monarch who for all the intermediate time had ruled the destinies of Spain, and had strained every nerve to mould Europe to his will, was now an old man, worn out, and conscious that his end was near.

It has been said of this Peace of Vervins, as was said a hundred years before by Commines of the English wars, that

¹ Dumont, *Corps Diplomatique*, v. p. 561.

France, beaten by the sword, was victorious with the pen: in truth, however, there was not much ground for the saying. For Spain was as much exhausted as she: the English cruisers vexed the Spanish Main, shook her supremacy, and cut off her supplies of gold; while in the north Prince Maurice baffled all the efforts of the best generals and troops, which were thereby kept from overwhelming France; and at home the country was fearfully exhausted. Peace was as needful for the one as for the other: Philip might be superior in war to any one of his adversaries: against all together he was overmatched, and it was salvation to him to detach one power from the alliance: so doing he would save the Spanish Netherlands, hard pressed between France and the United Provinces, he would sow distrust between the friends, detach the one Catholic power from them, and gratify the Papacy, if he really cared for that. It is true that Henry broke faith with Queen Elizabeth by this peace: the bait was too tempting for him, and he felt that the salvation of France came before all things.

So the Peace was made; and the old sixteenth century seems in it to sink to rest. It closed the wounds of all that strife of three generations, which began with the Reformation, and passed, through dreary epochs of civil contest, to an end in which nothing was said as to matters of faith, an end heralded and preceded by the great Edict of Toleration.

Philip II did little after signing the Treaty of Vervins. He had left his mark on the age, deep and sometimes scathing; as he lingered through the few months which lay between the treaty and his death (13th Sept., 1598) he must have seen that his main principle had given way, that his great ambition was unfulfilled. The United Provinces, defiant, independent, Protestant; France,—with no Queen Mother to reverse the act,—granting an honest protection to her Huguenots; and England settling more and more into her modern form; these were the end of all his struggles; this the outcome of his high Catholic policy. And as he cast his eyes around at home, what comfort could he find? He could but wrap himself in silent Spanish pride and die.

BOOK IV.

THE BOURBON MONARCHY: ITS RISE.

A.D. 1598-1660.

INTRODUCTION.

THE age of the Bourbon monarchs was destined to cover exactly two centuries; the first century the hundred years of their rise to the supreme height of splendour and power, and the second the hundred years of their gradual fall. Henry IV came to a disputed and half-ruined throne in the year 1589; a century later, in 1688, 1689, William of Orange, by uniting the two sea powers in a bond of hostility to France, marked the turn in the tide, the point at which the predominance of Louis XIV begins to give way; in 1789 came the Revolution, overthrowing and clearing away the ancient fabric of the Monarchy. Five kings only reigned over France during this period; two were cut off before their time; two were great men. Three ministers rise pre-eminent, even above the great kings themselves; in Sully, Richelieu, and Colbert we see the highest administrative powers dedicated to the increase of the royal authority, and its consolidation in France. Sully brought order out of chaos; Richelieu crushed the last remains of resistance at home, and raised high the credit of France abroad; Colbert, in spite of economic errors, developed the wealth of the country, and enabled Louis XIV to shine as the most splendid of monarchs. These three ministers all belong to the century of rising power; the ministers of the later century are of a very different order.

Not one of these, monarch or minister, except perhaps Colbert in a faint degree, has won for himself the high praise of being a man really careful of the well-being of his people for their own sake; on the contrary they are all careless of, and even contemptuous towards, the nation whose destinies they guide. This, the highest glory of princes and rulers, has rarely been even the ambition of French kings or ministers; for lack of this France has missed a healthy constitutional life; she has seen party spirit drop down into a political rancour which has made the clash of opinion fatal, and the victory of one party the death of the other; and she has oscillated heavily, till bystanders held their breath, between extreme points of political passion; now absolutist, now fiercely republican; now ruled entirely by privilege, now sweeping away all class distinctions whatever; now bowing the knee before an Ultramontane priesthood, now defying Heaven in the temple of Reason; now an Empire of the sword, now a Monarchy of the shopkeeper; in all phases showing a certain generosity of temper as well as a love for a logical theory of political life, and for strict evolutions from axioms and principles; often she brings her well-wishers to the brink of despair by her strange inability to see the force of practical considerations, or to tolerate the very existence of differences of opinion.

The reign of Henry IV, which really begins from the close of the open struggle with Spain in 1598, is the first period of the history of modern France. Now ends the older rivalry of France and the Austro-Spanish House, the rivalry of Francis I and Charles V handed down to the third generation¹; now ends the open quarrel of the two faiths, and with it those intestine troubles which had made the century hideous. With Henry begins the centralised monarchy, based on a remarkable double policy, twice double; first, the apparently contradictory repression of Protestantism at home, and encouragement of it

¹ 'Les rois de France et d'Espagne sont comme posés dans les deux bassins d'un balance, desquels il est impossible que l'un hausse que l'autre n'abaisse.' Sully, *Œconomies Royales* (viii. p. 63, Ed. Écluse).

abroad¹; and then, secondly, crossing the first contradiction fitfully and uncertainly, come two opposite lines of policy, the one, that of making France the head of the Latin family in Europe in its secular antagonism with the northern and Germanic peoples, by means of a union between France and Spain; the other, that of becoming the central power between the Latin and the Germanic races, and thereby obtaining overwhelming influence in the councils of all Europe. To tempt her towards the former of these lines, she had her ethnological affinities and the decidedly Catholic temper of her people, as well as the fact that she is perhaps more naturally inclined towards a Mediterranean than an open sea policy; towards the second course she was drawn by the unrivalled advantages of her geographical position, touching, as she does, on outer and inner seas, bordering on Spain and Italy, on Germany and the Netherlands, while the tendencies of her mind lead her to subordinate her Catholicism to her general interests, and to take up a middle position, and to profess a toleration which springs from indifference rather than from principle. It may possibly be true that the origin of these diverse and almost contradictory tendencies is to be traced back to the earliest history of France; and that the Catholicism of the Celtic populace, which never wavered, is the foundation of the Spanish-Catholic policy, while the less theological temper of the ruling classes, perhaps still not untouched by the influences of their Frankish-Germanic origin, gave to the other line, the line of alliance with German Protestantism, combined with a Catholic system at home, the eventual victory. Be this as it may, between these very different lines of policy and ambition France has fluctuated ever since the sixteenth century; and in the reign of Henry IV their co-existence is the cause of much of the apparent confusion, entanglement, and even contradiction in which the reign is involved.

¹ Of which the reigns of Francis I and Henry II had already given examples.

CHAPTER I.

HENRY IV; HIS CHARACTER, FRIENDS, AND FINANCES. A.D. 1598.

NEVER in idol of mankind has so much of clay been mixed with the gold as we find in Henry IV, King of France and Navarre. We pass in a moment from heroism to baseness, from devotion to ingratitude, from the noble and great to the miserably petty. We can scarcely tell how much of the success of the reign is due not to Henry himself but to his trusted friend and adviser, the Duke of Sully. One thing is quite clear: his reign brought solace to France, and forms the opening period of that great age of modern politics, which little as Henry may have understood it, marks the whole difference between the past times of medieval or feudal monarchies, and the coming times in which great and full-grown nations strive together to adjust or to overthrow that large political system called the Balance of Power. The 'Grand Project,' the 'Christian Republic,' may be nothing but a political romance, as it has been called, yet there is in it thus much of essential truth, that it represents the tone of mind prevalent at the time, and gives the French view as to theories of government, as to the relations of nations, as to the way in which the unity of Christendom, of late cleft asunder by the Reformation, might be restored, by means of a federation of European states, presided over by the central authority of the 'great nation.' The reign of Henry IV shows that thoughtful men already recognised the fact that after the first and disruptive

period, in which the new opinions grew too fast for the framework of society, and then after the time of reaction, when the old simply strove, and with a limited success, to recover its ground, now at last had arrived an age of equilibrium, in which, the forces on either side being spent, both parties had begun to reflect on their position, and to count up gains and losses; while a middle party had grown up between them, belonging strictly to neither, but having certain sympathies with both. This middle party found its expression in the triumph of Henry IV and in the general lines of policy in his reign.

And the nature, the ministry, the policy, of the King himself partook of this middle character. This makes it difficult to draw his picture, and renders it in the main unsatisfactory when drawn. At first he impresses us with a sense of manliness, courage, devotion, power: he is forgiving, unsuspecting, fearless, popular; his good sayings are on every tongue; they show a friendly heart, even when most strongly seasoned with a piquant dash of satire: but when we study him closer, as years pass over him, as prosperity tries him with sore temptations, and power, ever growing stronger yet ever undermined by secret plots and perils, tests the stuff of which the man is made, we discern that the unsuspecting frank soldier is gone: we see that selfishness has invaded him, casting out his higher qualities, that his playful satire has changed to bitter mockery, that he strives no longer against evil, that the bad spirit of self-indulgence gets more and more the mastery; and we end by feeling that the hero of Arques and Ivry and of many a forlorn yet triumphant onslaught, has become a reckless gambler and a heartless libertine. The craving for excitement is the same; the object aimed at has sunk from nobleness to degradation.

The King's face underwent the same change. In his youth he was sparkling, witty, the darling of the Court with his close curling hair, bright eyes, comely face, and well-clipped beard and moustache, concealing a somewhat sensual mouth; in full manhood his long hooked nose and pointed chin drew so

close together that as the wits said 'between them there was no room for love to roost': his face was wrinkled, crow's-feet puckered up the corners of his eyes, which were still fine but not good, his skin was said to emit an unpleasant odour, his face was that of an old man ere he was fifty. As a youth all had delighted in him, even when he was penniless and his fortunes at their worst; as King, even his favourites and mistresses could not have endured him, but for his royal titles and his lavish gifts.

We have noticed above how he was brought up roughly, often hardly: all his life he bore traces of this early treatment, though as time went on they became more dim. We can see it in his simple tastes, his enjoyment of the hardships of a campaign, his preference for the sound of a drum and fife over the most elaborate efforts of scientific musicians, his relish for camp-fare by a bivouac fire, his activity of body, his long days of hunting or his brisk walks, in which he transacted almost all his business.

His grandfather Henry, and his father Antony, Kings of Navarre, had been poor creatures: buffoons rather than princes; and Henry inherited a touch of their quality: he was ever saying 'good things' with fun and malice in them; he liked those round him to be witty and bright, and to make him laugh; the almost Spanish gravity of his fat and sulky wife, Mary dei Medici, repelled him. There was nothing at which he would not make a mock: even the harsh devotion and industry of Sully did not escape his gibing tongue; he jested at his wealth, and hinted that his hands were not too clean: the chivalrous religion of that noblest of Frenchmen, Du Plessis Mornay, who had served the King loyally on fifty fields, seemed to the cynical monarch a fair field for sport¹: as von Ranke says of him 'he loved few (and those unworthily)—he hated no one,—he made fun of all².' The want of gravity in his

¹ Speaking to Sully the King used to call Mornay 'the Huguenots' Pope.

² L. von Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, ii. p. 77 (ed. 1868).

character, his sudden changes, now playing with innocent children, now uttering wise counsel with his ministers; at one moment holding dignified reception of envoys, at the next amusing himself with some lively lady, or 'hail fellow well met' with a common soldier, impress us not as the qualities of a frank and open character so much as the marks of one who craves variety and excitement, and is open to all impressions; these affect him keenly, but only on the surface; they are never deep or lasting.

Accustomed all his life to command, as a captain rather than as a King, of autocratic temper, shrewd enough and quick of decision, he was apt, in all matters affecting himself, to act on the impulses of the moment, to do just as he liked, to think only of himself, to treat his kingship as his personal attribute. He had neither a sound education nor a good moral nature to guide him. As a boy, he had run wild at will in Béarn: his mother, grave and sweet, had taught him all she could, and what religious impressions he retained had come from her; but as a youth he was flighty and uncertain, and learning stayed not with him. It is interesting however to note that he himself puts on record one book as having been 'as a conscience' to him, and as having roused him to high and noble thoughts and resolves. Once, writing one of his most graceful letters to his Queen, Mary dei Medici, he rejoices that she is reading Plutarch's lives; 'for Plutarch,' he says, 'smiles ever on me with a fresh and novel brightness; to like Plutarch is to like me; for he was the tutor of my youthful days.' He adds that his good mother, who was so anxious for his proper training, placed it in his childish hands¹.

His preceptor, doubtless at his mother's wish, tried to teach him Greek; the experiment is curious, and worthy of the notice of modern theorists as to the right way of mastering languages; for the preceptor could only 'teach him as one learns one's

¹ *Lettres de Henri IV*, ed. Xivrey, v. p. 462: 'Me mit ce livre entre les mains, encore que je ne fusse plus qu'un enfant de mamelle.'

mother-tongue, by rote and without precepts¹: he could neither read nor write the language. He got a few Greek aphorisms off by heart; two of these, Cayet, whose business it was to copy them out fair for the young prince, remembers as having had decided influence on the boy's character: in fact, they may almost be taken as mottoes for his life. The one *Νικᾶν ἢ ἀποθανεῖν*, Death or Victory, may be regarded as characteristic of Henry's brilliant and reckless career as a soldier, down to the year 1598; the other, *Δεί φυγαδεύειν τὴν στάσιν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως*, Sedition must be banished from the state, expresses fairly enough the chief task of his later life.

In general, Henry was amazingly ignorant, even of things which ought to have been interesting and easy to him: thus he knew absolutely nothing—this typical Frenchman—of geography, outside the borders of France, or of the resources of those neighbouring states with which he was likely to have such critical relations. In fact he really disliked hard work, and even when most pressed would not give more than two hours a day to public business: his active masterful mind led him to work very fast, though not always soundly; he was cool and clear-sighted, shrewd over the tangles of diplomacy; all, however, by fits and starts; nothing could make him sit quietly in his cabinet; in the ante-chamber or the walks of his garden his favourite friends and counsellors were ever waiting: he would jump up from his seat, and escape from the close room into fresh air, and calling one or another to his side, would walk briskly up and down, discussing the matter in hand, and bringing it promptly to decision. And this impatience of work and etiquette, joined with his promptitude of character and quickness of grasp, caused much despatch of business: for Henry would never defer a matter from one day to another, but always decided it, rightly or wrongly, at any rate, swiftly and sagaciously, on the spot. What a contrast he forms to the staid plodding of his stately grandson,

¹ Palma Cayet, Collection Universelle, lvi. pp. 119, 120.

who never neglected business, and never once in all his long life broke the iron laws of etiquette.

Henry was a true Gascon: lively, thoughtless, boastful, vain: no one could more easily be flattered, specially by women: he liked to hear of his own merits told by some ingenious and pretty mouth¹. Similarly, he enjoyed doing an act of grace: anyone who submitted to him was sure of a ready and gracious pardon². And Sully tells us, though it is perhaps true only of his earlier years, that the King could never easily bring himself to distrust any one³.

Still, if not distrustful or vindictive, he was very decided in his dealings with any whom he saw to be dangerous to the authority of the monarchy: on this point he was more than vigilant, he was severe, even unjust. Above all he was ungrateful: no services could weigh with him, if the captain or statesman seemed likely to help that party of noble independence, or, to speak more correctly, of noble privilege, which looked to Spain. It was often remarked that those who had been most faithful to him went neglected, while men who had been his bitterest enemies, did they but bow the knee before him, were at once taken into high favour. He evidently calculated with cynical coolness that the devotion of his old friends would stand many shocks, while the newly-awakened reverence of his old foes needed to be warmed and strengthened by the sunshine of royal favour: he had also a clear insight into his true position as lord of all parties, and it was naturally distasteful to him to notice the presumption of the Huguenot chieftains; their aristocratic claims offended him, and their sterner moral code formed an unpleasant contrast. We may say that the King's distinct

¹ Cimber et Danjou, Archives Curieuses, 1^{re} Série, xiv. p. 339: 'Se laissoit aisément flatter, et particulièrement lorsqu'on luy parloit de son mérite.'

² See Badoero's report, quoted in Ranke, Franz. Geschichte, ii. p. 64, note: 'é proprio del re perdonare indifferentemente ad ognuno qualsivoglia colpa, mentre la confessi et li domandi il perdono.'

³ Sully, Œcon. Royales, iv. 190 (Ed. Ecluse). I have made sparing use of this work, in considering the character of Henry IV, for it is written from end to end in the spirit of adulation towards Sully himself (for that harsh personage was as vain as could be) and of flattery to the King's memory.

aim was to render the Kingship strong and firmly fixed above all partisan or personal factions; and that whoever seemed to him to have a stubborn back and to wear a proud look was sooner or later brought down to the ground. With this aim in view he did not blush to stoop to artifice, even to falseness. When he made a speech at the opening of the Assembly of Notables at Rouen in 1596, he placed Gabrielle d'Estrées behind the arras to hear him; and afterwards, when she expressed wonder that he had condescended to say 'he was willing to place himself in tutelage in their hands,' he replied with a laugh 'Ventre Saint Gris, it is true: but I interpret my speech with my sword by my side!.' Fatal though it was to any hope of constitutional life in France, this policy, begun by Henry and carried out with emphasis by Richelieu, was the only line of conduct which, as society had formed itself in the Kingdom, could succeed in giving unity and tranquillity to the nation. In carrying out, so far as time allowed, the strict monarchical ideas of his time, in bridling his nobles, in holding down his Parliaments, in doing without the Estates, in creating a firm nucleus of central power, with an Arsenal, a solid little army, and, above all, a mass of bullion safely stored in the treasury, Henry IV fulfilled the true aim and purpose of his life; this is his title to the respect, if not the gratitude, of his people.

Henry IV was remarkable, not only for his want of gratitude, but for the strength and fickleness of his passions: it would almost seem as if his feelings were simply physical, and that neither memory nor fidelity nor shame entered into them at all. He leaves the fair Gabrielle, his all-but wife, with tears and protestations; follows her from point to point, at each halting-place has one more affecting scene, can scarcely tear himself away at last, is broken-hearted till she shall return. Suddenly he hears she is dying,—she is dead: for a week his grief is terrible; and then he begins to listen to those who hint that he is rid of an embarrassment, that his political aims will be easier now: he makes

¹ L'Estoile (Petitot, I. xlvii, p. 185). A facsimile of Henry's draft of this speech is given in Guizot's History of France, III. p. 30.

no enquiries, takes no vengeance; but takes instead a new passion, and forgets her utterly, as utterly as if she had never existed. So is it with all, wife, friend, mistress—all find themselves thrown aside and neglected by this prince of fine emotions. In truth, he lived for excitement; and change and movement count for much in such a life. To this are due his wild delight in the chase, and his brutal game-laws, which remain as a monument to show how little real love and feeling he had for his subjects: to this we owe the account of his furious gambling, the nights of hot play, the heavy losses, which the nation had to pay. Sully, who had to find the money for all these amusements, reckons (and it gives us his point of view) that the King's pleasures cost the nation twelve hundred thousand crowns a year, 'which would have supported full fifteen thousand foot'—he measures France by her fighting power, and aims always at that¹. The King having ordered that this money should be paid out of the financial windfalls of each year,—such as confiscated estates, squeezing of tax-farmers, or, at another time, seizure of contraband coin on the frontier,—persuaded himself that it was no burden at all to the state, and that no man need complain of waste, or ask how the King amused himself.

After all it is not at all clear that the King deserves much credit for anxiety as to the prosperity of his people. Remembering his old hungry days in camp, he could good-naturedly wish that every Frenchman had a fat capon in his pot, though he took little pains to get it for him. His taxation to the very end was as oppressive as ever: to reduce the burdens on his people, to live economically, and lessen the cost of the Court, these are things he never thought of as possible: though he did make government less onerous, and it is fair to say so, by the care he gave to manufactures, in spite of Sully's disapproval, and to agriculture, of which he was really fond; he used at one time to call daily after dinner for Olivier de Serres' great book

¹ So Sully accounts for his distaste for manufactures: 'They are bad, being adverse to the making of good soldiers.'

on tillage¹, and read it thoughtfully for half an hour; he imported plants, notably the mulberry, and watched their growth with unflagging interest.

He also took pleasure in building; and, fortunately for France, was willing to believe that public works, roads, bridges, colleges, strongholds, redounded as much to his honour as the erection of unnecessary palaces. Paris felt his hand: she ceased to be so picturesque and mediævally irregular; her streets grew straighter, cleaner, with better footways, and some care of sanitary matters: as in art, so in building, in his day all became more formal and stiff; men no longer painted or wrote or built as their genius moved them, but as the rules of their art instructed them. We feel that the spirit of the age tends to a hard and regular despotism, better indeed than the hot pandemonium out of which Henry had delivered France, but less instinct with warm life, and passing rapidly into absolutism in government and pedantry in art and literature. Two things in the literature of his day are noteworthy: it is the age of Pastorals; the day in which Guarini's *Pastor Fido* was rendered into every tongue and became the model for a thousand vapid works. The shepherds, the field gods, the nymphs, the damsels, are as little real as the later prettinesses of Watteau. A corrupt age naturally turns to idyllic life, and hopes by contrast to cool the jaded appetites. The other literary phenomenon of the time is the appearance of such works as the piquant and amusing *Satire Ménippée*, which so largely contributed to destroy what there was of earnestness in the struggle of the League. If pastorals indicate moral corruption, satires go with growing despotism; and we may note this as among the indications that the age was ripe for an absolute monarchy.

Wherein then lay the undoubted claim of Henry to our respect, if not to the title of Great? It lay in this; that he was,

¹ *Le Théâtre d'agriculture et mesnage des champs*, published in 1600. Olivier de Serres was a Protestant noble of Languedoc, who after tilling his estates with wonderful success, had described the results and given the theory of his art in this work, the fruit of forty years of industry, attention and thought.

especially before 1598, a bold, courageous, self-reliant man, with great power of control over others: when they urged him not to risk his life by sleeping in a shed, almost unguarded among his troops, he replied loftily, there was no ground for fear—who ever heard of a King dying in a hovel? words which have in them, like ‘Thou carriest Cæsar and his fortunes,’ the ring of true greatness. His figure forms a wonderful contrast to those of the vicious and feeble Valois brothers; his vigour and manliness scattered the petty intrigues and factions which had desolated France. And he was a man of quick decision and action following fast. No business would he put off: he was a man of to-day; if, like his great-grandson Vendôme, he was sometimes fond of being lazy, and of letting troubles gather round him, he was also, like that brilliant general, fond of suddenly scattering the difficulties which he himself had helped to create, and, as with a flash of lightning, clearing away the gloom. Nor is it small praise that with all this struggling, this herculean task of reducing chaos to order, he did not grow embittered; he was never enough in earnest to be angry, never enough touched with feeling to be vindictive: if he showed no gratitude, he showed no malice: he was always ready to pardon on submission: he was at least good-natured, if not good-hearted. His true title to respect lies, it must be confessed, in his autocratic temper, in his determination to be a true and free King. He saw what was wanted for France—a real master, and he knew he was strong enough to be that. He had in his hands the whole destinies of his country; and in the main swayed them for her good. He could declare war, make treaties, make peace, of his own will: could appoint all his officers and ministers and remove them, none having a right to interfere or even to murmur: he could issue or revoke edicts at pleasure; could, in fact, decree such taxation as he wanted almost without check; and he was in all cases the final court of appeal and fount of justice in matters of law. In a word he held in his own hands all the legal, the legislative, and the executive authority of the realm. France rejoiced to feel his strong rule

and curb after the waste and weariness of the Civil Wars: the cities lifted up their heads, the countryfolk once more tilled the ground with hopefulness.

Round him the King grouped a strange company of ministers: Sully,—whom all hated and feared, the harsh unyielding master of the Arsenal, the terror of all tax-farmers, the decided opponent of the Spanish and Catholic line of policy, the man whom Henry trusted most,—jostled up against Villeroy, of old the creature of Catherine dei Medici, afterwards a warm partisan of the Guises, and Henry's active foe, now apparently his much-trusted minister, head of the pro-Spanish party in the King's counsels. Sillery, who rose from the magistracy, was a diplomatist, and one of those who managed the divorce of Margaret and the marriage with the Florentine Mary dei Medici. Another was Jeannin, president of the Parliament, a great lawyer and pupil of Cujas, who had raised himself by real merit from the bourgeoisie; he also had been a Leaguer, but came over frankly and promptly to the King's side, distinguishing himself afterwards as a diplomatist; he worked harmoniously with Sully, and negotiated that treaty of 1609 which assured the practical independence of the United Provinces. These four may be said to have formed the King's Cabinet, in which Sully and Villeroy represented the opposite poles of opinion and policy. Henry seemed to take pleasure in listening to both, and in allowing his deliberations, if not his acts, to have perpetual swing between them.

Behind these lay the darker influences of the Queen and of the reigning mistress. The Court became a hotbed for the intrigues of politicians and gallants; all seemed to be entangled together: the King and Sully leant distinctly towards a Protestant policy abroad, but were ever countermined by Mary dei Medici and her Concinis, with Villeroy and all her Florentine favourites at her back, who pulled heartily in the direction of Spain, and seemed determined, whether the King liked it or not, to force on a Spanish alliance, with double marriages and with a relapse into the old intolerant troubles. The Court itself

was imbued with Spanish ideas, and became what Paris had been in the days of the League; the mere outside of fashion showed it; even the King himself wore the black costume we see so often in the portraits of Philip II and his courtiers; he set himself also to study Castilian speech and manners; his preceptor Perez brought into vogue a taste for Spanish literature. The age of Ronsard, who expressed the easy nonchalance and the satiric humour of Henry's earlier days, gave place to the prim literary proprieties of Malherbe, to dreary heroic romances, and to poems false in sentiment and unnatural in expression.

Spain herself, weak as she was and in feebler hands after 1598¹, yet strained every nerve to thwart the King's more liberal policy. She encouraged the opposition of the Duke of Savoy, intriguing also with the Pope, hoping to stop the settlement of the differences between the Duke and Henry; kept up communications with the still disaffected nobles; had her agents on the frontiers of France, at Metz, at Marseilles, at Bayonne; bore herself still with warlike and threatening aspect on the northern border; and treated the French ambassador at Madrid with haughty and galling contempt. The contradiction, which runs throughout the King's reign, became too great to continue; the tension strained, until at last it gave way, and, at the moment when Henry had completely given himself up to Sully's views, and the Spanish party seemed on the verge of a great defeat, the sudden stroke of the assassin's dagger brought the King's life to a terrible close.

Though Henry had skilfully and patiently overcome so much opposition, and had beaten down one foe after another, still in 1598 his throne was very far from being an easy one, or his country tranquil and content. The greater nobles, whether Protestants, like the Duke of Bouillon, or of the middle party, like the two Birons, or of the old Leaguer party, like the Duke of Epemon, were all alike disaffected and eager for an opportunity of asserting their feudal independence: they would still

¹ Date of the death of Philip II.

need much bridling and a firm hand. Nor were the nobles the only dark cloud of difficulty. The country was in a frightful state: the finances ruin-stricken; France, as Henry himself says, was 'open on every side; her strong points lay unfortified, and devoid of munition of war; her navy was contemptible, her provinces desolate, and even in some part reduced to desert; all subordination was gone; law was no more respected, brigandage prevailed; the throne was tottering.' Only two years before this time, at the siege of Arras, the King had been so miserably hard pressed that, as he says, he had scarce a horse to ride, or a complete suit of armour to wear; 'My shirts are in rags,' he adds, 'my pourpoints out at elbows, my kettle is often empty, and I must go beg a dinner where I may'.¹ And Bongars, writing of the state of the country and of the desolation caused by the civil wars, says that the highroads were all so overgrown with thorns and brambles that it was hard to tell where they had been.² Wolves had grown bold and fierce, and had multiplied enormously³; the misery of the people, as even Sully tells us, had become excessive; their taxes were many years in arrear, so that the King had thought it well in 1598 to forgive their debts for 1594 and 1595⁴, in hopes that so the poor folk might be encouraged to make an effort to pay up the rest.

This was a part of the attempt to reduce the finances to order, which occupied some of the attention of the King, and almost all that of Sully, during these years. The King's part in it was, as might be expected, almost unimportant; he may be said to have done his share, when he gave quiet to the realm and withstood the temptations to war which crowded on him, and when he encouraged, as best he could, the progress of agriculture and manufacture. But Sully's work was very different: a man of narrow intellect, unbounded self-esteem, rigid

¹ *Économies Royales* (Petitot, II. ii. p. 416).

² Bongars' *Epist.* lxxv. ad *Camerarium*.

³ Isambert, *Anciennes lois françaises*, xv. (Juin 1601) p. 248.

⁴ Sully, *Céc. Roy.* (Petitot, II. iii. p. 226) iii. p. 224.

temper, harsh manners, he was admirably fitted by nature and education for the work he undertook. This was not the introduction of a sound system of finance, nor an attempt to give play to any true economic principles, nor to find means whereby to solace the burdened state, but the reduction to order of the accounts¹, by organising them, as he might have organised an army, above all, by setting his foot sharply down on all speculators, all dishonest tax-farmers, all holders of false government securities; by recovering also alienated portions of the royal domains he sought to lessen the burden on the King's purse, while he made it certain that the taxes did not stay, as heretofore, in the tax-gatherers' pocket. It is said that when Sully took this matter in hand not half of the nominal income arising from taxes found its way into the treasury. By strict dealing, and by peaceful secure times, and the rapid increase of the national wealth, Sully brought about not only an equilibrium between incomings and outgoings, but reformed the Arsenal, set on foot a small but effective army, did much at public works, and, after all, laid by in the Louvre a large sum of money, imitating therein, and more successfully, the policy of Sixtus V.², in order that his royal master might have it in his power at any decisive moment to throw the weight of a great treasure into the balance. He saw that from the days of Brennus downwards sword and treasure together have been found to outweigh all opposition.

At the beginning of this sixteenth century Louis XII had been content with an income of about two million³ crowns yearly: under the thriftless rule of Francis I five millions had been pressed from the people: Henry II had six millions and a half, and even with that increase could not do without loans: since his day things had got worse and worse; the mismanagement and confusion daily greater, the productive power of the country

¹ He presented to the King five balance-sheets of a kind; but his accounts rarely balanced.

² L. von Ranke, *Päpste*, iv. § 7.

³ The crown may be reckoned at 2½ livres.

daily less. Under Henry III, with an income of nine millions, there was a regular yearly deficit, and very heavy debt incurred. The taxes were higher than men could bear; and still worse, the plundering of them was terrible. Sully tells us that in 1596 only thirteen millions of livres reached the treasury, while the actual taxation amounted to no less than one hundred and fifty millions. Henry IV, on coming to the throne in 1589, found himself already deeply embarrassed, with huge debts to meet, and an ever failing treasury. He had too to provide large sums with which to buy off the malcontent nobles, and to pay and dismiss the clamorous Swiss and German mercenaries.

What could be done to abate so great an evil, which daily threatened to make all government impossible? Du Plessis Mornay tried strenuously and honestly, though unsuccessfully, to make an equilibrium: a Council of Finance was established, which only floundered deeper and deeper in hopeless confusion; it was proposed that the Three Estates should be convoked, but Henry shrank intuitively from a national Council, and called together in its stead an Assembly of Notables, nominees of the Crown not representatives of the people. These royal nominees met at Rouen in 1596, and tried their best. They found a funded debt of two hundred million of francs, a yearly income of ten, a yearly deficit of six millions. What could they advise? War was going on, the country ravaged and restless. They made far-reaching and important proposals; it is to be noticed that they made no attempt to couple therewith any constitutional suggestions, or to purchase with the taxation any recognition of the liberties of the subject. Their schemes came to naught, and the ship of state seemed to be slowly settling down; at this worst moment, however, she was already in sight of land, within reach of harbour; the storms of the century were almost over; in still water a cunning hand would detect and close her leaks. It was at this critical moment that 'the great financier of the age,' Rosny, whom we usually call by his later¹

¹ Created Duke of Sully in Feb. 1606.

name of Sully, took the command of finance, and steered the state safely through its perils

Rosny had risen at the Court of Henry IV by ready skill, by an indomitable willingness for work, by the favour of Gabrielle, who pitted him against her enemy Sancy¹, still more, by his amazing gifts of organisation, and general probity of character. His very harshness stood him in good stead: he was a man who rather liked to be hated, for vanity sucks her honey even from poisonous flowers; and no thought of the feelings of others stood for a moment between him and the work he undertook. His pride gave backbone to his vanity, which was great; he thoroughly appreciated his dignity as a great noble of France, while he equally enjoyed the feeling of power and the sense of his personal abilities and worth, which he naturally overrated². Placed at the head of the finances in 1597, he became at once Dictator in his own department, and used great power to very happy results. His enemies might cabal against him, and sneer at his enormous wealth, and hint that he who was so inflexible to others had himself hands not too clean³, but they were unable to shake him, or undo the great work of his life. He continued to serve his King and his country faithfully: though we need not echo all the tune his trumpet blows for him throughout the 'Royal Economies,' yet we must see that he was a great minister while Henry lived; even after his master's death he retained for many years the

¹ Nicolas Harlay de Sancy was one of the most brilliant and successful ministers of the age. Henry IV sent him as ambassador to England and Germany. He was violently opposed to Gabrielle's marriage-project.

² Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, xxii. p. 24 (ed. 1839), throws doubt even on his probity: 'While the secretaries of Sully (who are supposed to address the Economies to their master) repeat to him in a thousand different ways that he is the ablest and most virtuous of men, their tale often rouses our suspicions both as to the clearness of his mind's view, and as to his perfect uprightness.'

³ Sully was very rich before he undertook the finances of France; he had made a 'good' marriage had known how to order his affairs, had engaged in successful speculations. He doubtless used his knowledge and position to enrich himself still farther; but there is no proof that he ever robbed his master.

care of the woods and artillery, though the finances were no longer in his hands.

The problem he had to face was the usual one: How can a financial equilibrium be established? How can money be found to pay the interest on the huge debt of the country, and to carry on the King's government?

There are more ways than one of righting a country's finances. The hardest and best is that of stern and careful diminution of outgoings, by insisting that the expenditure must come down to the level of the income. Or, there is that of increasing the income, with new taxes and cunningly-devised burdens; or, most vicious and easiest plan of the three, that of contracting loans, and leaving to posterity the burden of repaying them. Also, the thing may be done in part or in whole by applying sounder rules of economic science, and by thus developing the resources of a country, so as to make a larger income arise from an unchanged system of imposts; much may be sometimes achieved by improved systems of levying and gathering taxes, so as to render the incidence more equal, and the percentages of the tax-gatherers less wasteful.

Now at this time the first of these remedies was impossible, not only because Henry IV showed no taste for economy in his private life, but also because as France then stood a large expenditure was seen to be inevitable both to repair the waste and neglect of the half century past, and to give the Crown a secure standing in the midst of discontented nobles at home and watchful enemies abroad. A lower expenditure, then, could hardly be expected; nor would the expedient of fresh loans, so easy at first, succeed in the long run: the debts on the State were already far larger than was wholesome, and fresh borrowing must be avoided if possible. It seemed too as if little could be done by new taxation, where the old taxes had remained for years unpaid from an utter inability to pay. Nor, again, did King or minister know anything at that day,—and who did?—of the right laws of economic science, nor perhaps could they have applied them, had they known them.

Now Sully, great financier as he has been called, was not at all a far-seeing or philosophic statesman, but rather a man who took what instruments and processes were ready to his hand; and if one failed, as more than one did, then he would try another. Consequently we have from him no reformed system of finance, nor any statement of principles of economic science, but only a great readiness of expedient, and sternness in dealing with men, and a wholesome desire to get all accounts down on paper, and a wish to see them balance at the end, though that triumph of finance was often denied him. Crying evils remained untouched: thus the odious gabelle of salt stood its ground, and indeed survived till the Revolution; it was a tax of the most absurd and oppressive nature, fixing in arbitrary fashion the amount of salt each householder must buy, and compelling him to buy it, while it forbade him, at the same time, to part with it if he did not want it; thus it was an irritating and wasteful impost¹. Consequently also, the basis of true fiscal reform was never laid; the 'taille'², which ought to have fallen on real property, as was seen just before the Revolution by Neckar and other financiers, was levied on persons and personal property, so as to relieve the landlord at the expense of labour. It is curious and significant that, while Dauphiny at this time struggled hard, but in vain, to get the taille shifted from personal to real property, a boon so needful for a poor and hilly country, Languedoc, her wealthy neighbour, was actually under the other system, and had her taxation based on real property, a circumstance which, to a large extent, secured her a steady prosperity even in the worst times. Instead of any such wholesome and general relief to the labourer, in some places harsh laws were enforced against him:

¹ The prisons of Normandy were full of wretched creatures unable to pay this odious tax: they perished there in crowds; a hundred and twenty dead bodies were taken out on one day. La Vallée, *Histoire des Français*, iii. 57, note 1.

² The *taille*, as it was called, or taxation on real and personal property, is the later Latin *talea* or *tallagium*, so named from the *talea* or *tally* of wood on which the amount of tax, real or personal, due from each man was scored with a knife; L. Lat. *taliare*, Fr. *tailler*, to cut. See Littré and Brachet, s. v. *tailler*.

thus, in Paris herself a 'Statute of Labourers' was issued by the Provost, regulating the rate of wages, and intended to check servants who were beginning to 'monopolise' together,—an early trades-union,—while a decree came out ordering what clothes these workpeople might or might not wear¹. Thus, all kinds of curious and offensive, and even noxious, usages prevailed; and there was no attempt to bring them into order.

What Sully, thus indifferent to principles, actually did was this;—he first considered whether any fresh sources of income could be found; such was the 'Pancarte': a sou on the livre or pound-weight on all necessities of life sold in towns; this vexatious tax failed to produce much, and was presently withdrawn, while in its place a heavy addition was made to the odious gabelle on salt, to the taille, and to the wine and spirit duties. Next, he tried to reduce the 'rentes,' or interests payable on loans; but here the burgher-class stood out against him, and showing its teeth, stopped the attempt from going further. Sully had not understood that the interest on a loan can only be safely reduced by Government when it is strong enough to offer, as an alternative, the repayment of the capital lent, which is equivalent to saying, we have borrowed from you at five per centum and now our credit is so good that we can borrow where we will at four per centum; you must therefore either be content with four per centum or we will repay you what you originally lent us.

Sully also established (and this time the resistance though strenuous was short) a new tax on official incomes, whether judicial or financial, named the Paulette, after its inventor.² This, a tax of one-sixtieth, was levied on the condition that the offices should henceforward be hereditary. It was an important constitutional step, for it crystallised the bureaucracy of France, and made it a caste; it gave it solidity over against the old

¹ Martin, *Histoire de France*, x. p. 451, note 2.

² First imposed in 1596 by the Notables at Rouen, and abolished by Sully in 1602.

³ Introduced in 1604, on the advice of Ch. Paulet, Secretary of the Parliament of Paris.

nobility of birth or the brilliant claims of the sword, or the later pretensions of wealth; it added one more link to that terrible chain of privilege which weighed so heavily on France till 1789: on the other hand, it was useful as a counterpoise, and as a means by which the monarchy might get its work done without being too much beholden to the older aristocracy. The Paulette became the most popular of taxes, when it was found that it instantly raised the market-price of offices to nearly double their old worth; it was therefore successful, for it both raised money and helped to centralise the governing power of the country.

But these were only expedients. The true success of Sully sprang from his organising power, his thrifty management, his determination to get his money's worth, above all from his swift and terrible punishment of speculators, and destruction of all those leeches, large and small, who sucked the life-blood of the people¹. He thus stopped the great leaks and runs, he got rid of thieves, did away with many exemptions, reduced the public debt by looking into the titles of the holders, and, in return for heavy taxes, gave to France efficient government and security.

It was wonderful to see how the country answered to his call: how his industrious care embraced almost all things which went to make up the public wealth: and, where Sully failed through narrowness of view, as when he would have even discouraged manufactures, because of their fancied interference with the breed of soldiers, the King's wider and keener sympathies set things in their right path again. From Sully comes the well-known apophthegm 'The two breasts of France are the plough and the cow'; tillage and pasturage he regarded as the true sources of wealth, and disliked all others. But, fortunately for France, Henry IV took a broader view, and in spite of a shoal of sumptuary edicts, tending to hamper trade and production, he still steadily encouraged manufactures. To

¹ The King in his quaint way once told one of his Intendants of Finance that there was not one of his company but had cost him ten thousand crowns for every tooth in his head.

the King it is that France owes her great textile industry, that of silk: from him came that great edict, which, by allowing the exportation of grain, encouraged production, and for a while delivered the country from dread of famine.

Edicts poured forth on every subject: the rivers, lakes, marshes; the woods, forests, and woodless plains; the different branches of cultivation; the roads and canals, the towns and villages, all received salutary attention: private enterprise was encouraged, while public money was freely spent on public works. Help was given to establish manufactories, and gentlemen were encouraged to undertake them: silk, crystals, glass, cloth of gold, lace work, tapestry, linen, steel, exercised the fine hands and delicate intelligence of the French artist and artisan: 'it would seem,' says Palma Cayet, 'as if France desired to claim the just possession of all arts and inventions, for she elaborates them all. And if one would consider her beside foreign nations we shall see that the French have always been the first authors of them; but she has this fault—she lacks persistence'.

And the country responded readily: as after a sore pestilence it has been noticed that mankind instinctively become more prolific, as though straining to fill up the blanks caused by the fatal scourge—so now, after that the fields had long been untilled and fallow, while no man cared to build houses, or buy furniture, or wear good clothes, or spend on ornament, France suddenly woke to a sense of delight in restoring what had been lost; a fresh and wholesome glow of activity seemed to pass through all her limbs; the peasant turned gladly to his spade, the builder to his trowel, the weaver to his cloth: the joy of toil for its own sake, the sense of security, the sure hope of profit, the new taste of comfort, the delight of artistic harmony, all were felt at once: the country for years blessed the name of the great minister who had so beneficently roused her from her lethargy.

¹ Palma Cayet, *Chronique Septennaire* (Collection Michaud, I. xii. 2. p. 259).

France not only thus recovered strength at home, but put forth new shoots in far-off lands: in spite of Sully's narrow spirit, which would have discouraged all foreign enterprise, Henry IV turned his attention to colonial matters, and warmly seconded the efforts of those who sought to create a New France on the North American Continent. It is in these years that the French colonies in Canada began to be formed: De Monts and Champlain, gentlemen of Saintonge, in the years between 1604 and 1608 colonised the peninsula of Acadia and Quebec, districts still peopled by the descendants of these first settlers, and tinged with their national character, though they have long ceased to form part of the French dominions. And at the very end of his reign, amid more exciting and nearer subjects which crowded on the King's attention, he was engaged in organising a great open company to trade in the far West. It was not the fault of Henry IV that no great colonial success has ever fallen to the lot of France, or that associations capable of rivalling the Dutch and English India Companies have not been found to flourish with her. The genius of France has ever preferred to exercise her wings on other flights.

Henry IV himself has partly provided us with the means of understanding the immense change in the well-being of his country effected between 1598 and the end of his reign. In 1609 he called on Sully for a complete report¹ on the state of the realm, and on the improvements still to be made. The King desired to stand as it were on the height to which he had raised his country, to survey her broad plains and rich river-courses, her happy cities teeming with industry, her strength and youthful smiles. The report was never finished: for the King's death arrested it, and his schemes for the well-being of the nation were stayed: but there is a great pleasure in thinking that the last months of his reign were not merely occupied by preparations for war, nor by dreams of new European political

¹ *Économies Royales* (Petitot, II. viii. chapters i, ii).

combinations, but by fruitful plans for rendering France supreme in civilised arts and knowledge, and for turning her new prosperity to the best uses. The impulse he had given to his country carried her on through many difficulties, through waste and evil counsels, even through the trials of a rage for glory: unfortunately, the tendencies towards absolute rule, fostered by the King's temper and that of his minister, grew stronger with the strength of the country; until under Louis XIV, the true successor of Henry IV, we see the despotic monarchy in a blaze of glory, splendidly guiding the dazzled country through great European efforts towards her eventual fall.

CHAPTER II.

FRANCE UNDER HENRY IV. A.D. 1598-1610.

THE best part of the history of these twelve years (1598-1610) has been touched on already. At home France shows a happier face, though her people are still in wretched plight; the foreign dealings and policy of the King are not so satisfactory. It must ever be doubtful how far he understood, or meant to act on, the 'political romance' so minutely described in the 'Royal Economies': his murder draws an impenetrable veil over one great 'might-have-been' of history. And failing that, there is not much of true interest in the period. It is even hard to say what for several years was the King's policy. If Sully be right, he must throughout have been, secretly or openly, hostile to Spain: yet the circumstances of his life, and the personages surrounding him, often combine to make us suspect that he himself for a long time had no very marked principles of policy. It may be that the difficulties of his position at home, face to face with disaffected nobles, who were often, if not always, allied with Spain, made it prudent for him to conceal the real bent of his political aims.

Still, of the main tendency of these aims, as they were guided by Sully, there can be no question.

He would group all the Protestant powers of Europe round him, including even the Republic of Venice, which, in its anger with the Pope, seemed likely to throw off obedience to the Papal See; and by upholding the weak, and allying himself

with the strong, to countervail the pride and ambition of Austria and Spain: this was the known and established policy of the French Crown; and in the main lines of this policy things went till the Austrian alliance in the reign of Louis XV brought all to confusion and contempt. Thus Henry busied himself, above all, with England: conferring first with Elizabeth and then with King James,—and he soon found the difference between the woman who was a man, and the man who was a woman: then he took pains, with scarcely an attempt at secrecy, that the Dutch under Maurice Prince of Orange should not faint in their struggle and be crushed; he sent Bongars, the Calvinist historian¹, to the Landgrave of Hesse, the Rhine-Princes, and other Calvinistic Germans, and warmly encouraged their suspicions against the Catholic and High Dutch Princes of Austria and Bavaria: he allied himself with the League of the Swiss, with the staunch city of Geneva, which lay in such peril from Savoy, and above all with the 'Graubünden,' the Leagues of the Grisons, which secured him an entrance into Italy, close to the Venetian frontier, by which he might outflank the Spaniards on the Upper Po, and get round the gigantic barrier of the Alps: he kept up friendship with the Lutheran Northern powers, Denmark and Sweden, hoping to allay their ancient jealousies, and bring them to content and harmony. Nor did he forget the old friend of the Most Christian King, the Turk; he renewed the threads of friendship with the Sultan, and obtained for France a monopoly of trade in the East².

Yet the King was not unmindful of his middle position. While on the one hand, the old Spanish intolerance, however weakened, still survived; and, on the other, the Huguenot fanaticism and republicanism, aristocratic or democratic, still smouldered, ever threatening to be fanned into flame, Henry also followed his old policy, that of the 'Politique' Catholics,

¹ Editor of the collection of historians on the Crusades, the well-known 'Gesta Dei per Francos.'

² La Vallée, *Essai sur les relations de la France avec l'Orient*, Revue Indépendante, 25 Nov. 1843.

with its subordination of theology to politics, its stem-principle of toleration, its sarcastic indifference.

In his Court the Spanish party was very strong, and looked with malign jealousy on the power exercised over the King by 'the charming Gabrielle', who was known to be straining every nerve to get Henry divorced from his dissolute spouse Margaret of Valois, in order that she might succeed in her place. Were she successful, the Spanish party believed that the King would openly declare himself head of the anti-Spanish side in Europe: were she out of the way, they thought they could bring about his marriage with Mary dei Medici, who would, they knew, be their warm friend and partisan. At Whitsuntide it was the custom in France to confess and communicate: and etiquette insisted that the King should separate himself from his mistress, that they might both perform these duties before meeting again. So, at the Whitsuntide of 1599, sorely against her will, the Duchess of Beaufort (for that was now her title) went to Paris into a kind of retreat at the house of Zamet, the King's money-lender and complaisant friend. There, whether by poison, or from effects of the journey and emotions and apprehensions of evil, the poor thing sickened at once and miserably died. The King was soon consoled for his loss; marriage-negotiations, which turned chiefly on the dowry, went on merrily at Florence: the Spanish party breathed again, and hoped ere long to bring things round as they would, to get back the Jesuits into France, and to put an end to any help to the insurgent Provinces.

The country was still in great confusion, and the discontent of the nobles brooded, threatening tempest; those of the old Politique-party, Montmorency, Biron, and others, who deemed themselves neglected, were specially sullen: the Duke of Savoy came into France to negotiate as to the unsettled question of Saluzzo, which Henry claimed as being of old a fief of Dauphiny, and the ownership of which had been left unsettled at the Peace of Vervins. The Duke claimed (as the price for his friendship, which he deemed essential to the King if he would restore the

influence of France in Italy) not only Saluzzo¹, but also the right to recover Geneva and take a long-coveted vengeance on her. But Henry cared little for Italian politics, and was not thinking of campaigns across the Alps, so that the Duke's bait was not taken, and Geneva was saved. On the other hand, the King got the Duke to sign an agreement that in three months' time he would cede either Saluzzo, or the districts of Bresse and Bugey on the right bank of the Rhone between Geneva and Lyons: after which the Duke went back to his States.

He had seen the unsettled condition of France, and was told that the moment the King's back was turned, the nobles upheld by Spain would rise in revolt: so he determined, though Sully with some emphasis had shown him the King's Arsenal, to cede neither one district nor other, believing that Henry would not venture on the risks of war. He secured the friendship of Biron, who seemed to him the most important of the discontented, by promising him his third daughter in marriage: it would have been a great alliance for that boastful noble; for beside getting a large dower, he would have become cousin of the Emperor, and nephew of the King of Spain. In return Biron was to set up the standard of princely independence, and by a new War of the Public Weal to restore to each great lord the power his forefathers had enjoyed or claimed. The intrigue embraced the Count of Auvergne², the Constable Montmorency, the Duke of Montpensier and others: it is said that the outline of it was communicated to the malcontent Huguenots, though they had the good sense and patriotism to stand aloof³. This perhaps, as well as the ridicule with which the King and Cardinal du Perron had contrived to cover the noblest man of the time, the aged Du Plessis Mornay, by a conference in which he was convicted—not of a false or foolish book,—but of

¹ To be held however as a fief of the French crown.

² Charles of Valois, natural son of Charles IX; Henry IV used to nickname him 'the prodigal son.'

³ D'Aubigné, *Hist. Univ. L. V. c. xiii. p. 671, sqq.*

half-a-dozen careless or incomplete quotations, made Henry think it time to appease the Huguenots again: as in the civil wars a defeat used to bring them good terms, so now while the King gave the Catholics the keen pleasure of a polemical triumph, he at last carried out the stipulations of the Edict of Nantes, and made the position of the Protestants in France secure.

All went well for Henry's plans: the Huguenots were quiet, the arsenal and finance under the sagacious management of Sully, ready at a moment's notice, when news came of the great victory of Prince Maurice at Nieupoort. With a mixed force of Dutch, English, Germans, and French he had fallen on the Spaniards and had destroyed their whole army; it was the greatest blow that Protestantism had struck for fifty years¹. Spain was completely crippled, there was nothing to fear from her; and Henry, seeing that the moment was good, declared war on the Duke of Savoy.

Sully had already transported his war materials to Lyons, and was prepared to prove the efficiency of his new guns, and the force of his new system of artillery. War was at once carried across the frontier: the Duke was in fact surprised. Biron, traitor though he was, in spite of himself mastered Bresse; Lesdiguières easily took the town of Montmélian, the key of Savoy, and beleaguered its citadel; Chambéry, the capital, surrendered to the King at once. Sully, keenly watching over his much-cherished artillery, seemed by his stern aspect to scare away all treason and all disaffection. France remained tranquil; the castle of Montmélian, fondly deemed impregnable, fell before siege-guns such as had never before been used; and the Duke of Savoy, seeing himself beaten, sued for peace. A treaty was signed (17 January, 1601) by which he retained Saluzzo, ceding in exchange for it Bresse and Bugey, Valromey and Gex; the very terms that he had slighted before he was prostrate were now wisely granted him unchanged. Here again

¹ Michelet, *Henri IV et Richelieu* (xi. p. 66, ed. 1857).

moderation was wisdom. Saluzzo, across the Alps, in the upland country south of Turin and north of Nice, was outside the true political boundaries of France, and could only have been a source of trouble in time to come: but Bresse and Bugey fill up the angle between the Saone and the Rhone, connecting Dauphiny with the Duchy of Burgundy, laying the foundations for the later acquisition of Franche-Comté, assuring the all-important safety of Lyons, and,—the point on which Henry doubtless laid most stress,—securing safe communications with Switzerland through Geneva.

While the war was going on, the Papal divorce from Margaret of Valois had come in, and the King had completed the negotiations for his marriage with Mary dei Medici; she with great pomp had come to Lyons, where he met her. In passing through Avignon she had already showed clearly which side she would take in the politics of the day: she let the Papal authorities there know that hers would be the Spanish not the Protestant policy. Yet it is one of the singular contradictions of the age—that, while she was coming to be the nucleus of the Spanish party at the French Court, her dower was actually paying for the Savoy campaign, a campaign really directed against Spanish influence, and largely instrumental in securing the independence of the 'Rome of Calvinism,' Geneva. Perhaps the worst result of this marriage was that it brought the King into closer connexion with Italian politics; and led him, when umpire between his old friends the Venetians, and his new friend, the Papacy, to show his ingratitude on a larger scale than usual. Instead of supporting the Republic, which first of European states had hastened to recognise him in 1589, he, as arbiter (in 1606), decided in favour of Paul V, against his friends, and against the very principle on which his own throne rested, the principle that the sovereign authority is derived from God, and that the Papacy has no power over it. Yet now by his decision the right of jurisdiction over spiritual persons claimed by the Pope, to the detriment of the independence of the Republic, was, with some thin varnish over it, fully con-

ceded; though the Venetians saved their honour, the substantial victory, thanks to Henry, lay with Paul V¹.

The marriage with Mary dei Medici brought the King some sons² to secure the succession, the thing he had been most anxious for; it brought little else. Henry scarcely concealed his dislike for his fat, heavy spouse, with her cold ways, her almost Spanish gravity, her severity against the loose life which had been the rule of the Court hitherto. She was more than suspected of taking willing part in those political intrigues which fill up the rest of the reign.

The end of the war with Savoy mortified and disappointed the Duke of Biron: all his schemes were paralysed, and had he been a wiser man, he would have promptly returned to the King, thereby winning his ready pardon, and once more enjoying his favour. Henry would have been sure to treat him well after seeing him in the ranks of his opponents. Biron, however, was angry, offended, proud, ambitious: he would be the Bourbon of another generation, would make himself independent, lead the nobles of France to their rights, and resting on Spain and Savoy, bring down the royal power. The King's captivity, even his death and that of the Dauphin, were whispered. Biron, representing the old royalist moderates, should move one side of the country: the Duke of Bouillon, as head of the Huguenots, should take up a hostile position on the northern frontier, at Sedan: it was proposed by them to return to their old political idea, an aristocratic republic, with the Count Palatine as Protector. The King, to rid himself of Biron for a while, and to give him a chance of thinking of other things, sent him (in 1601) as ambassador to Queen Elizabeth. His haughty temper and the disorderly behaviour of his followers, roused the hot spirit of the Londoners. The Queen herself, showing him the Tower of London with its ghastly garniture of heads of traitors, the last of the grim company being that of Essex, took occasion to give him a broad hint: Essex, she said, had perished as a

¹ L. von Ranke, *Päpste*, Bk vi. § 12.

² Louis the Dauphin (afterwards Louis XIII) was born 27 Sept. 1601.

rebel;—and she added ‘if my brother would believe my words, there should heads fall in Paris as well as in London¹.’ But Biron would not listen to any hint: he miscalculated his own strength, and misread the King’s temper. When Henry had all the threads of the plot in his hands, he sent for the Duke, and pressed him once and again to confess and receive the royal pardon: Biron was stubborn and harsh; he knew not how much the King knew, and kept a cold silence. Then after several warnings, and very reluctantly², the King ordered his arrest. He was taken, tried, found guilty on the plainest evidence, and, to his own immense astonishment, forthwith beheaded: to the last he could not believe that Henry would strike down his former comrade, the man whose sword for his sake had so often leapt from its scabbard in those old happy days of trouble and wild fighting. It was the first great instance of that royal repression of the prouder nobles which becomes the recognised policy under Richelieu, and which can be traced, in milder forms, because more severe ones were not needed, throughout the reign of Louis XIV.

Behind Biron were ‘the prodigal son,’ the Count of Auvergne, and the Duke of Bouillon: Auvergne was pardoned; two years later, being detected in a political intrigue with Henriette of Entragues, his sister, eager to avenge herself on the King, who had basely deceived and ruined her, he was condemned to life-long prison. The Entragues plot was a sore blow to the King’s reputation: it brought to light the scandals of his inner life; he felt it bitterly himself. ‘Whenever,’ says the Spanish Ambassador, ‘the King spoke to me of the matter, he turned pale, and seemed himself to be the culprit,’ as indeed he was. The Count of Auvergne, Henriette’s brother, was banished; Henriette herself—the King could do no less—was freely par-

¹ L’Estoile, Supplément (Petitot, I. xlvii. p. 323).

² We can see from the *Vie et Mort du Marshal de Biron* (Archives Curieuses, xiv. p. 107) how many chances the King gave him. It is probable that, but for the Dauphin, Henry would have pardoned him. Archives Curieuses, xiv. p. 115.

doned. There remained Bouillon: he, seeing that the King was quite in earnest, lost heart, and fled into Germany: and thus ended the alarming conspiracy of 1602. Behind the whole, but safe, was the Queen herself, who helped the rebels where she could, and tried to protect them when detected: she was attached to Spain, and also deeply mortified by the King’s neglect of her and his shameless infidelities. She surrounded herself with intriguing shifty Italians, such as Concini, a Florentine adventurer, and his wife Leonora Galigai, the Queen’s chamber-woman.

They pushed the King well-nigh to desperation: and though, to satisfy the Catholics, he shewed himself very devout and openly attentive to all ceremonies and duties, while he not only recalled the Jesuits, but took one of them, that supple courtier, Father Cotton, as his Confessor¹, still from this time he seems to have followed the anti-Spanish policy more steadily than before. It is one of the many contradictions of his reign. With Sully by his side he often paced up and down the great Arsenal, now teeming with efficient and terrible engines of war, or looked at the accounts of his ever-growing treasure, and felt comforted by a sense of strength and by ‘the ingredients and drugs,’ as Sully called them, ‘suitable for the cure of the worst maladies of the State.’

Solaced hereby Henry resolutely set himself to reduce the kingdom to order. The North and the South were still heaving and threatening: he first (1605) went down into the South, and ‘shortened,’ as he would call it, some of his troublesome subjects; in the Limousin ‘some ten or twelve heads

¹ This was in 1603; and there came out an Epigram on it:—

‘Autant que le Roy fait de pas,
Le père Cotton l’accompagne;
Mais le bon Roy ne songe pas
Que le bon Coton vient d’Espagne.’

L’Estoile, Supplément (Petitot, I. xlvii. p. 420). Cotton, a soft and supple preacher, is recorded to have preached before the King, and, to the astonishment of all, to have prefixed to the name of Calvin the title of Monsieur.

flew,' says Sully¹. Languedoc and Provence also felt his hand; down went castles and strongholds; he remembered them well of old and their use, and the turbulent hot-blooded nobles of the South bowed their necks to the yoke. He then summoned Bouillon to court; the Duke refused to come, and made as though he would stand at bay at Sedan his capital, calling on the Huguenots in a fiery manifesto, and gathering what strength he could. But Henry marched on Sedan; the Duke's heart once more failed him, and he again fled to Germany. The King contented himself with garrisoning the strong frontier town, and shewed no rancour towards his rebellious friend. The chief men thus quelled, Henry now followed the wise policy of placing a royal officer by the side of each governor of a province, to look after him and keep him in check; while all the important cities and strongholds were commanded by some trustworthy soldier, who would not be likely to play the King false².

The remainder of his life was a time of complete quiet at home, during which he and Sully strenuously added to the nation's fighting power, and watched for the time when they might interfere in the complications now rapidly covering the face of Europe. In the tranquillity of these years we may calmly consider the historic problem of the Christian Republic. French historians are much divided respecting it, wishing to give credit to so splendid a conception of the international position of France, for she is the central figure round which all the rest are therein grouped; while their historic sense and judgment compel them to doubt if not to deny the genuineness of the document on which it rests. For the historic foundation is very flimsy, and can be given in a few words. The great scheme is to be found in the latter part of the 'Economies Royales' of Sully, drawn out at full length, and given as the European plan which Henry was about to carry out in arms,

¹ *Economies Royales* (Petitot, II. vi. p. 284).

² L. von Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, II. p. 80.

when his hand was arrested by Ravaillac's knife. But the literary history of the *Economies* is curious, and throws great doubt on the genuineness of the scheme. After the Duke of Sully retired from active life, he employed his well-earned leisure in superintending the construction of his *Memoirs*. They were compiled in an unpleasant style by secretaries, though they contain many papers from his own hand. As they wrote, the secretaries submitted all they had done to the great lord himself for his gracious approval. The inevitable result is that his own character and actions are put in the very best light, and a certain shade of doubt at once arises; which increases when we find that the statements made are not always borne out by independent and contemporary documents. Be this as it may, the first and second folio volumes appeared in Sully's lifetime, under his eye¹. But the remainder did not appear till twenty-eight years later, in 1662, long after his death; and it is this latter part which contains the scheme of a Christian Republic. It is not then the account of a contemporary, but a memoir made up many years after the time to which it refers.

Next, no other writer of the age alludes to it: it would have been communicated, more or less fully, to several of the Cabinets of Europe, yet dead silence prevails: no minister, for example, of either Elizabeth or James alludes to it. This, taken with the weakness of the evidence in the *Economies*², is conclusive against the genuineness of the scheme with its 'magnificent chimera' of an European Amphictyonic Assembly,

¹ The title runs thus, '*Mémoires des sages et royales Economies d'estat Domestiques politiques et militaires de Henri le Grand*,' and the edition is known by three V's, coloured green, and often entitled the edition '*aux trois V vertes*'; it has feigned printers' names; is said to have been printed at Amsterdam, though really at Sully; nor is it dated, but came out in 1634. The Duke died in 1641. The third and fourth volumes were printed at Paris much later, 1662.

² The Abbé de l'Ecluse in his audacious '*Mémoires de Max. de Béthune, Duc de Sully*,' liv. xxx. (Vol. VIII. p. 304) has a long note of amazement that any one can doubt the genuineness of the scheme; yet even he confesses, '*On ne le voit dans aucun des historiens, auteurs de Mémoires et écrivains et contemporains de ce Prince*.'

from which Russia as 'in large part still idolatrous, and in the rest schismatic,' and Turkey as altogether miscreant, are together excluded; the Tzar or Grand Duke of Muscovy must lose what he has in Europe and be relegated to Asia; and the Sultan of Turkey with him. The Austro-Spanish power (and this is meant to be the sting of the whole) loses all she has in Germany, in Italy, and in the Netherlands, retaining only Spain and the Mediterranean Islands, with her African, American, and Indian possessions, which are to be disposed of as principalities for the different princes of the House of Hapsburg.

The scheme itself, these matters cleared off, is splendidly audacious. It is a grand Republic of fifteen states: at its head, nominally at least, were to be the two great Elective Overlordships, the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy; then three elective monarchies, Hungary, Poland, Bohemia; four Republics,—Switzerland, a federal one, with Franche-Comté, Alsace, Tirol, and some lesser districts added; Italy, a Ducal Republic, embracing Genoa, Florence, Mantua, and other central Italian duchies (Southern Italy was to be under the Pope, Northern Italy divided between Venice and Lombardy); Venice, a 'Seignorial' Republic, to be strengthened with Sicily; and lastly Belgium, a Provincial Republic of the seventeen Provinces, less certain portions to be plucked off; then came six hereditary monarchies—France at their head, 'with the sole glory of an equitable distribution,' though this 'sole glory' was to be compatible with the addition of Artois, Hainault, Cambrai, Tournai, Namur, and Luxemburg, which were to be ceded to her, and erected into ten princedoms for ten French *grandeess*; England, the next hereditary Monarchy, was similarly to have carvings out of Limburg, Brabant, Malines, and Flemish dependencies, for eight 'princes or milords of that nation'; then Spain, Denmark, Sweden, Lombardy. These fifteen powers, of very different structure, dimension, and strength, were to remain in a happy equilibrium, by the help of the great Council above-mentioned. The scheme pays much attention to the religious difficulty of the time. There are, it says, three

faiths in Europe: the Roman, the Lutheran, and the 'Reformed.' Italy and Spain are purely Catholic; France is mixed, and has toleration of the weaker; Germany is mixed, of all three forms, which live side by side; and the others are for the main part Protestant, though not without an infusion of Catholics. Each people must be secured in the faith it has chosen: Italy and Spain will not need or have any toleration, having no real differences to tolerate; as to the others, toleration will be the marked characteristic of France, not perhaps of the rest. There are in the scheme many phrases which have dazzled Frenchmen since that time: the language of Napoleon III often seemed to echo the ideas of the Christian Republic.

It must not be supposed that Henry IV had any such plan neatly drawn out, and ready for execution, when he made his preparations for appearing in Germany: on the contrary, he was not at all the man to have worked out any such elaborate design: for he had neither knowledge nor inclination for it. And besides this, there is internal proof which shows that it did not come from his hand: how could he, the tamer of the noblesse, who knew them so well, and was ever on his guard against them, have dreamt of proposing to carve out ten principalities on his northern frontier for ten great Lords of France?

Yet we must not absolutely deny the existence of any 'great design' of the kind. It was an age of political speculations: all men's attention was called to international questions, or to enquiry into the nature of states within their own borders: classical models were much in vogue: men asked themselves as to Empires, as to Republics; the pen kept pace with the sword, and showed its new power in swaying public opinion. 'Learning,' as Hallam says of this time, 'was employed in systematic analyses of ancient or modern forms of government;' these were the days of Bodinus' great work *De Republica*¹, now came out that singular collection of

¹ Published in 1577 and 1586.

works the 'Elzevir Republics': the minds of men had passed from the Utopias of the previous age to more practical speculations as to what State-systems existed, or might exist. They were conscious that Europe had entered on an entirely new phase of being; and were eager to see how she would group herself, what would be the form of equilibrium to which they hoped she was tending. The great struggle of the Thirty Years' War in Germany is heralded by these anxious speculations; for the true decision of the form of European politics could never be come to, till Germany had fought out the still-unsettled questions which vexed her from the Alps to the Baltic. The temper of mind corresponds to that which in a somewhat similiar age, agitated the French nation under Napoleon III, and led to maps of reconstructed Europe, and speculations on the equilibrium of states and war made 'for an idea.' Therefore there is nothing improbable in the existence of the scheme of a Christian Republic before 1610: but rather it is very credible; and if we may trust Sully (in the earlier part of the *Economies*) we may trace the genesis of some plan of the kind, though doubtless not so elaborate, in the sagacious speculations of Queen Elizabeth. Sully states distinctly that he and the Queen discussed the great Austrian project in 1601, and that she first sketched out the plan, which in outline answers to that of the Christian Republic¹: on her death the matter seems to have been re-opened to King James, who characteristically shrank from anything so large and decisive; though the young prince Henry, perhaps with an eye to a French marriage, professed his hearty liking for it. But James drew off from the French side, and in 1604 made a separate peace with Spain.

We shall not be far wrong if we say that during the last years of the life of Henry IV he cherished hopes of overthrowing the Austro-Spanish domination in Europe, by means of a combination of French with Dutch and North German

¹ *Economies Royales* (Petitot, II. iv. pp. 40, sqq.)

interests; that England failed him, through her insular views, and the temper of her new monarch; that this led him all the more to watch the movements in Germany and to strive to settle the outstanding Dutch struggle in favour of the Provinces; and in the end made him once more buckle on his armour for what might have been a decisive war: we may even go farther, and believe that Henry had formed large plans for the aggrandisement of the crown, not in the least plans of the lofty and disinterested kind attributed to him by Sully. Of this we have an account, which is probably correct, in Richelieu's *Memoirs*¹: the Cardinal describes him as opening out his plans in 1610 to the Queen: 'to reduce to his obedience Milan, Montferrat, Genoa, Naples; to present most of Milan and Montferrat to the Duke of Savoy, taking in exchange Nice and Savoy; to make Piedmont and the Milanese a kingdom; to call the Duke of Savoy (having lost his old territories) King of the Alps; and thus to secure the approaches of France into Italy: on the other side, having shown himself to the Italian princes as their friend—(one fancies one hears the voice of Napoleon the Third!)—to pass into Flanders and Germany, in order to wear out his enemies by fanning into flame the smouldering variances between North and South Germany, perhaps to make the Rhine his frontier, with three or four strong fortresses on it².'

We may conclude finally, that the Christian Republic is not a formed scheme of Henry's planning, but a romance, based on facts, and encouraged by the bold projects of Queen Elizabeth, and the war-loving energy of the Duke of Sully.

And the German frontier-lands now loudly called for the attention of Europe. The difficulties between the Pope and Venice had been settled without an outbreak (1606-1607):

¹ These famous *Memoirs*, as to which there was so much doubt and controversy (Voltaire being much mixed up in it), were safely housed and kept from view in the 'Dépôt des affaires étrangères' at Paris; there they were at last unearthed in 1823 (after a dusty sleep of nearly two hundred years), and published by Petitot in his *Mémoires*.

² Richelieu, *Mémoires* (Collection Michaud, 2^{me} Série, vii. p. 11, 12).

after the close of the three years' siege of Ostend (1601-1604) the Spaniards were so utterly exhausted that they could make no use of their triumph, and their efforts became feeble in the Netherlands, while the Dutch fleets destroyed their commerce: the intervention of France, through the President Jeannin, had been crowned with another diplomatic triumph; the party of Olden-Barneveldt, the commercial aristocracy, had a majority in the Provinces in favour of peace, while Maurice of Nassau and the democratic element in the larger towns wished still for war:—it is the same division of interests and opinions which reappears with such fatal violence in the days of William of Orange and the De Witts. In 1607 a truce was signed between the Archdukes representing the Spanish interest, and the States General; it was guaranteed by France, she and England taking up the position of protecting powers. After an uneasy period of about two years, during which war seemed once more imminent, Henry stood firm, in spite of all baits and threats from Spain; and in April 1609, thanks chiefly to the unwearied skill and urgency of Jeannin, seconded by the English, a great truce for twelve years was signed by Spain and the United Provinces. Though it carried no recognition of Dutch independence, it was in fact a declaration that Spain must at last abandon her attempts to reduce the stubborn spirit of the 'beggars of the sea:' the Dutch got rights of trade to the Indies, and the Zealanders by holding firmly the mouths of the Scheldt, strangled Antwerp to the profit of Amsterdam.

Thus closed the most glorious struggle of modern times: for forty years the simple burghers and seafaring-men of the Provinces had fought almost singlehanded, few, with little resources, against the pride and power of the Spanish Empire-monarchy in the height of its splendour. At every stage of the conflict they had been on the point of being crushed: yet they survived, and saw with hope their own strength slowly growing, and their enemy's giving way. The deep meadow-lands, and sluggish river-mouths of the United Provinces bred

truer men, and sounder wealth of commerce than Spain with all her navies and her rich and varied soil, could bring. The tenacious Low-German character of the Dutch: their secular love of freedom; the grave and lasting nature of their religion, joined with the peculiarities of the land they dwell in, wore out the almost equally tenacious pride, the fanaticism, the great war-power of the Spaniards.

Here then as well as in Italy all was quiet. The Venetians, the Pope, the Dutch, were all Henry's grateful friends: there remained only Germany to be considered. And there things were growing daily more uneasy. The long period of tranquillity from the Peace of Augsburg in 1555, broken only by the quiet and steady advance of the Catholic reaction, was now fast coming to an end. The violent persecutions began to bear fruit: the Austrian power was visibly embarrassed, while the Protestants of North Germany grew daily more restless and conscious that the settlement of Augsburg could not much longer bear the strain. In 1594 the Protestant Princes had sketched the plan of a league at Heilbronn; they had renewed it at Heidelberg in 1603, shewing by the place chosen the importance attached to the Elector Palatine, Frederick IV, and to the Calvinist element in the German resistance to Rome. No action was taken for a while; though the Catholic princes were under the fanatical influence of the Archduke Ferdinand of Styria, afterwards Emperor. But in the Slavonic populations under the Austrian power the fermentation against Catholic repression was so violent that in 1609 the Emperor Rudolf was fain to grant religious liberties to Hungary, Austria, and Moravia, and to issue for the kingdom of Bohemia a 'Letter of Majesty,' which in fact granted full toleration and almost independence. But important as these movements were, and certain presently to bring on a collision, it was not on these far-off countries that the eyes of Henry were fixed. The Rhine seemed to him to be the critical point: there he steadily made ready to interfere.

The Rhine-land was much split up between the three Com-munions; here the Calvinists were very strong. On the Upper Rhine the Calvinistic Swiss Protestants prevailed: in the middle district the key was held by the Lower Palatinate, and that was Calvinistic; this part was open to French influences, from the side of Metz and Lorraine, while it was also crossed by a strong chain of fortresses of the Roman obedience, the three Arch-bishop-Electorates and the ancient Episcopal cities along the left bank, relics of the old Roman frontier. These Eccle-siastical Princes cut deep into the more Protestant part of Germany, partly severing the reformed inhabitants of Branden-burg and North-Eastern Germany from their Dutch friends; threatening also to France by making a kind of bridge between the Austrian power and Low Countries. In this part, towards the lowest or northernmost end, the key to the lower Rhine is the Cleves-Jülich district; Jülich lying alongside the Elec-torate of Cologne, between the rivers Rhine and Maas, and Cleves just below it, on both sides of the Rhine, reaching down to the United Provinces; Gelderland forming its northern frontier. These two Duchies, together with certain lesser do-mains, all grouped together so as to close in the Electorate of Cologne, were in the hands of John William, Duke of Cleves, and might drop out of them by death any day. They formed a rich and prosperous group, with much traffic and Protestant-refugee industry; they were strategically very important, as a highway into the Provinces, as commanding the Rhine, that artery of traffic for central Europe, and in Protestant hands certain to separate the Catholic territories from one another. In short, it was seen that trouble must come of it; and the Protestants of Germany accordingly made a fresh and closer Evangelical Union, in which Lutherans joined with Calvinists, and at-tempted to forget, in face of common peril, their unworthy bitterness and alienation. This was in 1608: the Heilbronn pact was renewed: the Elector Palatine Frederick IV was again its head; Neuburg, Baden, Brandenburg, and Wurtemberg, united 'for the maintenance of peace and of the constitution of

the Empire,' while, shortly after, several princes and cities adhered to the Union. It was with this group that Henry IV kept up close communications. He and they alike watched with anxious forecast the affairs of the little Duchies; they, because the district connected their interests with those of the Dutch Calvinists, and he, because in Catholic hands they would definitely cut France off from North Germany, and enormously increase the power of the Imperial Austrian House. It was, in short, the critical point of the time, and all men looked eagerly to see how it might go, except perhaps James I of England, who by this time had made friends with every one all round, and was consequently of no account.

In 1609 John William of Cleves died without heirs. Eight claimants sprang up at once, the Elector of Brandenburg, Pfalz-Neuburg, Pfalz-Zweibrücken, and others, and behind them stood the Empire itself, claiming its right to interfere as overlord, till the abstruse question of the succession should be settled. The Dutch and Spaniards also took a deep interest in it: the ownership was vital to both, if, as both expected, they were one day to come to blows again. Brandenburg and Neu-burg seized on the districts, and seemed likely to fight over them, but patched it up (May, 1609), in face of the threat that the Empire would seize and sequester the country, which would secure it for Catholic and Spanish purposes. The Archduke Leopold, Bishop of Strasburg, was sent down the Rhine to take possession; a new Catholic union of South Germany, the 'Holy League' of Würzburg, composed of Bavarians, Swabians, and Franconians, with Maximilian of Bavaria as its head, was now formed, and aimed at a Catholic Germany as distinct from an Austrian Empire; Henry IV played on this German anti-imperial feeling, and allowed Maximilian to hope that his influence would support him in his candidature at the next imperial vacancy. These two Leagues alike menaced the inde-pendence and power of the Hapsburgs. When, however, the sequestration took place, and it was found that the Protestant claimants appealed to the Union for help, and the Archduke-

Bishop to the Holy League, then it was felt that the voice of Henry IV must make itself heard. He declared, as all must have expected, for the Brandenburg-Neuburg claimants, and promised active help. The Evangelic Union thereon held a great assembly at Hall, in Swabia (January, 1610): France and Venice, Savoy and the United Provinces, were all represented; it was believed that even the Pope himself looked with friendly eyes on their wish to curb the Austro-Spanish power, which was far too strong in Italy: he agreed with Henry in thinking that if that power were quietly allowed to settle down on the Lower Rhine, it would bring the Netherlands into imminent peril, would coerce the North German Princes, and surround France as with a circle of fire from the western end of the Pyrenees, along the side of Italy, and down the Rhine even to the Low Countries; a circle broken only where France and Switzerland touched at a single point, at Geneva.

At this moment Henry fell madly in love with the Princess of Condé; it was an affair which had not merely its buffoon-side, in the King's half-insane courting of her, his wild journeys after her, his disguises, his abandonment of all outward dignity, as well as of all essential morality of character; like everything in his reign, it was also mixed up with Spanish intrigue and interference. It is certain that Condé made no secret of his opinion that the Dauphin was base-born: that the King's first marriage was not truly annulled by a Papal divorce, and that Henry having no son by Margaret, he himself, as head of the younger branch of the Bourbons, was the next heir to the throne. It can never be known how far Spain had fostered this belief in him: the King saw him always surrounded by malcontents: Condé eventually took refuge with the Spaniards at Brussels, nor would they yield him up.

These causes led Henry to prepare vigorously and seriously for a great war. In April 1610 all was well-nigh ready. Epernon should command the infantry, Sully the artillery, Nevers the horse; Swiss mercenaries, six thousand strong, were to be led

by Rohan: the seven Marshals of France marshalled the companies of men-at-arms. Châlons, Mezières, and Metz were fixed as the chief rendezvous; the King hoped to have thirty thousand men on foot, and to join them on the 15th of May, and to march at their head into the Duchies: a second army under Lesdiguières was to pass into Italy, and, joining the Duke of Savoy and the Venetians, to conquer the Milanese; a third army should quietly observe the Pyrenees. Prince Maurice of Nassau with twenty thousand Dutch was to join the King in Cleves.

At home the Queen was named Regent, with a council of fifteen at her side; she wished to be solemnly crowned and consecrated, to give more weight to her office. Meanwhile the Court teemed with its old intrigues; the Queen herself kept up close communication with Spain, and was the first traitor of the realm: the old passions arose once more, the old Catholic spirit ran high; Paris was much agitated. The King's departure was delayed for the consecration: he was full of anxieties, eager to be off, afraid of his capital; still he went about almost unguarded, with his old courage; and on the 14th of May, 1610, two days before the day finally fixed for his departure, went in a carriage, with an escort of only five gentlemen, to pay one more visit to Sully, who was lying ill at his beloved Arsenal. As he passed through the streets a block took place, and, while the carriage waited, a miscreant named Ravaillac, stepping coolly up, put his foot on the wheel, and plunged a knife into the King's heart. So ended all Henry's great plans and long preparations; so died the best and greatest, after all, of the Bourbon Kings.

Men had noticed how the King's sensitive nature, so easily impressed, had been roused by the crisis of his affairs. His impatient words—the old war-horse neighing for the battle—'When shall I get away?'—'Shall I ever escape from Paris?'—'I shall never leave the town alive;'—these seemed afterwards prophecies of impending fate. It was remembered, too, afterwards, that he had been longer and apparently more absorbed

than usual in his devotions, that he had been seen on his knees in the middle of the night, that he had expressed distress at being interrupted: all these things, born of his high-strung nature, his warm heart and disposition open to receive the leading impression of the moment, were treasured up and told from man to man, when the great calamity had befallen him. The King, however lightly moral obligations and theological dogmas sat on him, was of the stuff of which religious men are made; and clearly, in this supreme moment of his fate, his spirit turned to God.

No such catastrophe is depicted in all the pages of tragedy. The attention of Europe was at that hour fixed on Henry; in his hand were the fortunes of the world: friends and foes alike held their breath and watched with intensest interest, with swaying hopes and fears, the course of things. Then in a single instant the tall figure of the dark fanatic hides the King from view, and when men look again, he is gone. Gone in an instant are all his far-reaching plans; gone the great peril of the Austro-Spanish house; gone the hope of settlement of the German difficulty. That was deferred for a few years, and then burst forth into the terrible struggle of the Thirty Years' War, in which France would not interfere as a principal but as a secondary figure. France herself was plunged once more into confusion and trouble, till the iron will and hand of one, who at the moment of the assassination was the obscure bishop of an obscure little town in La Vendée, carried out and justified the policy of Henry, and once more rescued his country from the weakness and desolation of civil broils.

Still, none the less, for the time the change was strange and marvellous. As men saw the great storm gather, saw the three armies of the King moving, like thunderclouds across the sky, towards the mountains; as they noted the growing darkness, and looked each moment for the first flash and the crashing fall of the thunderbolt, suddenly the whole scene changes, and fire and tempest are quenched in floods of tears.

CHAPTER III.

MARY DEI MEDICI AND THE REGENCY.

A.D. 1610-1624.

HAD Ravaillac any accomplices? Was the Spanish Court involved in the crime? Was Mary dei Medici aware of what was going on? No one can ever know. When they came to tell her, she shewed little astonishment, she feigned no sorrow. Probably the murder was but the sudden expression of a general feeling, which pervaded the whole Spanish faction in France, and in Europe, and which falling like a spark on an ignorant and fanatical nature at once caused the explosion, even as the high tension of feeling at Rome half a century before had brought about the attempt of Accolti on the life of Pius IV. Ravaillac himself declared that he had no partners in his enterprise; yet stories floated about of the personages who had communicated with him, and of the confessions he had made, suppressed because of their damaging character. Such tales as these are the scum on the top of a great effervescence. It is best to believe that he had no direct accomplices, and that he instinctively did the work of the party of which he thereby became, in a sense, the representative.

The great plans of Henry IV were of course arrested; it is true that a French army, composed chiefly of mercenaries,—for as yet France was thought incapable of raising infantry of her own,—was sent to Jülich, and in union with Prince Maurice drove out the Catholics (Sept. 1610), restoring that town to the

two claimants, Brandenburg and Neuburg. But nothing farther was attempted; the different armies were disbanded and the whole matter adjourned for nine years. Mary dei Medici refused to mix herself up in German affairs; if the King of Spain would promise not to help the disaffected in France she would stand aside; everything looked as if a great change of policy was imminent.

It was well-known how Spanish the Court was, how unpopular the policy of the other party: the moment that the King's death was announced, the Queen, relying on his openly-declared intention of naming her Regent, seized the power, which in theory belonged to the Princes of the Blood Royal. There were no national bulwarks against such a coup d'état; Henry himself had trampled down the feeble liberties of the country, which, mixed up and confounded with disloyal attempts at independence, made the chief trouble of his reign. But while the hopes of constitutional life had set for ever, the hopes of noble privilege and selfishness had only been repressed, not crushed: with the death of the King they sprang up again. At the first moment Sully quite expected vengeance to be taken on him for his harshness, his stern exactions, his severity to the nobles, his known connexion with Henry's anti-Spanish policy. He started from the Bastille, his head-quarters, where the treasure lay, with a large following of friends: his company grew till it reached three hundred men. As he rode towards the Louvre, warning after warning reached him; and, his courage failing, he turned back and fortified himself against a siege in the Bastille, sending couriers northward to call up the Swiss. Mary, however, was not strong enough to wreak vengeance on him; she could not afford to provoke opposition, and did her best to smoothe things down. She persuaded Sully to visit her at the Louvre, received him cordially, showed him to the young King as his father's most trusted minister and friend. Sully gave up all thought of opposition; Mary got possession of the treasure; and both were satisfied.

This reconciliation exactly expressed the state of things as

they then stood. Mary would gladly have reversed the whole policy of the late reign: but her title as Regent was insecure, and she could not venture on any strong steps: all she could achieve was an uneasy equilibrium for a few years, which allowed her to remain at the head of affairs.

Henry IV had left three sons and three daughters: Louis, the eldest, being but nine years old, a gentle boy, who showed promise of intelligence and bodily activity. His mother was Regent; the Dukes of Guise and Epemon were at her back; most of the governors of cities and provinces had come up to Paris for the Queen's consecration, and all recognised her authority; the army was favourable, the people of no account or indifferent; the Parliament of Paris seemed to take up a political position of no little importance when it was asked to sanction her assumption of the duties of a Regent. The Princes of the blood, three only in number (not counting the King's little children), Condé, head of the elder branch, Conti and Soissons, Condé's uncles, were unable to assert their own claims; for Condé was in exile, Conti a man of no influence, Soissons, who was thus the virtual head of the party of the Princes, was mean and venal; and as the Queen Mother did not stint her bribes, having great offices to give and Henry's treasure under her hand, she easily bought his acquiescence: for the government of Normandy, two hundred thousand crowns in cash, and a pension, Soissons was well-content to leave things alone in Paris. There was a Council of Regency, composed in the proper way: the wires of it were pulled by an inner cabinet, formed of Concini and his wife Leonora Galigai, the Nuncio, the Spanish Ambassador, and the chief supporters of the Spanish policy, Sillery, Epemon, Villeroy, Jeannin, and Father Cotton. Of these Epemon represented the old League-noblesse, while the leading spirit of the whole was Concini, who was made Marshal de l'Ancre, and who entirely ruled the Queen Mother. He was a foreigner, an adventurer, haughty and greedy; how could the realm be in peace with him in command? Yet his conduct of affairs was not devoid of prudence; even Richelieu

has a good word for him. The Huguenots were left unmolested and were quiet; but the old royalist nobles, and the great officers in command in the country thought that their time was come: 'The day of Kings is past; that of *grandeess* and Princes has arrived; we must make the best of it,' was their phrase. It must be remembered that these lords who aimed at independence were not the old feudal nobles of France; they had disappeared or become obscure; but these were either the few Princes of the Lilies, or the noblesse created chiefly during the last century from among the royal officers. The distinction gives us the measure of advance of the Kingly power. It has been well said¹ that there was no real principle in their action; that under Louis XI the struggle had been for feudal Lordship and the independence of a great system; under Charles IX for political and religious freedom, but under Louis XIII it had dropped to a paltry scramble of selfish noblemen for money and place, ending in that poor comedy, the war of the Fronde. 'Luxury,' says Richelieu, 'was at this time so great, thanks to the way in which the King squandered money on the *grandeess*, thanks also to the Queen's love of splendour, that a scramble for more money was always going on,' and took the place of any higher or better ambitions².

The treasure in the Bastille then was the foundation on which the Queen Mother's regency was really built up. It was distributed with unsparing hand: even Condé, who returned to Court, did not disdain to name his price: he and his friends carried off a goodly sum. None the less did he, directly the money was spent, set himself in opposition to the ruling favourite; he became the centre of the disaffected noblesse. With his friends, Bouillon among them, he withdrew to Sedan, and thence issued a declaration to the effect that the government of the country was all astray; that the Princes and *grandeess* were wrongfully excluded from the councils of the Regency, that the States

¹ By La Vallée, *Histoire de France*, iii. p. 78.

² Richelieu, *Mémoires* (Michaud, II. vii. p. 58).

General ought to be convoked, that the people were miserably oppressed. But Concini treated with the malcontents, found their price, and bought them off with offices, appointments, ready money; and the insurrection was appeased (A.D. 1614). It was of evil omen; the *grandeess* learnt by it that if they did but threaten enough they were sure to be paid for it; the government had entered on that cycle of vicious weakness in which a strong, or at least a noisy, faction can get whatever it wants, and finds in each success a reason and encouragement for fresh turbulence.

Concini had promised them that the States General should be convoked: the Queen Mother, thinking to strengthen the position of her clique, caused the young King's majority to be declared, and the States were summoned to meet at Paris.

For two things are these States General notable; otherwise their history is insignificant. The first is that they never met again for a hundred and seventy-five years, and then met only to begin the age of Revolution; the other is that among them sat the future ruler of France, Armand du Plessis of Richelieu, Bishop of Luçon, who had already made himself a name: he was selected, young as he was, to present the '*cahiers*' as orator of the Clergy. The Third Estate and the Clergy quarrelled over the old question as to the basis of the royal authority; the Third Estate condemning the opinions so popular in the last century, that a heretic King should be disobeyed and even killed. The Parliament of Paris took part in the fray, siding with the Third Estate; the Court in alarm enjoined silence on both. Their remonstrance as to the state of the people was conceived in very lamentable terms; nothing, however, came of it: 'your poor people are but skin and bone; worn out, downbeat, more dead than alive: we beseech you to do something to assuage the disorders of finance.' For Henry's reign and Sully's organisation had not done much to relieve the people; and now what hope was there for them?

Early in 1615 the Estates separated; the Parliament of Paris, supported by the malcontent nobles, seemed still to aim

at the government: it issued an invitation to princes and peers to deliberate on the state of affairs: but when it seemed about to come to open warfare with the Court, the men of law were prudent enough to see that they would only be the catspaw in the hands of the soldiers, and they made their peace with the Regent.

This year saw the ratification of the agreement come to with the Spanish Court; the boy-King was married to Anne of Austria, and another of the notable women of this woman's period appears on the stage. The Princes, Huguenot and Royalist, became more and more turbulent; for this marriage offended and, as they thought, menaced them: a scattered uneasy warfare began; Concini again met them with the old weapons, and by the treaty of Loudun (A.D. 1616) bought off the malcontents. Condé obtained five strongholds, with offices and money for his adherents: large payments were made to all the chief nobles. The Council was reformed, and the young Bishop of Luçon, whom the Regent admired and the Marshal Ancre thought to use, became a member of it.

This arrangement made Condé for the moment the chief man in France; and with prudence and patriotism he might have played a considerable part in his country's history. But he cared only for selfish ends; plundered the state, and showed towards the Queen's party the fatal pride of his race and place. Unable to endure it, Concini arrested him, and threw him into prison, while he endeavoured to strengthen his own position with an army of German mercenaries. It came now once more to threat of open war. The nobles declared with loud cries that they would overthrow the usurper and rescue the King from tutelage, nay, even from peril of his life. Richelieu's genius and hand of iron were now behind the foreign favourite; once more the nobles were checked, and this time with vigour. The young King, however, had wearied of Concini; he had found a new favourite, Charles d'Albert of Luynes, a man skilful in taming the falcon for the boy, whose passion was the chase; he was tired of Concini's mastery, of his mother's authority,

and longed to be free. Luynes, heart and soul with the turbulent nobles, though he was not in reality one of them¹, set himself to supplant the Queen Mother and her favourite; and succeeded so well with Louis, that he persuaded him to free himself from tutelage. Orders were given for the arrest of Concini: if he resisted, the guard should kill him: he did resist, and perished (A.D. 1617). Leonora Galigai, his wife, was arrested, tried for sorcery, and executed; sentinels were placed at the Regent's doors: the party of the noblesse triumphed, for the King was taken out of the hands of the old Court: Richelieu fell with his friends, and it might have seemed as if he had miscalculated the strength of parties, and that his career was over. In fact, it only gave him wisdom for the future, and strengthened him in his firm resolve one day to bring the nobles to his foot.

The Queen Mother withdrew to Blois, Richelieu to Luçon: the King proclaimed that he had taken the command into his own hands: the princes and nobles flocked up to secure and enjoy their triumph: with Luynes, a supple adventurer, Italian rather than French, as his favourite and minister, the young King was no more free than before, though perhaps as free as his nature permitted.

Mary dei Medici was not the woman to yield without a struggle: the little Court of Blois became the centre of fresh intrigues for a couple of years: Epemon attempted a rising in her behalf, and shut himself up with her in Angoulême, hoping that the South would espouse her cause. The movement failed completely; for no one stirred. The government however was much alarmed, and Luynes, hoping to appease the disturbance without a civil war, took the bold step of recalling Richelieu. That astute prelate was soon able to reconcile the two parties, in appearance at least: the government of Anjou was given to the Queen Mother, and considerable state

¹ By origin of a Tuscan family; the Alberti came into the Venaissin in the fifteenth century; one of the family was made Count of Luynes in 1540. Charles d'Albert was born in the Venaissin, and therefore neither by origin or birth was he a Frenchman.

and wealth. As time went on the greater nobles liked Luynes no better than they had liked Concini; the Court at Angers became the centre of dissatisfaction; governors of provinces followed with the tide; the Huguenots once more became troublesome, and all the western side of France disturbed. Thus sides had changed: the great nobles, always in opposition, had seen with pleasure the overthrow of the Regent and Concini; now, offended at the pretensions of another upstart, eager for the prizes which ever followed faction, they rallied round the Queen Mother for the overthrow of another Court-party.

The King displayed unexpected vigour. In 1620 he put himself at the head of the royal forces, and marched for Normandy: 'never Prince so regular and attentive at the Council-board, so fore-seeing as to what he does and orders, or so judicious in taking or rejecting good or bad advice¹.' They tried to dissuade him from going; on the contrary, he decided to march into the heart of the disaffection²; he secured Rouen, just in time; won back the allegiance of Caen, and then, Normandy being quieted, passed through Brittany, marching towards Angers, the head-quarters of the trouble. His mother came out against him; she was ill-supported, and did not venture to fight: the young King would gladly have crushed the revolt, but Luynes, timid and insecure, thought conciliation safer for himself, and made Louis treat: one brisk skirmish took place, to the complete discomfiture of the nobles: and then they were willing to get their pay, and to defer their misconduct till another profitable occasion might arise. Richelieu negotiated a peace between the parties; the Queen Mother was reconciled to her son, the nobles were once more appeased with gifts (August 1620). After peace had been signed at Angers, the King passed with his army into Béarn, where the Huguenots, and indeed the whole of the inhabitants, were in ferment. For in 1617 Louis had declared the country absolutely united

¹ Archives Curieuses, Cimber et Danjou, II. ii. p. 209.

² Richelieu in his *Memoirs* makes no remark on Louis' energy at this moment, but that does not prove much.

to the Crown, had ordered the establishment of Catholicism, and the restoration of Church property to the clergy. The Estates of Béarn and the Parliament naturally resisted, and threatened to fight for the independence of the district. Louis XIII now bore down all opposition, planted the Catholic worship, garrisoned the strong places, and reduced the district to submission. It was now perhaps that the young King was at his best. Such stronger qualities as he had inherited from his father had play, he was not merely the puppet of his favourite, nor as yet hopelessly overshadowed by the great minister whom he served and feared. Men thought him brave like his father: he had also his father's powers of endurance, and his love of the chase; 'no peril amazes him, nor toil wearies': he would spend hours ferreting in the cold¹, to the utter disgust of his courtiers: his appearance was weak, with long hair, soft features, oval face, and an amiable mouth; his eyes were fine and lively, and his intelligence quick. In habits he was temperate, 'eats little, drinks less'; he was a beautiful rider, and fond of active exercises: artistic also, and full of religious sentiment. On the other hand, the clue to his weakness lay in his lack of power of will: as time went on, he grew more and more insignificant, gloomily amusing himself with his birds, or riding at the chase. He had no sense of due proportion; trifles to him were as important as the most serious affairs; he tired of friends and favourites, deposing and chasing them away for the most trivial reasons. The dismissal of his comrade D'Humières well illustrates this weakness of character. The King could not endure red hair, and D'Humières, his first Gentleman of the Chamber, having unluckily locks of that colour, had them carefully dyed, and thus concealing the unkindness of nature long escaped the King's displeasure. But as ill-luck would have it, one day out hunting the King and his following were caught in a great rain-storm, which drenched them: and the

¹ See the *Portrait du Roy*, envoyé par le sieur de Bellemare au sieur de Mirancourt à Venise. Cimber et Danjou, *Archives Curieuses*, 2^{me} Série, i. p. 401; an absurdly partial picture of the King, as he was in 1618.

dye was all washed out of the unhappy courtier's hair, which grew redder every minute; the King saw the obnoxious colour: the poor man was at once dismissed from his master's presence¹.

Louis was, as might be expected, a faithless and cruel person: he kept most solemn service of worship in the midst of the worst excesses of his army, when Frenchmen were murdering Frenchmen in cold blood, and indulging unchecked in wild debauch at the expense of their brethren.

A more serious outbreak now impended. The great agitation of Germany, where the first period of the Thirty Years' War, the Bohemian struggle, had just ended, found an echo in the breasts of the Huguenots; their sympathies were all with the Calvinists of the Palatinate. The overthrow of Arminianism in the United Provinces, bringing with it the scandalous execution of Olden-Barneveldt, and the ascendancy of the party of Maurice of Nassau, the Republican-Calvinistic party, tended also to excite their feelings. On this restless ambitious temper the King's high-handed treatment of Béarn fell like a spark. They did not understand, how should they? that the way in which France would march to the help of the Protestants in Germany must be over their own bodies: that, just as in the last century Henry II had coerced the Huguenots at home while he allied himself with the Protestant princes abroad, so now, on a larger scale, Richelieu would first crush their attempts at independence, and then go on to interfere against the House of Austria, protecting those opinions there against which he waged merciless war at home; and that with apparent contradiction he would secure a firm autocratic monarchy in France, while he helped the Princes of Germany to assert their independence against the central Imperial power. On this contradiction was built up the greatness of France in the next age: for it was a contradiction which only meant that the monarchy of France must be strong and united, while her neighbours should be kept weak

¹ Mémoires de M^r. L. C. D. R. (M. le Comte de Rochefort) p. 61.

and disorganised; that the religious question was to her only secondary, the political all-important.

This the Huguenots could not see: they aimed at the independence which the Edict of Nantes had promised them; they were still full of the ideas of a Christian Republic, which we are wont to associate with the name of Calvin; they aimed at a position which might well have been compatible with a constitutional monarchy, but was quite impossible where the King meant to be autocratic. It is with deep regret that we see, one after another, the elements of good and liberal government in France withering away before the terrible presence of the monarchy.

The Huguenots of the South revolted directly the King's back was turned: in the Cevennes, in Languedoc, above all in Béarn, along the Western coast, men were up in arms: a great assembly was held in the Calvinist capital La Rochelle; the party was divided into 'circles', after the German pattern¹, each with its commandant; Bouillon was named general-in-chief: the Huguenots demanded freedom of action, of association; they spoke of 'the Republic of the Reformed Churches in France and Béarn,' sent envoys to England, the United Provinces, North Germany. Though the movement threatened to be formidable, the Huguenots had no real strength; the chief leaders refused to serve: Bouillon and La Trémoille stood aside; Lesdiguières even tendered his sword to the King, and fought in the royal army: Rohan became the head of the movement, and, had things been more even, might have played a great part in those days. His brother Soubise alone of the Huguenot chiefs supported him.

An army was raised in 1621 to crush them: Luynes was named Constable, and Lesdiguières his marshal-general of camp and army; Louis XIII himself took the chief command:—he was not devoid of energy and enterprise; what he lacked was ability to command, and strength of will to stand alone.

¹ These Circles of Rochelle were offensive to the French, as being an imitation of German decentralisation.

The royal army went down into the South-west: Saumur on the Loire was taken by treachery: Louis XIII promised the grand old governor, Du Plessis Mornay, that he would never take from him a command entrusted to him thirty-five years before by Henry: yet no sooner had the veteran, who was noble enough to believe a King's promises, admitted Louis into the castle, than he was told that prudence would not allow the King to leave a Huguenot in command of so important a link in the communications: Du Plessis Mornay indignantly refused the bribe of money and a Marshal's staff offered him in exchange, and retired with dignity, pure in the end as at the beginning of his career, to his own castle in Poitou, where he died soon after at the age of seventy-five¹. S. Jean d'Angely in Poitou, defended by Soubise, made gallant resistance, but fell: Epemon was detached to blockade La Rochelle; Montmorency to reduce the difficult country of the Cevennes; the main force laid siege to Montauban, the second capital of the Huguenots, lying on the Tarn not far from its juncture with the Garonne, in Quercy. The memory of the brutal conduct of the royal army in captured places, which gave the defenders the courage of despair, the stubbornness of the walls, the heroism of the Huguenots, wore out the King's strength. Rohan threw himself into the town; the Duke of Sully, who was hard by, endeavoured in vain to mediate. The King was forced to raise the siege (November, 1621). At Monheur on the Garonne, whither Luynes had led the King, in order that the campaign might not seem to end in disgrace, the Constable was attacked by army fever and died. The little town of Monheur was taken, pillaged, burnt; its garrison murdered, its inhabitants were happy if they saved their lives.

¹ We may gather the temper in which Richelieu writes of the Huguenots from the way he speaks of this noble and loyal gentleman: 'Mourut en âge décrépit, jusqu'auquel Dieu l'avoit attendu à pénitence;' and he adds, with a miserable pleasantry, that it would have been well had he been 'Mornay (mort-né) d'effet, comme il en portait le nom.' Richelieu, *Mémoires* (Michaud, II. vii. p. 286).

This petty piece of vengeance pleased Louis well, but Luynes' death still better; he was weary of him, and had begun, after his kind, to hate him; ere long some dark catastrophe might have hurried him off, had not he fallen victim to the fever.

The King returned to Paris, for the year was almost ended, and there a tangled skein of intrigues wound itself round his person. Every one knew he could not do without a favourite or some one on whom to lean; and every one aspired to the vacant place. Bassompierre, whom the King liked, might probably have filled it; but he was too little eager for ambitious triumphs to care for it: he saw that the King would fall into the hands either of the Queen Mother, that is of Richelieu, or of his cousin, the Prince of Condé. These two ere long led the two factions; the former the courtier-party, counselling peace, the latter the party of ministers, who wished the King to take no favourite but to govern through them, and to press on the war. The old ministers Jeannin and Sillery, the President and the Chancellor, who were now recalled to the King's counsels, fearing the pride and power of Condé, advised Louis to readmit the Queen Mother; and though the other ministers resisted, it was done. Guided by the advice of Richelieu, she showed sagacity and moderation; nevertheless the King, who had a weak love for the show and movement of war, and perhaps even thought himself a warrior, was allured by Condé into a fresh campaign against the Huguenots.

This campaign in the South was marked by some successes and much cruelty; there were cold-blooded massacres, broken faith and savage pillage, with the wonted horrors. The King showed himself not only weak but cruel:—the most mischievous and contemptible combination that can exist. La Rochelle, Montauban, and Royan, at the mouth of the Gironde, were the only places of importance that held for the Huguenots; Epemon reduced Royan, and laid it in ruins; he was then told off to observe La Rochelle, while the King, under Condé's tutelage, marched for lower Guyenne. There he took place

after place, treating the towns with the utmost rigour; the few remaining nobles of the Huguenot side seemed all to give way: La Force was bought over; Sully had to surrender his fortress of Cadenac; Lesdiguières, their most distinguished soldier, became a Catholic, and was named Constable of France; the Marquis of Châtillon, the old Admiral's grandson, yielded up himself and Aigues Mortes; only Rohan and Soubise remained; Soubise was in England vainly asking help; Rohan in the Cevennes raising forces to secure Montpellier and Nîmes. The war was upheld chiefly by the towns and the Calvinistic ministers; the old connexion of the noblesse with it was well-nigh worn out. A diversion attempted by those two gallant German adventurers, Count Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick, on the borders of Champagne failed completely; they were compelled to take refuge in Hainault, and to attach themselves to the Prince of Orange (August 1622).

Louis XIII, still in Condé's hands, passed on through lower Languedoc, took Nîmes and other towns, and laid siege to Montpellier. The Huguenots sued for peace; Condé insisted on their extermination, but moderate counsels prevailed; the Queen Mother's party got the upper hand, and Condé was forced to withdraw from Court. The war was at once closed by a fresh treaty, dated 9th October, 1623; the Edict of Nantes was confirmed, while the Huguenots were forbidden to hold political meetings, and were ordered to demolish their strongholds. La Rochelle and Montauban were named as their only towns of refuge. In them they might keep their own garrisons, exclude royal troops, nay, if they would, even shut their gates on the King himself.

The King was once more without a guide, without a favourite, but his fate was upon him. A few months more of uncertain drifting, and he will fall into the hands of the greatest politician France has ever seen, Cardinal Richelieu; under his hand the King will be effaced, his cold disposition and narrow intelligence will accept and be convinced by the grandeur of his master's views; convinced, he will obey, and

we shall enter on the period in which the disruptive forces in France will be coerced, and the elements of freedom and constitutional life stamped down; while patriotism, and a firm belief in the destinies of the nation will be fostered and grow strong; France will assert her high place in Europe. Richelieu who had already in 1622 received the Cardinal's hat, entered the King's Council on the $\frac{1}{2}$ th of April, 1624.

INDEX.

- Absolutism friendly with Renaissance, 230.
- Adolf of Gelderland, suitor of Mary of Burgundy, 91.
- Adrets, Baron des, very cruel, 319.
- 'Adventurers,' the, described, 156; punished by Bayard, *ib.*
- Æneas Sylvius; *see* Pius II.
- 'Affaires du Matin,' the, 262.
- Agnadello, battle of, 157; its results, *ib.*
- Aigues Mortes, meeting of Charles and Francis at, 245; is surrendered by Châtillon, 498.
- Aix in Provence, Charles V at, 241; entered by Duke of Savoy, 413.
- Alamanni, Lodovico, subvention to, 222.
- Albany, John Stewart, last Duke of, 199; abandons the army of France after Pavia, 202.
- Albert Alcibiades of Brandenburg, 270; defeats Aumâle, *ib.*
- Albert, Archduke, takes Calais, 430; a Cardinal, 433.
- Albi, the terrible Cardinal of, 88.
- Albret, Lord of, suitor to Anne of Brittany, 108.
- Alègre, Marquis of, takes Rouen, 405.
- Alençon, Duchess of, 207.
- Alençon, John II, Duke of, condemned, 21; released by Louis XI, 35.
- Alençon, Charles III, Duke of, commands army of the North, 192; crosses frontier, *ib.*; has command of the van of the French army, 193; dies of shame after Pavia, 202.
- Alençon, Francis, Duke of, 343; very cordial with Coligny, 345; is moderate in views, *ib.*; disgusted with the Massacre, 353; goes with Anjou to besiege La Rochelle, 360; inclines to the Politiques, 361; aims at Netherlands and hand of Queen Elizabeth, *ib.*; troublesome to Catharine, 363; joins the Politiques, *ib.*; imprisoned, 364; formally joins the compact of Milhaud, 366; now begins to be called Monsieur, 367; concessions to him at Chastenoy, *ib.*; as Duke of Anjou, separates from the Politiques, 370; flees from Court in 1578, 372; renews friendship with Huguenots, *ib.*; his ambitions for the Netherlands, 373; sovereignty there offered to him, 375; collects an army, *ib.*; his weakness, *ib.*; errors, 376; death, *ib.*
- Alençon, House of, brought down, 88.
- Alexander, Duke of Florence, 214.
- Alexander VI, Pope, on the expedition of Charles VIII, 121; yields to him, 123; refuses him investiture at Naples, 125; grants Louis XII the divorce for Jeanne, 133; his grants to Spain and Portugal, 134; supports Louis XII, 141; his death, 145.
- Alfonso II of Naples, 117; escapes from Naples, 124; joins league against Charles VIII, 125.
- Algiers, in hands of Barbarossa, 236; Charles V attacks it, 248.
- Alsace in hands of Charles the Bold, 79; he visits it, 80; claims freedom

from him, 81; is thoroughly German, 269.
 Alva, Duke of, defends Roussillon, 250; fails to drive Brissac back in Piedmont, 274; more than a match for Francis of Guise, *ib.*; at Paris, 291; discloses his plans to William, *ib.*; at Bayonne, 325; sent to the Netherlands, 327; his schemes, *ib.*; sends soldiers to support the Catholics, 334; defeats Genlis, 348.
 Alviano fights battle of Agnadello, 157; succours Francis I at Marignano, 179.
 Amboise, castle, built by Charles VIII, 129; arrangements made there for his funeral, 131; Francis II at, 300; edict of, its terms, 322, 333.
 Amboise, Cardinal George of, assured by Ferdinand that he should be the next Pope, 153; signs treaty of Cambrai, 154; his death, 159; career, 160.
 Ambrose of Cambrai, Chancellor of University of Paris, 31.
 Amiens taken by Spaniards, 432; recovered, 433.
 Anabaptists disgust the French, 224.
 Ancenis, Treaty of, 66.
 Ancre, Marshal; *see* Concini.
 Angelus, the, first established, 74.
 Angers, Francis of Anjou at, 372; Court of Mary dei Medici at, 492; peace of, *ib.*
 Angevin sovereign at Naples bad for Italy, 115.
 Anjou annexed to the French Crown, 95.
 Anjou, House of, its possessions, 14; makes friends with Louis XI, 65; won over by him, 89.
 Anne du Bourg, condemned and executed, 299.
 Anne, Duchess of Guise, 312.
 Anne of Austria, marries Louis XIII, 490.
 Anne of Beaujeu, true successor of Louis XI, 103; her character, *ib.*; is called 'Madame la Grande,' 104; gives rest to France, *ib.*; defends the monarchy from noble reaction, *ib.*; is passed over by the States-General of Tours, 105; triumphs over them, *ib.*; sees that

Brittany must be annexed, 106; is one of the founders of royalty in France, *ib.*; supports Henry of Richmond, *ib.*; helps to give peace to England, *ib.*; raises a party in Brittany, *ib.*; sends troops into the Duchy, 107; her policy triumphant, 109; her last public act, 110; retires quietly into private life, *ib.*; her death, *ib.*; results of her career, 111; kindly treated by Louis XII, 135.
 Anne of Brittany married by proxy to Maximilian, 108; is styled 'Queen of the Romans,' 109; wooed by Charles VIII, *ib.*; marries him, *ib.*; with Charles VIII at his death, 129; her mourning for him, 131; aims at independence of her Duchy, 131, 132; marries Louis XII, 132; her marriage-compact, *ib.*; cause of errors of Louis XII, 134; her character, 139; jealous of Louise of Savoy, 148; supported by George of Amboise, *ib.*; her death, 166.
 Anne of Étampes, 227; still has influence, 246; saves Chabot, 248; falls, 259.
 Anne of Montmorency; *see* Montmorency.
 Annibaud, Admiral of France, falls, 259.
 Antony of Chabannes; *see* Chabannes.
 Antony of Navarre, nominal head of Huguenots, 294; his character, *ib.*; weakens the Huguenots, 298; arrested, 303; allies himself with Catherine dei Medici, *ib.*; managed by her, 306; joins Triumvirs, 309; threatens Orleans, 318; at siege of Rouen, 319; dies of his wounds, 320; was a poor creature, 442.
 Antwerp, Folly of, 376.
 Aragon, Ferdinand of, allied with Louis XI, 36; joins league against him, 62; *see* Ferdinand.
 Armada, the Spanish, prepared, 386; destroyed, 391.
 Armagnac, House of, brought down, 88.
 Armagnac, John V, Count of, reduced, 17; released by Louis XI, 35; joins League of Public Weal, 39; reduced to submission, 72.

Armagnacs, the, 298.
 Army, French, under Louis XI, 100; under Charles VIII, 119; reformed, 235; composed of mercenaries, 252; French soldiers despised, *ib.*
 Arnay-le-Duc, battle at, 338.
 Arques, position of, 402; battle of, 403.
 Arras, so-called Waldensians of, 10; peace of, 14; ransom money stipulated by it for the Somme towns, 37, 38; harshly treated, 91; name changed to Franchise, *ib.*; retaken, 93; Peace of, 95; three treaties of, *ib.*, note 2.
 Ars, Louis of, at Venozza, 148; escapes safely to France, *ib.*
 Art flourishes in France, 231; chiefly Italian, *ib.*
 Assembly of Notables at Moulins, 325; at Rouen, 431.
 Asti, Charles VIII at, 122.
 Atella, Montpensier shut up in, 127.
 Aubigny, Stewart of, 142.
 Augsburg, Diet of, 271; Peace of, *ib.*; its character, *ib.*
 Aumâle, Duke of, defeated by Albert Alcibiades, 270.
 Aumont, Marshal, commands an army for Henry IV, 401; at Ivry, 407.
 Auneau, battle of, 387.
 Austrasia, kingdom of, to be re-established, 266.
 Austria wins the House of Burgundy, 92; her long rivalry with France, *ib.*
 Austrians defeated at Mohacz, 213.
 Auvergne, Count of, 433, 466; conspires with Biron, 470; imprisoned, *ib.*
 Avesnes, funeral service held at, for Charles VII, 24.
 Avignon, Montmorency at, 241; Catherine dei Medici at, 324.

B.

Bajazet, Sultan, said to tremble before Charles VIII, 124; Frederick of Naples and Lodovico Sforza appeal to him, 147.
 'Balance of Power,' ages of the, 6, 12; begins to come up, 112; system in

infancy, 145; England, supposed centre of, 186.
 Balue, John de la, agent of Louis XI, 36; likes intriguing, 60; urges negotiations with Charles the Bold, 66; his policy prevails, 67; a traitor proved, 71; his punishment, 72.
 Barbarossa, the younger, at Algiers, 236; his power, *ib.*; defeated by Charles V, 237.
 Barcelona, Treaty of, 213.
 Basel, Council of, followed by the Estates of Tours, 105; place of refuge in 1535, 257.
 Basoche, the players at the, 137.
 Bassin, Olivier, author of the first 'Vaudeville,' 10.
 Bassompierre will not become favourite of Louis XIII, 497.
 Bayard, taken in Milan, 142; his early history, 143; punishes the Adventurers, 156; takes Prosper Colonna prisoner, 177; his scorn of Swiss at Marignano, 180; confers knighthood on Francis I, *ib.*; saves Mezières, 192; is mortally wounded in retreat from Italy, 198; buried at Grenoble, *ib.*
 Bayonne, attacked by Spaniards, 198; interview between Catherine and Elizabeth of Spain at, 324.
 Béarn, Louis XI in, 36; in revolt, 492; why, 493.
 Beaugency, castle of Louis of Orleans, 107.
 Beaune, Parliament of, 90.
 Beauvais, siege of, 76.
 Beda, head of the Sorbonne, 224, 226.
 Bellinzona secured by the Swiss, 144.
 Benvenuto Cellini, claims to have shot Constable Bourbon at Rome, 210.
 Bergerac, Peace of, 372; ill-kept by the Leaguers, *ib.*
 Bernardino di Mendoza in Paris, 381, 452; his mission, *ib.*; protests against Henry IV, 400.
 Besançon taken by the Swiss, 93.
 Beza, spokesman of Huguenots at Poissy, 309; on Guise's death, 322.
 Biron, Camp-Marshal, at Ivry, 406; beginning of his discontent, 424; not trusted by Henry IV, 433; his ambitions and understanding with the Duke of Savoy, 466; overruns

Bresse, 467; his conspiracy, 469; is sent to London, *ib.*; his trial and execution, 470.
 Bishopricks, the Three, 259; promised to Henry II, 265.
 Bishops, many, in France, adopt the Reformation, 286.
 Blois, three Treaties of, 149; their blunders for France, 150; Francis II at, 300; States-General at, 370; States-General of 1588 at, 389; Mary dei Medici at, 491.
 Bodinus, J., rules the States-General of Blois, 371, 394; his *De Republica*, 475.
 Bologna, seized by Pope Julius II, 153; opens her gates to the French, 162; is relieved by Gaston of Foix, *ib.*; retaken by Julius II, 164; his statue set up there, *ib.*
 Bongars on the state of France, 452; envoy of Henry to Germany, 464.
 Bonnivet, commands army of Gascony, 192; is driven out of Pyrenees by Spaniards, *ib.*; takes Fontarabia in Biscay, 193; death of Bayard due to his incapacity as a commander, 198; is driven out of Italy, *ib.*; advises Francis to his ruin in Italy, 200; his death, 202.
 Borgia, House of, friendly to Louis XII, 141.
 Borromeo, Carlo, 340.
 Bothwell marries Mary Stuart, 327; escapes to Norway, *ib.*
 Bouchain, taken by French, 193.
 Bouillon, Henry Duke of, urges Henry IV to war with Spain, 426; cannot agree with Nevers, 427; distrusted by Henry IV, 433; plots against Henry IV, 470; flees to Germany, 471; summoned to Court, 472; refuses, and again retires to Germany, *ib.*; with Condé at Sedan, 488; their declaration, *ib.*; refuses to lead Huguenot revolt, 495.
 Boulogne, Edict of, its terms, 361; French army at, 91; besieged by Henry VIII, 253; taken, 254; threatened by Henry II, 263.
 Bourbon, Antony of, 294.
 Bourbon, Cardinal, 294, 397; the Leaguers' candidate for the throne, 381; has the whole League behind

him, *ib.*; proclaimed as Charles X, 400, 401; dies, 412.
 Bourbon, John, Duke of, loses his government of Guyenne, 34, 35; joins League of the Public Weal, 39; to come up from the South, *ib.*; attacked by Louis XI, 40; his share of the spoils, 48; allied with Louis, 65.
 Bourbon-Montpensier, Charles of, marries Susanne, 136; is made Constable of France, 175; offended, 193; sketch of character, &c., 195; his descent from S. Louis and high connections, *ib.*; formidable as a claimant to the throne, *ib.*; Henry VIII's remark about him, *ib.*; Francis' bad treatment of him, 196; death of his wife Susanne of Bourbon, *ib.*; rejects Louise of Savoy's offer to marry him, *ib.*; his goods sequestrated by Parliament of Paris, *ib.*; negotiates with Charles V, *ib.*; and Henry VIII, *ib.*; stipulations of secret-partition treaty, *ib.*, 197; his schemes, 197; follows Spanish army into Italy, 198; failure of all his plans, 199; raises mercenaries for the Emperor, *ib.*; leads Germans to Rome, 210; is killed, *ib.*
 Bourbon, House of, won over by Louis XI, 89; its claims, 136.
 Bourbons and others threaten to secede, 306.
 Bourges, Archbishop of, leader of Gallican party, 419; converts Henry IV, *ib.* sqq.; Pragmatic Sanction of, 9; Louis XI negotiates for its abolition, 35; its practical working, *ib.*; its guarantees, 105.
 Brandenburg, Joachim of, a candidate for the Imperial dignity, 189.
 Brandon, Charles, Duke of Suffolk, 202.
 Breisgau, the, in hands of Charles the Bold, 79; he visits it, 80.
 Brescia, seized by Gaston of Foix, 162.
 Bresse and Bugey, 245; to be ceded to France, 466; their importance, 468.
 Brezé, Peter of, brings on the battle of Montleheri, 41; perishes, 42.
 Brezé, Madame de, yields Rouen to the Duke of Bourbon, 47.

Brignonnet, the financier, 118; comforts Anne of Brittany, 131.
 Brignonnet of Meaux, 227.
 Brissac, in Italy, a fine soldier, 273; defends Piedmont, 274; character and death, 337.
 Brisson hung in Paris by the Leaguers, 415.
 Brittany, Francis II, Duke of, does homage to Louis XI, 36; joins League of Public Weal, 39; his share of the spoil, 48; attacks Normandy, 63; attacked by Louis XI, 66; alone stands out against Louis XI, 89; centre of the league of 1484, 105, 106.
 Brittany, Duchy of, still half independent, 15; war in, 107; submits, 108; annexed at last to the Crown, 110; independence cared for by Anne, 132, 133; finally united to France, 262; how it loses independence, *ib.* note 2; claimed by Elizabeth of Spain, 412; and by Mercœur, *ib.*
 Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit, 259.
 Brussels, Treaty of, 184.
 Budaëus, 'prodigy of France', 229.
 Bugey becomes French, 245.
 Bureaucracy of France, the, 458.
 Burgundy, Duke of, territories of, 14; nobles of, follow Louis XI into France, 24; record of homage for his territories, 58; his territories attacked, 89.
 Burgundy, Duchy of, returns to the Crown, 90.

C.

Cabuzucco, il, nickname of Charles VIII, 121.
 Caen, Louis XI meets the Duke of Brittany at, 49; secured by Louis XIII, 492.
 Calabria, Duke of, joins the League of the Public Weal, 39; advances from the East, 39, 40, 43, 45; his share of spoils, 48; arbitrates between Louis XI and his brother, 66.
 Calais taken by Francis of Guise, 278; effect of capture on England, *ib.*
 Calvin, 227; addresses his Institution to Francis I, *ib.*; his writings, 229; his career, 244; settles at Geneva, 245; hoped to allay the quarrels of Guises and Huguenots, 299.
 Calvinists, strong in Rhine-country, 480.
 Cambrai to be evacuated by the French, 92; germ of the League of, 149; period of League of, 152 sqq.; taken by Spaniards, 428; Treaty of, signed, 154; its stipulations, 155; Peace of, 213; its terms, 214; begins worst period of Francis I, 218; Italian allies sacrificed by it, 219.
 Campobasso deserts Charles the Bold, 85.
 Canterbury, meeting of Henry VIII and Charles V at, 191.
 Cape of Good Hope, 185.
 Carlos, Don, his sad fate, 324.
 Cateau-Cambresis, peace of, 281; its meaning, 281, 282.
 Catherine dei Medici, promised to Henry of France, 234; the results, *ib.*; goes with the moderates at Court, 247; spouse of Henry II, 259; supported by Tavannes, *ib.*; his proposal, 261; raises Paris, 277; will relieve the gloom of the times, 282; compared with Elizabeth and Mary Stuart, 294; her character and aims, 294, 295; personal appearance, origin, 295; her rise to power, 296; inclined to the Guises, *ib.*; has L'Hôpital as Chancellor, 301; calls Notables to Fontainebleau, 302; makes alliance with Antony of Navarre, 303; compromise with the Guises, 304; her triumvirate, 305; her 'flying squadron,' 306; secures Antony by it, *ib.*; draws towards the Châtillons, 307; is powerless between the parties, 308; supported by States-General of Pontoise, *ib.*; guides the moderates, 309; calls Assembly of S. Germain, *ib.*; fails to restrain the passions of the parties, 313; dismayed by the Vassy massacre, 316; forbids the Duke of Guise to come to Paris, *ib.*; follows the Guises to Paris, 317; tries to reconcile Antony and Condé, 318; sends an army to pursue Condé, 321; finds all the Catholic chiefs gone, 322; hopes to recover her authority, *ib.*; negotiates for peace, *ib.*; issues Edict of Amboise, *ib.*; wins Condé over, 324; visits

Lorraine, Burgundy, the South, *ib.*; meets Duke of Savoy, Papal Envoy, Queen of Spain, *ib.*; urged by Alva to deal severely with Huguenots, 325; suggests a National Council, *ib.*; threatened with assassination, 326; is cautious, *ib.*; true to her middle position, 328; keeps Alva out of France, *ib.*; her troops, *ib.*; comes to Paris, 329; abolishes office of Constable, 330; makes Peace of Longjumeau, *ib.*; joins the Spanish party, 333; supports Henry of Anjou, 336; was she sincere in granting Peace of S. Germain? 339; does not wish to destroy the Huguenots, 341; falls into background, *ib.*; her views divergent from her sons, 343; her views and wishes, 344; determines to be rid of Coligny, 344, 349; keeps Alva informed of everything, 348; begins to move, 349; her interview with Charles IX, *ib.*; plans the assassinations, *ib.*; brings about the S. Bartholomew, 350; persuades Charles IX to undertake the responsibility, 354; her share of blame, 356; tries to avoid war, 359; makes Edict of Boulogne, 361; afraid of the Politiques, 363; concocts or detects a plot, 364; seizes Alençon and Henry of Navarre, *ib.*; dominates over Charles IX, *ib.*; tries to make peace, 367; makes the 'Paix de Monsieur', *ib.*; broods over the evils of France, 374; sends an army to help Anjou in Netherlands, 376; leans to the Guises, 383; saves Henry III from the Parisians, 388; staves off ruin of Valois, *ib.*; laments over her son, 390; her death, *ib.*; her ambition for her daughter, 397.

Catholics, the, far stronger than the Huguenots, 319; disregard the Edict of Amboise, 323; their heads, 340.

Cavalry, French, how organised, 141, note 3.

Censorship, the, 230.

Cerissoles, battle of, 252.

César, Duke of Vendôme, 433.

Cesar Borgia, hostage to Charles VIII,

123; escapes from him, 125; made Duke of Valentinois, 133; aims at a Romagna principedom, 141; helped by Louis XII, 142; successful, 144; his end, 145.

Chabannes, Antony of, Count of Damartin, foe of Louis XI, 18; imprisoned, 36; joins League of the Public Weal, 39; his share of the spoils, 48; comes over to Louis XI, 50; wants to fight, 60; staunch friend of Louis XI, 61; urges war against Charles the Bold, 66; faithful to Louis, 68, 72; urges the King to pursue retreating Imperialists at Neufville, 193.

Chambord, great buildings at, 222; league of, 265.

Champlain colonises Acadia, 461.

Charenton, Bridge of, crossed by the Leaguers of 1495, 45.

Charles of Anjou (brother of S. Louis), his will, 117.

Charles of Austria (Charles V) betrothed to Claude of France, 148; his relationships, 149 note 1; congratulates Francis I on Marignano, 179; succeeds to throne of Spain, 184; sketch of character, *ib.*; pacific policy of his tutor Chièvres, *ib.*; deals with the Electors, 185; his rivalry with Francis I, 188; is elected Emperor, 190; claims Duchy of Burgundy, 192; is attacked by Francis I, *ib.*; falls back, *ib.*; retreats to Flanders, 193; negotiates with Constable Bourbon, 196; his moderation at victory of Pavia, 204; negotiates with Francis, 205; his demands as ransom rejected by Francis, *ib.*; his power alarms England and Italian States, *ib.*; has Francis removed from Pizzighitona to Spain for greater safety, *ib.*; signs Treaty of Madrid, 206; professes moderation after sack of Rome, 211; accuses Francis of ill-faith, *ib.*; receives overtures from Andrea Doria, 212; his character changes, *ib.*; amazes Europe, *ib.*; willing for peace, 213; sails for Italy, 214; lands at Genoa, *ib.*; crowned at Bologna, 215; begins a new system, 216; extent of his

power round France, 228; surrounded with dangers, 233; yields to the princes and averts peril, 234; makes peace of Kadan, 236; his African expedition, *ib.*; his brilliant success, *ib.*; deludes Francis, 237; his offers, 238; his great speech in the Consistory at Rome, 238, 240; sweeps Francis out of Italy, 240; prepares to invade Provence, *ib.*; the invasion, and its failure, 241, 242; returns to Spain, 242; anxious for peace, 245; meets Francis at Aigues Mortes, *ib.*; old before his time, 246; travels through France, 248; refuses to fulfil his lip-promises, *ib.*; again satisfies the German Princes, *ib.*; second African expedition, 248, 249; its complete failure, 249; third war with Francis, *ib.*; threatens France from the north, 253; allied with Henry VIII invades France, *ib.*; offers terms from Crespy, 254; his great power cannot defeat France at home, *ib.*; promises a princess to Charles of Orleans, 255; invests Philip with Milan, *ib.*; unopposed by Henry II, 264; tries to secure the Empire for his son Philip, *ib.*; betrayed by Moritz of Saxony, 264, 265; his Spanish troops, 265; threatens English government, unless Mary might hear mass, *ib.*; feared by the German Princes, *ib.*; is at Innspruck, 266; takes flight, 267; makes terms with Moritz, 270; besieges Metz, *ib.*; fails to take it, *ib.*; his retreat, *ib.*; wishes for peace, 271; his worn-out state, *ib.*; his vast territories falling asunder, *ib.*; has to make Peace of Augsburg, *ib.*; decides on abdication, 272; withdraws to Yuste, *ib.*; dies, *ib.*; a new period begins from his death, *ib.*; his remark on Philip's slowness at S. Quentin, 277.

Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, first master of Commynes, 3; compared with 'good King René', 11; watched by Louis, 17; welcomes Louis XI at Geneppe, 19; opposed to him in character and policy, 20; the germ of his royal ambition, 22;

strongly opposes the cession of the Somme-towns, 37; they are his real object in the War of 1465, 38; seizes power from his father's hands, *ib.*; real chief of the League of the Public Weal, 39; advances from the North, *ib.*; his army ill-found, 40; reaches S. Denis, 41; pushes on to Longjumeau, *ib.*; fights the battle of Montleheri, 42, 43; it changes his character, 44; mortified at the results of the war, 50; makes war on Liège, *ib.*; destroys Dinant, 51; at his father's death-bed, *ib.*; contrasted with Louis XI, 53, 57; his great territories, *ib.*, 57-59; his ambition, 54; his character, 54-57; wishes to make Nanci his capital, 58-60; summary of his territories, and dates of acquisition, 58 note 2; bulk of his lands German, 59; his two lines of policy, *ib.*; would gladly see six Kings of France, *ib.*; allies himself closely with the House of York, 62; makes a new League in 1467, 62; summoned to assist in remedy of abuses, by the Estates of Tours, 65; his anger thereat, *ib.*; gathers force at Peronne, 66; marries Margaret of York, *ib.*; compels Louis XI at Peronne to make terms as he would, 69; compels him to go to reduce Liège, *ib.*; declared open enemy of France, 72; helps to reinstate Edward IV, 73; makes a truce with Louis at Amiens, *ib.*; convokes his Estates, 74; dangles his daughter before all the princes of Europe, *ib.*; his League broken up by death of Charles of Guyenne, 75; makes war in Picardy, *ib.*; grows more fierce in war, *ib.*; sacks Nesle, *ib.*; besieges Beauvais, 76; fails there and at Dieppe, *ib.*; sees that his coalition-policy had failed, 77; makes truce with Louis, *ib.*; is deserted by Commynes, 77; his two lines of policy, 78; turns towards a lordship of the Rhine, 78, 79; and Empire, *ib.*; his Eastern interests, 79; seizes Lorraine, *ib.*; receives Gelderland and Zutphen, *ib.*; interview with Frederick III at Trèves, *ib.*; goes to

Nanci, 80; to Alsace and the Breisgau, *ib.*; to the Burgundies, *ib.*; Switzerland his weakness, *ib.*; his great plans, *ib.*; supports Hagenbach, *ib.*; besieges Neuss, 81; wishes Edward IV to land at Harfleur or La Hogue, 82; his stubbornness, *ib.*; withdraws from Neuss, 83; alienates Edward IV, *ib.*; overruns Lorraine, 84; loses battle of Granson, *ib.*; Morat, 85; besieges Nanci, *ib.*; defeated and slain, *ib.*; delight of Louis XI, 87; leaves his great House defenceless, 89; his saying as to six Kings of France, 413.

Charles VII, his character, 8; refuses to go on crusade, 9; a good King for France, *ib.*; refuses to make Louis governor of Normandy, 17; offended by his marriage, *ib.*; cuts off his allowance, 18; marches into Auvergne, *ib.*; his saying as to his son at Genepe, 20; occupies Dauphiny, 21; shrinks from war with Burgundy, 21; wishes for reconciliation with Louis, 22; his suspicions and death, 22, 23; lamented by France, 23.

Charles VIII, as Dauphin, betrothed to Margaret of Burgundy, 95; called to his father's death-bed, 98; is entrusted to Anne of Beaujeu, 103; dislikes her, *ib.*; is defended by her from noble reaction, 104; is obliged to accept her authority, 105; is attracted by Louis of Orleans, *ib.*; makes peace with England under Henry VII, 106; reduces the confederates in Southern France, 107; receives Nantes from the lord of Albret, 108; woos Anne of Brittany, and marries her, 109; keeps peace all round, and secures Brittany, 110; dislikes and drives out Anne of Beaujeu, *ib.*; his folly, 111; his friends in Italy, 117; his favourite, Stephen de Vesc, *ib.*; his dreams and hopes, 118; his 'voyage of discovery' across the Alps, *ib.*; his splendid army, 119; his claim to the crown of Naples, 120; his ugliness, 121; called il Cabuzucco, *ib.*; his triumphant advance, *ib.*; lies for weeks at Lyons,

122; illness at Asti, *ib.*; reaches Pisa, *ib.*; interview with Savonarola, 123; enters Florence, *ib.*; and Rome, *ib.*; moves on for Naples, *ib.*; defeats Ferdinand of Naples, 124; enters Naples, *ib.*; his imperial dreams, *ib.*; the tide turns, 125; Cæsar Borgia escapes from him, *ib.*; a great league against him, *ib.*; has to face the new Spanish power, 126; marches homewards, *ib.*; wins battle of Fornovo, *ib.*; reaches Asti, *ib.*; makes no effort to relieve the Duke of Orleans in Novara, *ib.*; reaches Lyons, 127; the Dauphin dies, *ib.*; has no vigour, *ib.*; or skill, or prudence, 128; his mismanagement, *ib.*; his careless life, *ib.*; makes truce with Ferdinand and Isabella, *ib.*; his strange seriousness, 129; and good life at last, *ib.*; introduces Italian arts into France, *ib.*; his death, *ib.*; his character, 130; his children and heir, *ib.*; his pedigree, 132.

Charles IX succeeds, 304; escorted to Paris by the Guises, 317; his majority declared, 323; his character, *ib.*; hates the Huguenots, 326; dismisses German ambassadors, *ib.*; Huguenots urge him to help the Flemish insurrection, 327; goes to Paris, 329; is prejudiced against Henry of Anjou, 336; intensely jealous of him, 337; thinks to have a policy of his own, 340; his weak character, 341; the two courses before him, *ib.*; allied with Imperialists in Germany, 342; marries Elizabeth, *ib.*; the marriage project, (Henry and Margaret,) forwarded by him, *ib.*; in good faith, 343; inclines to the Huguenots, 344; diverges from his mother, *ib.*; under ascendancy of Coligny, *ib.*; meets Jeanne d'Albret at Blois, *ib.*; welcomes Henry of Navarre, 345; fluctuates 346; his character, 347; hesitates still, 348; his opinion of his courtiers, *ib.*; his anger at attempt on Coligny, 350; visits him in bed, *ib.*; his sudden change and fury, 351; his share in the massacre, 352; traverses the streets, 353; wears

of it, *ib.*; accepts the responsibility of it, 354; his popularity thereon returns, 355; his spirit broken, *ib.*; his share in the blame, 357; his last days, 363; his death, 364; character, *ib.*

Charles X, Cardinal Bourbon, 397, 400.

Charles, younger son of Charles VII, 18; swears on the true cross of S. Loup, 30; made Duke of Berry, 37; nominal chief of the League of the Public Weal, 39; sends letters into Paris, 45; made Duke of Normandy, 47; quarrels with Francis of Brittany over the spoils, 49; loses Normandy, 50; his apauage settled at Tours, 64, 65; not formidable to Louis, 65; his claims arbitrated on by Calabria and S. Pol, 66; still heir, 68; is to have Champagne and Brie instead of Normandy, 69; is persuaded to take Guyenne instead, 70; tempted to oppose his brother by birth of the Dauphin, 73; is offered the hand of Mary of Burgundy, 74; falls ill, and dies, 75.

Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, the longest head in France, 278; gets a great loan for Henry II, 279; his character, 292.

Charles, Duke of Lorraine, claims throne of France, 396.

Charles of Orleans, 254; his death, 255, 258.

Charlotte of Savoy marries Louis XI, 17; joins him at Genepe, 19, 20.

Charolais, Charles of; *see* Charles the Bold.

Chartier, Alain, 'father of French eloquence,' 11.

Chartres, Henry IV crowned at, 423.

Chase, rights of, curtailed by Louis XI, 38.

Chastel attempts Henry's life, 425.

Chastellain, calls Louis XI the 'universal spider,' 6; is an unfriendly biographer, 37; describes the lectures given by Charles the Bold, 56.

Chastenoy, Peace of, 367.

Château Thierry, taken by Charles V, 253.

Châtillon brothers, the, 293; cannot keep Montmorency from joining the Guises, 307.

Châtillon, Cardinal, escapes to England, 333; helpful to Huguenots, *ib.*

Châtillon, Marquis of, yields up Aigues Mortes, 498.

Châtillon, the Admiral's son, is Huguenot General, 372.

Chaumont of Amboise, marches to Bologna, 161.

Chièvres, tutor to Charles V, 184; short account of, *ib.*

Christian of Anhalt leads Germans into France, 414.

Christian of Brunswick tries a diversion for the Huguenots, 498.

'Christian Republic,' the, a historic problem, 472; laid out in Sully's Economies, *ib.*, 473; alluded to by no other writer or minister, 473; its plan, 474; not the King's, 475; some 'great design' of the kind probably existed, *ib.*; the likely view respecting it, 477.

Church, the, in France under Charles VII, 9; offended by Louis XI, 35; Louis XI checks power of clergy, 36.

Civil wars, ages of, dreary, 283; characteristics of, in France, *ib.*; preluded, 311; Vassy massacre begins them, 312; summary of the, 313-315; the first, 316, sqq.; the second, 326; the third, 331; the fourth, 359; the fifth, 364; the sixth, 371; the savage traits of, 372; the seventh, 374; the wars grow worse in character, *ib.*; that of the Three Henries, 385.

Claude of Aumâle, first Duke of Guise, 250.

Claude of France, daughter of Louis XII, 110; betrothed to Charles of Austria, 148; her dower, 149; Louis XII repents, 150; marries her to Francis of Angoulême, 151.

Claude of France, youngest daughter of Henry II, 396.

Clement VII hopes to free Italy, 209; intrigues with Pescara, 210; his plans fail, *ib.*; taken prisoner, 211; turns to Charles V, 212; makes

peace with him, 213; his difficult position, 234; his compact of Mar-seilles, *ib.*; gives Catherine dei Medici to Henry of France, *ib.*; his death, *ib.*
 Clement VIII negotiates privately with Henry IV, 418; absolves him, 428.
 Clement, Jacques, assassinates Henry III, 393.
 Clergy, careless or imbued with the new ideas, 223;
 Cleves-Jülich district, the questions respecting, 480; succession of, 481; the claimants, *ib.*
 Cognac, Treaty of, 208; is a Huguenot city of refuge, 338.
 Colbert, 437, 438.
 Coligny, Admiral, ordered to make war on Philip, 274; his previous career, 275; defends S. Quentin, *ib.*; his brave resistance, 277; a prisoner and forgotten, 278; returns to Paris, 291; in favour at Court, *ib.*; his position and character, 293; at Fontainebleau, 302; best in defeat, draws off Huguenots after Dreux, 321; rides to meet English, *ib.*; vexed at peace of Amboise, 323; eager to persuade Charles IX to help the Netherlands, 328; commands rear at Jarnac, 335; falls back for Saintes, *ib.*; willing to serve under Henry of Navarre, *ib.*; moves out to join the allies, 336; loses battle of Moncontour, 337; his marauding expedition, *ib.*; defeated at Arnay-le-Duc, 338; is to command in Netherlands under Alençon, 343; his influence over Charles IX, 344, 345; full of confidence in Charles IX, 347; urges him to attack the Netherlands, *ib.*; Catherine plans his death, 349; Maurevel hired to kill him, *ib.*; wearies Charles IX, 350; is wounded by Maurevel, *ib.*; Charles IX visits him, *ib.*; his confidence leads him to his fate, 351; his death, 352; was a patriot, 377.
 Cologne, real point of attack by Charles the Bold, 81.
 Colloquy of Poissy, 309.
 Columbus, 118, 134.

Commynes, his character as a historian, 2, 3; panegyrist of Louis XI, 25; not always secure in favour, 28; why a friend of Louis XI, 31; his respect for the King's shrewdness, 33; his opinion as to the Count of Maine's treason, 41; as to the King's bravery, 44; as to the war-like temper of Charles the Bold, *ib.*; tells us what Louis XI thought about Paris, 45; says that 'Public Weal was private gain,' 47; on Louis' policy after Conflans, 49; condemns Louis for placing himself in the hands of Charles, 67; begs Louis to yield to Charles the Bold, 69; goes over to Louis XI, 77; notes the courtiers on death of Charles the Bold, 87; his advice as to leaving Charles to break his head against Germany, 92; on character of Louis XI, 96; notes the King's pleasure at death of Mary of Burgundy, 97; faithfully mirrors his master, 100; dealt sharply with by Anne of Beaujeu, 104; makes no mention of her in his writings, *ib.*; remarks on Charles VIII's expedition, 128; on his character, 130.
 Concini, favourite of Mary dei Medici, 471; in power, 487; made Marshal Ancre, *ib.*; his character, *ib.*; Richelieu's good word for him, *ib.*; buys off the princes, 489; again, 490; arrests Condé, *ib.*; loses royal favour, *ib.*; is killed, 491.
 Concordat, takes place of Pragmatic Sanction, 181; its condition, 182.
 Condé, Louis, Prince of, escapes at S. Quentin, 276; his character, 294; 'mute captain' of La Renaudie's conspiracy, 300; clears himself, *ib.*; arrested by Francis II, 302; released, 304; threatens withdrawal, 306; escorts the preachers in Paris, 310; ordered to leave Paris, 317; goes to Meaux, *ib.*; attempts to carry off Charles IX, *ib.*; seizes Orleans, *ib.*; negotiates with German Princes, *ib.*; signs treaty with Queen Elizabeth, *ib.*; refuses Catherine's offers, 318; defends Orleans, 319; calls for German help, 320; marches on Paris, 321;

marches westward to meet English, *ib.*; a prisoner at Dreux, *ib.*; draws off from Huguenots, 324; his lively ways, *ib.*; besieges Paris, 329; loses battle of S. Denis, *ib.*; falls back towards Lorraine, 330; joined by Germans, *ib.*; Guises try to seize him, 332; escapes to La Rochelle, *ib.*; dreams of royal dignities, 334; in command against Henry of Anjou, *ib.*; loses battle of Jarnac, 335; his death, *ib.*
 Condé, Henry the young Prince of, 335; recants at the S. Bartholomew, 354; returns from Germany, 367; has Picardy after Chastenoy, *ib.*; 369; opposed by Guises, *ib.*; gets no footing in Picardy, 370; commands Huguenots in Poitou, 385.
 Condé, Henry II Duke of, deems himself heir to the throne, 482; escapes to Brussels, *ib.*; in exile, 487; names his price, 488; wins chief power by treaty of Loudon, 490; his selfishness, *ib.*; leads the war-party against Mary dei Medici, 497; insists on utterly ruining the Huguenots, 498; has to withdraw, *ib.*
 Condé, Princess of, wooed by Henry IV, 482.
 Condottieri, 115.
 Conflans, Peace of, 47; its stipulations, 47, 48.
 'Conseil de Reason,' at Rouen, 431.
 Constitutional life in France, ruined by fall of Marcel, 4; parliamentary government encouraged by Henry V, *ib.*
 Conti, Prince of, aims at the Infanta's hand, 420; is a cypher, 487.
 Corbeil, Louis XI withdraws to, 44; the Duke of Parma takes, 411.
 Corisande the fair, 387.
 Corsica seized by the French, 268.
 Cosmo dei Medici, 115.
 Cossé, Charles IX's opinion of, 348.
 Cotton, Father, Confessor to Henry IV, 471.
 Court, the French, very corrupt, 372, 374.
 Cousin, the painter, 231.
 Coutras, Battle of, 386.
 Crespy, Peace of, its character and

terms, 254; a triumph of the 'white party' at Court, *ib.*
 Crevecœur, causes loss of battle at Guinegate, 93.
 Croys, the, friends of Louis XI, 37.
 Crusade urged on by Pius II, 7; Louis XI, as Dauphin, declares that he will go, 19.
 Cujas, 394.
 'Culture, the King of,' Francis I, 113.
 D.
 Dammartin, *see* Chabannes.
 D'Andelot, 293; attempts to relieve S. Quentin, 275; eager for war, 316; defends Orleans, 321; his death, 336.
 Darc, Jeanne, her statue overthrown, 318.
 Darnley's murder, 327.
 Dauphin Francis, the, affianced to Mary of England, 186; left as a hostage in Spain, 206.
 Dauphiny, its position and government, 14; under Louis XI as Dauphin, 16; is occupied by Charles VII, 21; a poor province, 457.
 De la Marck, Robert, Duke of Bouillon, sides with France against Charles V, 192.
 De la Pole, Richard, Duke of Suffolk, killed at Pavia, 202.
 De Monts colonises Acadia, 461.
 Denmark, Christian I, King of, offers to mediate between Charles the Bold and the Empire, 82.
 Denmark, Christian III, King of, refuses to help Francis, 252.
 De Serres, Olivier, his book on tillage, 447.
 De Thermes takes Dunkirk and Nieuport, 280; loses battle of Gravelines, *ib.*
 D'Humières, sets the League going, 369.
 D'Humières, dismissed because of his red hair, 493.
 Diana of Poitiers, 226; her influence on Henry to Dauphin, 247, 258, 259; Tavannes wishes to cut off her nose, 261; opposed to Huguenots, 289.
 Dieppe, to be secured by Henry IV,

- 402; suburbs fortified, 403; attack on at Le Pollet repulsed, *ib.*
 Dijon, Charles the Bold at, 80; Chamber of Accounts at, 90.
 Dinant, uprooted by Charles of Charolais, 51; its 'Dinanderie,' *ib.*
 Dohna, Baron, leads Germans into France, 387; defeated by Guise, *ib.*
 Dole, taken by the Swiss, 93.
 Dolet, Estienne, his martyrdom, 257.
 Doria, Andrea, 211; changes sides, and ruins France in Italy, 212; rival of Barbarossa, 236.
 D'Orsat, Cardinal, Henry IV's ambassador at Rome, 428.
 Doullens, French repulsed at, 427.
 Dreux, battle of, 321; besieged by Henry IV, 405; taken, 421; its importance, *ib.*
 Du Bartas, 394.
 Du Bellay, the two, 226.
 Du Bellay, Jean, in Germany, 234; historian of Francis I, 246.
 Du Bellay, Martin, reference to Du Prat, 204.
 Du Moulin, 394.
 Dunkirk, taken by De Thermes, 280.
 Dunois, 'Bastard of Orleans,' 12; his saying on death of Charles VII, 23; joins the League of the Public Weal, 39; his share of the spoil, 48.
 Dunois, the younger, exiled, 107.
 Du Perron, Henry's ambassador at Rome, 428; a Cardinal, 466.
 Du Prat, scandalous minister of Louise of Savoy, 172; Chancellor of France, draws up treaty with Leo X, 181; becomes the despot of France, 183; is hated by the people, *ib.*; causes the death of Lord of Semblançay, 195; advises Louise of Savoy to claim heritage of Susanne of Bourbon, 196; intrigues against the Constable, *ib.*; helps Louise of Savoy to succour the army after defeat at Pavia, 202.

E.

- 'Économies royales,' the literary history of the book, 473; contains the 'Christian Republic' scheme, *ib.*, 474.

- Edict of Moulins, 325; of Orleans, 306; of July, 308; of January, 310; its objects, *ib.*; of Union, 389.
 Edward IV of England, contrasted with Louis XI, 27; made King, 37; message of Louis XI to him, 71; restored by Burgundian aid, 73; prepares for war with France, 82; lands at Calais, 83; disgusted with Charles the Bold, makes peace with Louis XI, *ib.*; promises his daughter Elizabeth to the Dauphin, 84; meets Louis on Pecquigny Bridge, *ib.*
 Egmont, Lamoral, Count, wins battle of S. Quentin, 276; wins battle of Gravelines, 280; how treated by Philip, *ib.*; at Paris, 291.
 Egmont, Philip, Count, joins Mayenne, 405; killed at Ivry, 407.
 Eleanor of Portugal, 206.
 Elizabeth of Austria, marries Charles IX, 342.
 Elizabeth of England, promised to the Dauphin Charles, 84.
 Elizabeth, Queen, contrasted with Catherine dei Medici, 294; makes a treaty with Condé, 317; its terms, *ib.*; listens to Châtillon, 333; the Bull of Excommunication against, 334; has Anjou as a suitor, 342; sends Leicester to Blois, 343; puts on mourning for the Huguenots, 309; is warmly supported by the English, *ib.*; wooed by Alençon, 361; refuses him her hand, 375; opposed by the Jesuits, 381; the plots against her, 382; excommunicated, 384; promises help to Henry IV, 385; knows that war is inevitable, 386; signs death-warrant of Mary, *ib.*; sends recognition and money to Henry IV, 404; sends help to Henry IV, 414; sends ambassadors to Henry's coronation, 423; offers to garrison Calais, 429; Henry's saying thereon, 430; Henry negotiates with her, 464; her hints to Biron, 469; her bold projects, 476, 477.
 Elizabeth of France, her claims to the French throne, 397, 401.
 Elizabeth, Queen of Spain, meets Catherine at Bayonne, 324.
 Elizabeth of Spain, claims French

- throne, and Brittany 412; the suitors for her hand, 420.
 Elzevir Republics, the, 476.
 Emperor, Holy Roman, had long been some weak prince, 78; strong ones now coming, 79.
 Enghien, Count of, wins battle of Cerisolles, 252; killed in 1546, 258.
 England recognises Henry IV, 404.
 English, their envoys treat for peace between Charles and Francis, 193; the, threaten Paris, 198.
 Entragues, the, their plot, 470.
 Épernay taken by Charles V, 253.
 Épernon, Duke of, exalted, 376; sent to Henry of Navarre, 378; holds Politique views, *ib.*; defeats Lesdiguieres, 385; dismissed, 389; in Provence, 429; submits, *ib.*; to command French foot, 482; his position under Mary dei Medici, 487; attempts a rising on her behalf, 491; blockades La Rochelle, 496; reduces Royan, 497.
 Erasmus, 287.
 Essek, battle of, 245.
 Estates, the Three, little used by Louis XI, 100.
 Estiennes, the, 230.
 Étampes, Bretons and Burgundians join hands at, 45.
 Étampes, Duchess of, 285.
 Eu, Count of, Lieutenant of Louis XI in Paris, 45; shows a brave front, 46.
 Eu, County of, promised to S. Pol, 61.
 F.
 Famine in France, 221.
 Farel, William, 227; in Switzerland, 245.
 Ferdinand of Aragon threatens Rousillon, 110; is bought off, *ib.*; leagued with Alexander VI against Charles VIII, 125; had already made Spain a monarchy, 126; makes treaty with Louis XII, 141; most false of princes, 145; makes peace with Louis XII, 146; assures Cardinal Amboise he shall be Pope, 153; covets Brindisi, Otranto and Gallipoli, *ib.*; enters Neapolitan territory, 158; temporises, *ib.*; joins Holy League, 162; seizes Navarre, 164; negotiates and cheats all round, *ib.*; comes to terms with Maximilian and Henry VIII, *ib.*; his death, 184.
 Ferdinand of Austria recognised by the Protestants, 236; defeated at Essek, 245; refuses to yield to Philip, 264; or to Charles V, 271.
 Ferdinand of Naples 117.
 Ferdinand II of Naples, a worthy prince, 124; joins league against Charles VIII, 125; overcomes the French, 127.
 Feudal lords opposed by Louis XI, 100; his policy with them in two lines, 101.
 Field of the Cloth of Gold, 190.
 Finance, how to be righted? 456; Sully's action respecting it, 457, 459.
 Financiers, hateful, 221.
 Flanders, threatened by Louis XI, 91; estates of, give Maximilian trouble, 106.
 Fleix, Peace of, 375.
 Florence, Charles VIII at, 123; buys leave from Louis XII to conquer Pisa, 155; is under a Medicean Duke, 214.
 Fornovo, battle of, 126.
 Fontainebleau, Notables at, 302; Court at, 316, 317.
 Fontaine-Française, skirmish at, 427.
 Fontarabia, taken by Bonnavet, 193.
 France, in transition from feudalism to national life, 3; Renaissance little felt in, *ib.*; burgher-life fails in, 4; constitutional government made hopeless for, 5; becomes one nation, *ib.*; literary annals of, 10; as related with Europe, 12, 13; her position in 1453, 14; has peace at end of reign of Louis XI, 94; still in darkness, 98; has rest under Anne of Beaujeu, 104; plays large part in making the Balance of Power, 112; influenced by Italy, *ib.*; receptive from other nations, 113; not much affected by the Renaissance, *ib.*; her desire for culture wakes, *ib.*; suffers from Italian influences, *ib.*; a dangerous friend to Italy, 115; flourishes

under Louis XII, 138; not weary of Italian expeditions, 140; overshadows all Italy, 157, 158; her tastes and arts, 160; her rivalry with Austria, 187; reaction in favour of, 205; alliance with Turkey, *ib.*; her state at home, 220; has famine, 221; general lawlessness in, 223; parties in, 224; not yet under Calvin's influence, *ib.*; her middle party, 225; cares, not for Catholic and Protestant, but for learned and unlearned, *ib.*; her Catholic party, 226; her moderate and reforming party, 227; in embrace of Charles V's power, 228; literature in, 229; her art, 231; amuses herself with Renaissance, *ib.*; no depth of movement, *ib.*; has no growth of constitutional life, 232; her political rule 'Catholic at home, Protestant abroad,' 234; suffers from Catherine dei Medici's arrival, *ib.*; her war power reformed, 235; her war power mercenary, 252; her native soldiers despised, *ib.*; invaded by Charles V and Henry VIII, who fail, 253, 254; the lesson to be learnt from it, 254; loses hold of Italy, 255; to be strengthened on N. E. frontier, 266; her proposed Rhine-protectorate, *ib.*; enthusiastic for war, 267; sets a large force afoot, 268; enlarges her borders in N. E., *ib.*; takes Corsica, *ib.*; occupies Piedmont, *ib.*; eager for peace, 271; has leisure, 272; cannot solve her problems, *ib.*; civil wars in, their character, 283; slow at adopting new beliefs, 284; refuses the Reformation, *ib.*; her cities much divided, 285, and backward, *ib.*; her middle tendencies, *ib.*; moral sense not high, 286; has little religious feeling, *ib.*; Inquisition introduced into, 289; parties in, 304; parties in, simplified, 308; her divisions into Catholic and Protestant, 310; her unwholesome party life, 358; simplified into two parties, 359; her evil state in the civil wars, 374; in worst times has some noble natures to help her, 377; bare of men of letters, 395;

desires a Spanish king, 412; comes over to Henry IV on his conversion, 423; discontented and restless, 430; her kings and ministers careless of her true welfare, 438; her two policies, *ib.*, 439; helped in agriculture and manufactures by Henry IV, 447, 448; guided by rules of art not by genius, *ib.*; her age of pastorals, *ib.*; needs an autocrat, 449; her evil state under Henry IV, 452; her finances, *ib.*, 453; responds to the efforts of Henry IV and Sully, 460; her colonies, 461; her unsettled state, 466; prepares for German war, 482, 483; sends an army of mercenaries into Jülich, 485; her policy towards the Huguenots, 494, 495; receives her master in Richelieu, 499.

Francesco Sforza teaches Louis XI, 99. *See* Sforza.

Franche Comté to be evacuated by Louis XI, 92; reduced by the Swiss, 93; revolts from Charles VIII, 110; war in 1595, 427.

Franchise, new name for Arras, 911.

Francis, Count of Angoulême (Francis I), marries Claude of France, 110, 151; his interests upheld by Marshal Gié, 148; marries daughter of Louis XII, 166; is invested with Duchy of Brittany, *ib.*; succeeds to throne of France, 169; sketch of character, *ib.*, 168, 171; celebrates accession by a tournament, 172; his selfishness, *ib.*; weakness of character, *ib.*; device and motto, 173; incapability of dealing with Charles V and Reformation, 174; wastes the strength of France, *ib.*; his ill-omened appointments of Chancellor and Constable, 175; asserts claim to Milan and Naples, *ib.*; prepares for war, *ib.*; makes peace with England, *ib.*; negotiates with Venice, Genoa, and Archduke Charles, *ib.*; is opposed by the Holy League, *ib.*; wins battle of Marignano, 179; receives accolade from Bayard, 180; cares little for true interests of France, 181; his interview with Leo X, *ib.*; makes Perpetual Peace with Swiss, *ib.*; leaves his royal duties

to his mother and Du Prat, 183; encourages sale of offices, *ib.*; his power decreases, 184; treatment of the Bourbons, *ib.*; his treaties in 1516, *ib.*; his friends at Diet of Augsburg, 185; distrusts England, *ib.*; inspects harbours, *ib.*; makes Treaty of London, 186; desires the Empire, 187; trial of strength between him and Charles V, 188; his qualifications, *ib.*; favoured by most of the Electors, 189; his chances fade, *ib.*; his foolish policy, 190; meeting with Henry VIII at Field of the Cloth of Gold, *ib.*; in danger of war, 191; claims Navarre, Milan and Naples, *ib.*; strikes first blow, 192; his unprepared condition, *ib.*; his temporary success, *ib.*; offends Constable Bourbon, 193; fails to follow up success at Neufville, *ib.*; peace negotiated by English envoys between him and Charles, 193; withdraws to Amiens, *ib.*; his favouritism begins by appointment of Lautrec, brother of his mistress, to command in Milan, *ib.*; league formed against him by Pope and Emperor, *ib.*; reproaches Lautrec with loss of Milan, 194; his anger against his mother for intercepting money sent to pay troops, *ib.*; his shameful condemnation of the old Lord of Semblançay, 195; offends Bourbon, 196; secures triumph of Court party, *ib.*; besieges Pavia, 199; loses battle of Pavia, 201; is taken prisoner by Lannoy, *ib.*; his two letters written from Pizzighitona, 203; conduct after Pavia, *ib.*; negotiates with Charles, 205; rejects conditions of ransom, *ib.*; is carried into Spain, *ib.*; wearies of imprisonment, 206; signs Treaty of Madrid, *ib.*; his Treaty of Cognac, 208; breaks Treaty of Madrid, 211; desires peace, 213; ruined in character by battle of Pavia, 217; his qualities, *ib.*; where he failed, 218; 'fountain of justice,' *ib.*; his ruinous policy begins, *ib.*; sacrifices his Italian allies, 219; his Court becomes Italian, *ib.*; his Italian aims, *ib.*; fascinated by the Renaissance, *ib.*;

punishes financiers, 221; his Court most gay, 222; fluctuates between parties, 224; lover of culture, *ib.*; leads the Court party, 225; his policy of balancing, 226; his failure, *ib.*; never a Protestant, 227; receives dedications from Zwingli and Calvin, *ib.*; throws them over, 228; does not take up his true position, 229; deluded by Charles, *ib.*; his tortuous policy, *ib.*; offers to occupy Italy for Charles V, *ib.*; establishes Regius Professorships, 230; tries to allure Erasmus, *ib.*; his College of the three languages, *ib.*; a beautiful dream, 231; never meant to keep Peace of Cambrai, 233; seizes his mother's hoards, *ib.*; prepares for war, *ib.*; not much in earnest, 234; threatens separation from Rome, *ib.*; makes terms with German Princes, 235; stands aloof from the African expedition of Charles V, 236; makes open alliance with Soliman, 237; attacks Lombardy, *ib.*; his blunders, *ib.*; deluded by Charles V, *ib.*; challenged by the Emperor's great speech, 239; must fight, 240; is swept out of Piedmont, *ib.*; advances into Provence to oppose Charles V, 242; makes peace, 245; meets Charles at Aigues Mortes, *ib.*; under the Emperor's influence, *ib.*; old before his time, 246; changes much, lives at Fontainebleau, *ib.*; after Aigues Mortes changes again, *ib.*; his two Courts, *ib.*; is a mere wreck, 274; deluded by Charles, *ib.*, 248; declares war on him, 249; has no allies, 252; his affairs gloomy, *ib.*; his army of mercenaries, *ib.*; is very arbitrary, *ib.*; cautiously declines to invade Italy, 253; almost in despair, 254; receives offer of peace from Charles, *ib.*; signs Peace of Crespy, *ib.*; once more cheated by Charles V, 255; loses hold on Italy, *ib.*; prepares again for war, *ib.*; makes the round of Europe, *ib.*; welcome at Rome, *ib.*; his death, *ib.*; character of his reign, 256; encouraged Briçonnet, 287.

Francis II, King of France, seized by the Guises, 292; crowned King, *ib.*; his character, 299; led by Guises, *ib.*; dismisses the Princes, *ib.*; his death, 303.
 Francis II, Duke of Brittany, does homage to Louis XI, 36; joins the League of the Public Weal, 39; his share of the profits, 48; falls out with Charles of Berry, 49; fails to help Charles the Bold, 76; attacked by Louis, *ib.*; makes peace, 77; not to be disturbed, 98; leagued with Duke of Orleans, 105; threatens France, 107; defeated, *ib.*; dies, 108.
 Francis of Guise commands at Metz, 269; does his best against Charles V, 270; sent to help Paul IV in Italy, 273; pushes on for Naples, 274; fails, *ib.*; recalled to France, *ib.*, 277; is Lieutenant-General, 278; restores fortunes of France, 278; takes Calais, *ib.*; takes Thionville, 280.
 Françoise of Foix, mistress of Francis I, 193.
 Frederick III, Emperor, meets Charles the Bold at Trèves, 79; comes down to relieve Neusz, 81.
 Frederick IV, Elector Palatine, 479; at head of Calvinists, 480.
 Frederick of Naples, cheated by Ferdinand the Catholic, 146; carried into France and dies there, 147.
 'Free Archers,' the, too independent, 92; abolished, 94.
 French Court protects the reformers, 285, 287.
 French 'liberation' in Italy, what it is, 124, 128; occupation of Milan ends, 194.
 Froissart, his character as a historian, 2.
 Fronde, the, a poor comedy, 488.
 Frundsberg, captain of Landsknechts, 210.
 Fuentes, commands Spaniards in Picardy, 427.

G.

Gabelle of Salt, oppressive, 252, 457.

Gabrielle d'Estrées, Henry's letter to, 410; her ambition to be Queen, 421; desires the King's conversion, *ib.*; bears Henry's speech to the Notables at Rouen, 446; Henry's conduct after her death, *ib.*; her influences and death, 465.
 Galigai, Leonora, Concini's wife, 471, 487; executed, 491.
 'Gallants' War,' the, 374.
 Gascon infantry, the, 119.
 Gaston of Foix, Duke of Nemours, the most promising of Louis XII's captains, 162; relieves Bologna, *ib.*; seizes Brescia, *ib.*; attacks Ravenna, *ib.*; is killed in the battle which follows, *ib.*; great lamentation after his death, *ib.*
 Gattinara, Cardinal, 215.
 Genepe, Louis XI as Dauphin settles there, 19.
 General Council, appealed to, 161.
 Geneva throws off her masters, 243; described, *ib.*; her three jurisdictions, *ib.*; resists attempts to subjugate her, *ib.*; allied with Bern and Fribourg, 244; ruled by Calvin, 245; exodus of the learned to, 257; her importance, 258; second source of French Reformation, 288; threatened by Italian Princes, 307; the 'Rome of Calvinism,' 468; her freedom secured by Henry IV, *ib.*
 Genlis and La Nene in Netherlands, 346; his defeat, 348; it is the turning point in history of the S. Bartholomew, *ib.*
 Genoa, friendly to the Angevin side, 117; resists French influence, 152; is reduced by Louis XII, 153; undefended point at which Francis could enter Italy, 176; formed into a republic, 212; her value to Spain, *ib.*; her aristocratic republic, 214.
 George of Amboise, the great minister of Louis XII, 134; his character, 138; wishes to be Pope, 139; is in Italy, 143; an unsafe guide, 145; supports Anne of Brittany, 148.
 Germaine of Foix to marry Ferdinand the Catholic, 150.
 German soldiers suffer much at Pavia, 201; mercenaries disliked by Charles V, 265; Protestants, how they came

to help the Huguenots, 317; enter France, 386; under Dohna, 387.
 Germany, too strong for Charles the Bold, 92; affairs in, in 1609, 479, 481.
 Ghent, troubles at, 91; citizens of, murder ministers of Mary of Burgundy, *ib.*; favour Adolph of Gelderland, *ib.*
 Ghislieri (Pope Pius V), 330.
 Gian Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, 139, 140.
 Gié, Peter of, rival of George of Amboise, 138; his fall, *ib.*; supports Francis of Angoulême, 148; exiled for carrying off Claude of France, 158.
 Gilbert of Montpensier, French Viceroy at Naples, 127.
 Giles of Brittany, his end, 18.
 Ginevra, Monte, 122.
 Givry, Baron of, recovers Corbeil and Lagny for Henry IV, 411.
 Gondi, Cardinal, envoy of Henry IV, 418.
 Gonzalvo of Cordova, 145.
 Goujon, the sculptor, 231; said to have perished in the S. Bartholomew, 352.
 Granada, Treaty of, 149.
 Grange aux Merciers, conferences at the, 47.
 Granson, taken by Charles the Bold, 84; battle of, *ib.*
 Granvelle, Cardinal, 215; intrigues for peace, 280; aims at extirpation of heresy, 282.
 Gravelines, battle of, 280.
 Greek sentences learnt by Henry IV, 444.
 Gregory of Tiferno teaches Greek at Paris, 10.
 Gregory XIII, his share in blame for the S. Bartholomew, 357.
 Gregory XIV, a Leaguer, 414; his death, 415.
 Grison Leagues, receive the Valteline, 164; Henry IV allied with them, 464.
 Guicciardini, on the state of Italy in 1490, 116; on Charles VIII, 121.
 Guinegate, battle of, 93; causes end of the Free Archers, 94.
 Guise, Charles, Duke of, deals with

Spain, 419; selected by Philip II for the Infanta, 421; appeased by Henry IV, 424; acts for Henry IV in Provence, 429.
 Guise, Claude, Duke of, disperses German enthusiasts, 204.
 Guise, Francis, Duke of, is Lieutenant-General of France, 300; head of the Triumvirates, 307; his speech as to the Edict of July, 308; withdraws to the east of France, 311; is called back by the Catholic party, 312; at Vassy, *ib.*; the Huguenots exasperated with him, 313; Catherine forbids him to come on to Paris, 316; he enters Paris, 317; escorts Charles IX to Paris, *ib.*; appeals to Spain for help, *ib.*; besieges Orleans, 321; assassinated by Poltrot, 322; his position and character, *ib.*
 Guise, Henry, Duke of, opposes German incursion, 367; is called le Balafre, *ib.*; seeks to secure himself by the League, 368; claims Karoling origin, *ib.*, 369; shelters his aims behind Cardinal Bourbon, 382; sells himself to Philip II, *ib.*; is 'King of Paris,' 385; has decision as to peace or war, *ib.*; defeats Dohna at Vimory and Auneau, 387; enters Paris in triumph, *ib.*; his personal appearance, *ib.*; influence in Paris, 388; named Lieutenant-General, 389; assassinated by Henry III, 390.
 Guise, town of, given to S. Pol, 61.
 Guises, the, eager for war, 249; their family, *ib.*, note 1; pedigree, 251; quarrel with Montmorency, 259; honours accumulated on them, 260; wish for war, 266; are very powerful, 273; rise on death of Henry II, 292; seize Francis II, *ib.*; their aims and pedigree, *ib.*; are uncles of Francis II, *ib.*; natural allies of Catherine dei Medici, 296; Spain slowly joins them, 298; their unwise conduct, 299; the resistance to them, *ib.*; La Renaudie's conspiracy threatens them, 300; become omnipotent, *ib.*; their power diminished, 302; try to destroy the Bourbons, 303; their plans, *ib.*; overthrown by death of Francis II, *ib.*;

their compromise with Catherine, 304; their position insecure, *ib.*; protected by Catherine, 306; win over Montmorency, 307; withdraw for a time, 309; their chiefs all gone, 322; are the strength of the League, 323; are eager for the massacre, 351; want to destroy Bourbons and Montmorencies, *ib.*; secures Coligny's death, 352; their share in blame of the S. Bartholomew, 356; Henry III will not break with them, 365; he goes completely with them, 366; their policy, 368; resist Condé, 369; their aims appear in the Articles of the League, 370; their family party, *ib.*; their heads assassinated by Henry III, 389; claim throne of France, 397; make common cause with Philip II, *ib.*; pay scant attention to the Lorraine Princes, 403; unite with Duke of Lorraine, 414.

H.

Hachette, Jeanne, 76.

Hagenbach, agent of Charles the Bold in Breisgau, complaints against, 80; his condemnation and death, 81.

Hainault entered by French army, 91; to be evacuated, 92.

Hampton Court, Châtillon at, 333.

Hansa, a French, established, 100.

Harlay de Sancy, 392.

Havre, the English at, 319.

Hawkwood, Sir J., 115, note 4.

Heidelberg, Protestant league at, 479.

Heilbronn pact renewed, 480.

Hennuyer, Bishop of Lisieux, protects Huguenots, 353.

Henriette of Entragues, plots against Henry IV, 470.

Henry of Albret, King of Navarre, taken prisoner at Pavia, escapes, 202; grandfather of Henry IV, is a poor creature, 442.

Henry, Duke of Bouillon, condemns the S. Bartholomew, 354.

Henry of Richmond (Henry VII of England) supported by Anne of Beaujeu, 106; succeeds to English throne, 107; attacks Boulogne, 110.

Henry VIII, of England, forms a scheme to overthrow France, 164; lands at Calais, 165; besieges Therouenne, *ib.*; wins Battle of Spurs, *ib.*; jealous of Francis I's success at Marignano, 179; is dissuaded from becoming a competitor for the Imperial throne, 188; is entertained by Francis at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, 190; his insincerity, 191; umpire between Charles and Francis, 193; his remark on Constable Bourbon in 1520, 195; negotiates with Constable, 196; changes sides, 205; signs treaty with the Regent, *ib.*; claims to be crowned King at Paris, 208; champion of the 'Holy League,' 209; is angry with Charles V, 233; invades France, 253; besieges Boulogne, *ib.*; not cordial with Charles V, *ib.*; takes Boulogne, 254; makes peace, 255; his death, *ib.*

Henry II returns from Madrid, 233; marries Catherine dei Medici, 234; evil results of this alliance, *ib.*; marches to Avignon, 242; head of the gloomy Court, 247; carries all before him, *ib.*; fails in Roussillon, 250; his joy at death of Francis I, 258; more fatal to Charles V than Francis I had been, 259; his court sketched by Tavannes, 260; his manners, 261, 262; his 'affaires du Matin,' 262; unites Brittany to the Crown, *ib.*; refuses to oppose Charles V, 263; wins Mary of Scots for his son, *ib.*; his message to Protector Somerset, *ib.*; makes war on England, *ib.*; makes peace, recovering Boulogne, 264; his home affairs and troubles, *ib.*; listens to overtures of German Princes, 265; makes league of Chambord, *ib.*; his price, *ib.*; made Imperial Vicar, *ib.*; plunged in war against his will, 266; gathers a large army, 267; the enthusiasm in France, *ib.*; is 'protector of the liberties of Germany,' *ib.*; wins Metz, *ib.*; Verdun and Toul, 268; obtains Corsica, *ib.*; fails to win Strasburg, *ib.*; is urged by the

Germans to recede, *ib.*, 269; secures the Bishopricks and enters Luxemburg, *ib.*; fails there, *ib.*; ill at Sedan, *ib.*; allied with Paul IV, 273; makes war on Philip, *ib.*, 274; his mishaps, 275-277; unwilling to advance the Guises, 278; calls an Assembly of Notables at Paris, 279; its composition, *ib.*; returns to Paris, *ib.*; marries Mary Stuart to the Dauphin, *ib.*; accepts Peace of Cateau-Cambresis, 281; is penniless, *ib.*; at end of life hard on Huguenots, 289; his tournament and death, 292.

Henry III (as Duke of Anjou) made Lieutenant-General, 330; in command against Condé, 334; not anxious to push the Huguenots too sharply, 336; out of favour with Charles IX, *ib.*, 337; suitor for Queen Elizabeth, 342; candidate for Polish crown, 349; his account of the Massacre, 351; commands the royal army against La Rochelle, 360; elected King of Poland, 362; very sorry to go, *ib.*; escapes from Poland on death of Charles IX, 365; goes to Italy, *ib.*; thence to France, *ib.*; his ardent Catholicism, 366; his character, *ib.*; to be supported by the League conditionally, 369; tries to satisfy Henry of Navarre at Nérac, 374; spreads evil tales as to his sister and Henry, *ib.*; assures Philip II that he has nothing to do with Anjou's schemes, 375; thinks to exalt 'new men' against the old feudal lords, 376; not likely to leave any successor, 378; receives a memoir from Du Plessis Mornay, 379; Dutch and English offer to guarantee his throne, 383; will not lead Moderates and Huguenots, *ib.*; listens to Joyeuse, *ib.*; gives way before the League, 384; signs treaty of Nemours, *ib.*; his abasement, *ib.*; suspected by the Leaguers, 385; entrusts an army to Joyeuse, 386; in danger in Paris, 388; leaves it for ever, *ib.*; escapes to Chartres, *ib.*; obliged to dismiss Éperon, 389; yields to the Leaguers, *ib.*; names Guise

Lieutenant-General, *ib.*; issues the Edict of Union, *ib.*; his rage against the Duke of Savoy, 389; assassinates the Duke of Guise, 390; tells his mother, *ib.*; the League declares war on him, *ib.*; his power confined to a few places on the Loire, *ib.*; meets Henry of Navarre at Plessis, 391; offers toleration, 392; collects a strong army, *ib.*; marches for Paris, *ib.*; head quarters at S. Cloud, 393; assassinated, *ib.*; commends Henry of Navarre to his court as successor, *ib.*; his character and reign, 394.

Henry IV, of Navarre, a true man, 282; future head of the Huguenots, 294, 298; educated by his mother, 320; has some of his father's faults, *ib.*; is presented to the Huguenots as their head after Jarnac, 335; at La Rochelle, 341; is to marry Margaret of France, 342; takes title of King of Navarre, 346; his marriage, 350; in the S. Bartholomew is offered life if he will recant, 354; does so, *ib.*; hears midnight cries and screams, 355; imprisoned by Catherine dei Medici, 364; escapes to Politique-Huguenot army, 367; abjures Catholicism, *ib.*; true beginning of his career, *ib.*; concessions to him at Peace of Chastenoy, *ib.*; is refused entrance into Bordeaux, 370; immoral, 372; shews little capacity as yet, 374; his destiny, 377; changes coming for him, 378; next heir on death of Anjou, *ib.*; mission of Duke of Éperon to him, *ib.*; is solicited to become Catholic, *ib.*; refuses, *ib.*; gains by so doing, *ib.*; his growth in character, *ib.*; receives a letter from Du Plessis Mornay, 379; no longer joins the immoral orgies of Henry III, *ib.*; his dark prospects, *ib.*; sketch of his early days, 380; opposed by Jesuits, 381; deserted by Margaret of Valois, 383; excommunicated by Sixtus V, 384; involved in the 'War of the Three Henries,' 385; is at La Rochelle, *ib.*; endeavours to join his German allies, 386; caught by Joyeuse at Coutras, *ib.*; his

victory, *ib.*; why he did not push his advantage, 387; still holds out in Guyenne, 391; puts out a wise manifesto, *ib.*; offers to lead all opponents to the unpatriotic Leaguers, *ib.*; meets Henry III at Plessis, 391; professes his loyalty, 392; recommended to the royalists by dying Henry III, 393; his descent, 396; pedigree, *ib.*; wherein lay his strength, 398, 399; the Council of Henry III reserves the question of the Crown, the nobles go home, 399; is besought to become Catholic, *ib.*; his reply, *ib.*; his difficulties, 400; has Cardinal Bourbon in his hands, *ib.*; divides his army, 40; falls back into Normandy, *ib.*; wins battle of Arques, 403; marches on Paris, *ib.*; goes to Tours, 404; recognised there as King, *ib.*; discord among his enemies, *ib.*; England, the United Provinces &c. recognise him as King, 404; Elisabeth's subsidy, *ib.*; active in 1590, 405; proposes to reduce Norman towns, *ib.*; masters Honfleur, and marches to relieve Meulan, *ib.*; besieges Dreux, *ib.*; wins battle of Ivry, 406; takes the towns round Paris, 408; besieges Paris, *ib.*; his better position, 409; gives way before Parma and Mayenne, 410; his letter to Gabrielle, 410; his army breaks up, 411; his campaign of 1597 a failure, *ib.*; his eventual victory a triumph of moderation, 413; head of the Politiques, 414; three parties in his camp, *ib.*; helped by death of Gregory XIV, 415; invests Rouen, 416; goes off to attack Parma, *ib.*; reinvests Rouen, 417; forced to abandon the siege by Parma, *ib.*; negotiates with Clement VIII, 418; his conversion draws near, *ib.*; gets Sully's advice, 419; his conferences on religion, 420; takes Dreux, *ib.*; his conversion, 421; his real views, *ib.*; it illustrates his character, 422; his indifference and sayings, *ib.*; wins enormously by the act, 423; crowned at Chartres, *ib.*; received

with enthusiasm at Paris, *ib.*; his measures, *ib.*; invests Laon, 424; receives its submission, *ib.*; recovers Normandy, *ib.*; Jesuits alone resist him, *ib.*; his remaining difficulty, the Spanish Court, 425; not prepared for war, *ib.*; his cavalry powerless against Spanish foot, *ib.*; must venture on war, 425; his helpers, *ib.*; groups Europe against Philip II, 426; declares war, *ib.*; fights skirmish at Fontaine-Française, 427; absolved by Clement VIII, 428; his interview with Mayenne, *ib.*, 429; his reply to Queen Elizabeth's offer to garrison Calais, 430; anxious for peace, *ib.*; receives proposals from the Nobles, *ib.*; is at S. Quentin, *ib.*; assembles Notables at Rouen, 431; establishes 'Conseil de Raison', *ib.*; Sully his Finance minister, *ib.*; his distress at loss of Amiens, *ib.*, 432; tears himself from Gabrielle, 432; recovers Amiens, 433; negotiates for peace at Vervins, *ib.*; signs Edict of Nantes, 434; signs Peace of Vervins, 435; breaks faith with Queen Elizabeth, 436; real age of Bourbons begins, 437; first period of modern France, 438; begins centralised monarchy, *ib.*; affected by the two lines of French policy, 439; his character, mixed, 440; his minister Sully, *ib.*; the 'Christian Republic', *ib.*; triumph of the middle party, 441; his change of character, *ib.*; of face, *ib.*; his hardy bringing-up, 442; his father and grandfather, *ib.*; is humorous and a mocker, *ib.*; a captain rather than a king, 443; his education, *ib.*; his love for Plutarch, *ib.*; tries to learn Greek, *ib.*; his ignorance, 444; his way of doing business, *ib.*; a true Gascon, 445; Sully on his disposition, *ib.*; severe on all independence, *ib.*; ungrateful, *ib.*; his cynicism, *ib.*; his falseness, 446; speech to Gabrielle, *ib.*; his line of policy, *ib.*; his passions, *ib.*; his treatment of Gabrielle, *ib.*; Sully's reckoning as to his expenses, 447; his good-nature, *ib.*; helps

manufactures, *ib.*; takes pleasure in building, 448; rebuilds Paris, *ib.*; his vigour, 449; quick at business, *ib.*; his autocratic temper, *ib.*; suited for France, *ib.*; had all power in his hands, *ib.*; his ministers, 450; his Court with its Spanish ideas, *ib.*; seems to be imbued with the same, 451; his throne uneasy, *ib.*; his penury, 452; finance under him, 454; has no taste for economy, 456; has broader views than Sully, 459; encourages manufactures, 460; his many edicts thereon, *ib.*; turns his attention to Colonial enterprise, 461; orders Sully to make a full report, *ib.*; his foreign policy, 463; the outline of it, *ib.*, 464; his middle position, 464; his conduct at death of Gabrielle, 465; negotiates for a Florentine wife, *ib.*; carries out the Edict of Nantes, 467; declares war on Duke of Savoy, *ib.*; secures Brese and Bugey, *ib.*; his divorce comes in, 468; marries Mary dei Medici, *ib.*; decides against Venice, *ib.*; has sons, 469; dislikes his wife, *ib.*; punishes Biron with death, 470; takes Father Cotton as his Confessor, 471; visits the Arsenal, *ib.*; reduces the kingdom to order, *ib.*; goes to the South, the Limousin, Languedoc, Provence, 472; his 'Christian Republic', *ib.*; its plan, 474, 475; not the King's plan, 475; wins a triumph in Holland, 478; has quiet in Italy, 479; turns attention to Germany, *ib.*; plays on the anti-Imperial feeling in Germany, 481; declares for the Protestant claimants for Cleves, 482; must curb the Austro-Spanish power, *ib.*; his love-affair with the Princess of Condé, *ib.*; its political side, *ib.*; prepares vigorously for war, *ib.*; names the Queen Regent, 483; delays for her crowning, *ib.*; his assassination, *ib.*; his ominous sayings, *ib.*; his tone of mind, 484; the dramatic end, *ib.*

Hesdin, taken by the French, 193; besieged by Antony of Vendôme, 269.

Holland, shatters Spain, 273; makes twelve years' truce with Spain, 478; the close of her great struggle, *ib.*
Holy League, the, 158, 159; renewed against Francis I, 175; of Germany, 481.
Homage, simple and liege, 15, note 2.
Hotmann, 394; his Francogallia appears, 363; its character, *ib.*
Howard, Sir William, defeated by French fleet, 105.
Huguenots, origin of name, 244; fight for their faith, 283; whereon they relied, 284; republican in tone, 289; opposed by Diana of Poitiers, *ib.*; their spread, *ib.*; at first are the stronger party, 298; treated harshly by Francis II, 299; their allies, *ib.*; deny complicity with La Renaudie, 300; attacked by the Guises, 303; dissatisfied with Edict of Orleans, 306; headed by Châtillons, 308; suffer from Edict of July, *ib.*; represented by Beza at Poissy, 309; their arrogance, *ib.*; and violence after Edict of January, 310; eager for war, 316; make alliances, 317; seize town after town, 318; their enthusiasm, *ib.*; their weakness, *ib.*; their iconoclasm, *ib.*; grow more savage, 319; rejoice at Guise's murder, 322; are under Edict of Amboise, 323; alarmed at the Bayonne interview, 325; try to persuade Charles IX to help the revolted Netherlands, 328; decide on war, 329; the Court seeks to ruin them, 331; they show unexpected strength, 334; defeated at Jarnac, 335; accept Henry of Navarre as their head, *ib.*; under Coligny join the Germans, 336; recover strength and win battle of La Roche-Abeille, 337; besiege Poitiers, *ib.*; defeated at Moncontour, *ib.*; accept Peace of S. Germain, 338; their four cities of refuge, *ib.*; suspicious of snares, 341; concentrate at La Rochelle, *ib.*; eager to win over Charles IX, 346; are presumptuous in Paris, 347; the S. Bartholomew massacre, 352-356; much to blame for the outbreak, 358; not extinguished by it, *ib.*; become a wing of the 'Politique'

party, 359; their fourth war, *ib.*; their political plans, 360; get good terms in Edict of Boulogne, 361; grow more formidable, *ib.*; clamour for better terms, 363; are to have no concessions from Henry III, 365; his proclamation to them, *ib.*; compact of Milhand with Politiques, 366; what they get by Peace of Chastenoy, 367; opposed by the League, 370; their sixth war, 371; are in greatest disorder, *ib.*; Francis of Anjou returns to them, 372; eager for fresh war, 374; the wiser heads wish for peace, *ib.*; make peace at Fleix, 375; follow Anjou to the Netherlands, *ib.*; under Condé, defeated, 385; win battle of Coutras, 386; their small army with Henry of Navarre, 391; affairs brighten after alliance of Henry of Navarre with Henry III, 392; eager to punish Paris, 393; their Prince of Poets, Du Bartas, 394; win battle of Arques, 403; of Ivry, 406, 407; their position with Henry IV, 414; very discontented with him, 430; very angry and malign, 433; receive Edict of Nantes, 434; Henry IV dislikes their presumption, 445; their fanaticism still ready to break out, 464; stand clear of Biron's plot, 466; left unmolested at Henry's death, 488; become troublesome again, 492; in ferment in Béarn, *ib.*; why, 493; much excited by affairs in Germany and Netherlands, 494; do not understand the policy of France, *ib.*; still dream of a Christian Republic, 495; revolt, *ib.*; their Germanic organisation, *ib.*; Rohan and Soubise alone among the nobles support them, *ib.*; their war, 496-498.

I.

Image-breakers, the, 227.
Innocents, Cemetery of the, 10.
Innsbruck, Charles V at, 266.
Inquisition introduced into France, 289.
Interim, the, ends, 267.
Irenæus, S., his remains thrown into the Loire, 318.

Isabel of Brittany, 108.
Isabella of Castile, married to Ferdinand of Aragon, 126; her death, 150.
Ischia, Ferdinand II escapes to, 124.
Italian ladies married to Frenchmen, 113; their influence, *ib.*
Italian words introduced into France, 114.
Italian patriotism changes character, 159.
Italian states join League to restore Francis to liberty, 205.
Italians, bad soldiers, 115.
Italy, maxims of, influence Louis XI, 99; causes French intervention in European politics, 112; her influences on France, *ib.*; a new world to France, 113; tomb of the French, *ib.*; better without an Angevin king at Naples, 115; her condition in 1490, 116; her balance of power changes, 117; defenceless before the 'Barbarians,' 146; her fortunes, 213; a bridge between Spain and Germany, 215; freed from the French, 255; last expedition to, 274; 'Cemetery of the French,' *ib.*
Ivry, battle of, 406, 407.

J.

Jacqueline of Montpensier, 296; persuades Catherine dei Medici to trust L'Hôpital, *ib.*
James IV of Scotland tries to divert the English arms from France, 165; is killed at Flodden Field, *ib.*
James VI (I of England) proclaimed King of Scots, 327; plots to secure him to Catholic party, 382.
January, Edict of, 310; its character and effects, *ib.*
Jarnac, battle of, 335.
Jeanne d'Albret, 294; devoted to the Huguenot cause, 320; educates young Henry of Navarre, *ib.*; presents him to Huguenots, 335; is at La Rochelle, 341; meets Charles IX at Blois, 344; dislikes the marriage-project for her son, 345; her death, 346; her character, *ib.*; her bravery at birth of Henry, 380.
Jeanne, sister of Charles VIII, divorced

by Louis XII, 133; her gentleness, 135.
Jeannin, President, his policy, 450; wins diplomatic success in Holland, 478; gets the twelve years' truce signed between Spain and Holland, *ib.*; recalled by Louis XIII, 497.
Jesuits come into France, 298; instruments of the League, 368; in their first vigour, 369; their theories as to popular sovereignty, 380, 381; their political speculations, 398; faithful to their principles, 424; banished, 425.
John of Alençon perishes, 88.
John of Anjou, Duke of Calabria; *see* Calabria.
John of Aragon meets Louis XI, 36; his treaty with him, *ib.*
John Casimir, comes to help Huguenots, 335; receives Anjou, 362; shows his abhorrence of him, *ib.*; is to march into Eastern France, 366.
Joinville, historian of Saint Louis, 1.
Joinville, Pact of, 382.
Joyeuse, Anne Duke of, exalted, 376; opposes Montmorency, 385; defeated at Coutras, 386; and killed, 387.
Joyeuse, Henry Duke of, submits to Henry IV, 428.
Julius II becomes Pope, 145; encourages Genoa to revolt, 152; becomes friend to Louis XII, 153; seizes Bologna, *ib.*; neglectful of his interests and duties, 154; seizes Romagna towns, 158; draws towards Venice, *ib.*; makes peace with her, *ib.*; depends on Swiss, *ib.*; hopes to eject the 'Barbarians,' *ib.*; rejoices at death of Cardinal Amboise, 160; secures Swiss, *ib.*; plans attack on Milanese, which fails, 161; falls ill at Bologna, *ib.*; nearly taken prisoner by Bayard, *ib.*; refuses to make terms with the French, *ib.*; joins the Holy League, 162; retakes Bologna, Parma, and Piacenza, 164; dies, *ib.*; his statue as Caesar at Bologna, *ib.*
Julius III, Imperialist Pope, 264.
July, Edict of, 308.

Juvenal des Ursins, Abp. of Rheims, his speech, 29.

K.

Kadan, Peace of, 236.
Karl the Simple, a prisoner at Peronne, 68.

L.

La Bicocca, defended by Imperialists, 194; assaulted by Lautrec, *ib.*
'Labourers, Statute of,' in Paris, 458.
La Charité, Huguenot city of refuge, 338.
'Ladies' Peace,' the, 213.
La Fère, taken by Henry IV, 430.
Lainez hinders Colloquy of Poissy, 309.
Laudois, hated minister of Francis of Brittany, 106; hung, *ib.*
Landriano, battle of, 213.
Landsknechts, the, of Charles VIII, 119; origin of the term, 176, note 3; at Pavia, 201; sack Rome, 211.
Languedoc, estates of, 101; Joyeuse opposes Montmorency in, 385; wealthy, her taxation well laid, 457.
Lannoy, drives French out of Italy, 198; Bayard falls into his hands, *ib.*; Francis surrenders to him at Pavia, 201; is unable to follow up advantage after Pavia, 205; conveys Francis to Spain, *ib.*; represents Charles V at Cognac, 208; holds Gaieta in check, 210.
La Noue, saved at Jarnac, 335; commands in South-west, 337; his little fleet, *ib.*; raises troops for Netherlands, 345; sent to appease La Rochelle, 360; his remarkable position, *ib.*; brings peace at Montpelier, 372; his speech before Henry IV, 398.
La Palice, one of Francis I's advisers, 199; perishes, 202.
La Renaudie's conspiracy, 299; its failure, 300.
La Roche-Abeille, battle of, 337.
La Rochefoucauld, killed in the S. Bartholomew, 352.
La Rochelle, most important of re-

formed towns, 288; Huguenots in, 316; Condé at, 332; Jeanne d'Albret at, 333; head-quarters of Huguenots, *ib.*; the character of the place, 334; one of the four Huguenot refuges, 338; takes up arms, 359; elects La Noue her general, 360; 'the white city,' *ib.*; her heroism, *ib.*; Calvinist assembly at, 495; blockaded by Épernon, 496; holds out for the Huguenots, 497; is one of their two strongholds, 498.

La Trémoille, a favourite of Charles VII, 12.

La Trémoille, Louis de, in Brittany, 107; well treated by Louis XII, 135; in Italy, 143; in territory of Naples, 147; defeated by Spaniards, 148; on the Treaty of Cambrail, 154; defeated by the Swiss at Novara, 165; bribes them to make peace with Louis XII, 166; urges Francis to pursue Imperialists at Neufville, 193; killed at Pavia, 202.

Lautrec, tries to bribe the Swiss to desert the League, 178; sent to defend Milan against the Imperialists, 192; his incapacity as Governor, 193; ill-qualified to face League formed against Francis, *ib.*; appeals in vain for money, 194; retreats to Como, *ib.*; is kept all winter without pay for his troops, *ib.*; moves into Lodi, *ib.*; assaults La Bicocca in despair, *ib.*; is repulsed, *ib.*; his Italian command at an end, *ib.*; is reproached by the King, *ib.*; finds money had been scut, but intercepted by the Regent, *ib.*; is again inefficient, 211; defeated at Landriano, 213.

Lawyers, the French, inspire respect in the sixteenth century, 374.

League against Francis, 193.

League of the Public Weal, its members, 39; its plan of campaign, *ib.*; fights battle of Montleheri, 42, 43; marches on Paris, 45; beleaguers that city, 46; makes Peace of Conflans, 48; the war at an end, *ib.*; its members all but starved, 48, 49.

League, the, its beginnings, 298; serious rumours of, 307; name

mentioned in 1562, *ib.*; sketched at Council of Trent by the Cardinal of Lorraine, 323; wars of the, 363, sqq.; formed in 1576, 366; real beginning of the wars of the, 368; the origin of it traced, *ib.*; set in action by D'Humières, 369; its Articles and objects, 369, 370; its spread, 370; calls for the States-General, *ib.*; uses its new machinery to control them, *ib.*; disappointed by action of Bodinus, 371; Amiens refuses to join it, *ib.*; grows more threatening, 376; quite clear that Henry of Navarre shall not be king, 380; makes Pact of Joinville with Philip II, 382; grows antinational, *ib.*; threatens to overthrow Henry III, 383; its Manifesto, *ib.*; joined by Margaret of Valois, *ib.*; the 'Sixteen of Paris' appointed, 384; army of, commanded by Mayenne, 385; angry with Henry III, *ib.*; conquers Henry III, 389; fills the States-General, *ib.*; is much dispirited, 393; rejoices at assassination of Henry III, 394; Mayenne its leader, 397; names Cardinal Bourbon king, *ib.*; supported by Philip II and Duke of Lorraine, 398; its constitutionalism, 398, 401; not joined by the moderate Catholics, 400; rejects Henry IV, *ib.*; is now styled the Union, 401; still strong in Paris, 409; the clergy very strong for it, *ib.*; Mendoza assures it that Philip II has no ambitions, 412; Gregory XIV supports it, 414; subsidised by the Papacy, 418; its preachers vehement against Henry IV, 419; refuses to recognise the conversion of Henry IV, 421; its chief men expelled from Paris, 423; in communication with Spanish Netherlands, 424; loses ground everywhere, *ib.*; finally ruined by Absolution of Henry IV, 428; supports Henry IV at Amiens, 432.

Leaguers, have spirit of Crusaders, 283.

Learned, the, escape from Paris on death of Francis I, 257.

Lectoure, 88.

Lefevre, 227.

'Legions,' the French, 235.

Leicester, Earl of, comes to Blois, 343.

Leo X, Pope, elected, 164; approves marriage of Louis XII to Mary Tudor, 167; opposes Francis I, 176; supports Francis I as candidate for Empire, 189; attaches himself to Charles V after his election, 191.

Leopold, the Archduke, head of Holy League, 481.

Lesclun, Odet d'Aydie, Lord of, 66.

Lesdiguières, defeated by Épernon, 385; to command in Italy, 483; becomes Catholic and is made Constable, 498.

Leyva, Antonio da, one of the best generals of Charles V, 199; defends Pavia, *ib.*; defeats Lautrec at Landriano, 213; occupies the Milanese, 237; begs Charles V not to invade Provence, 240; his death, 241.

L'Hôpital, 282; wisest man of his time, 295; advises Catherine dei Medici, 296; his career, character, and school, 297; made Chancellor, 301; his moderation, *ib.*; saves France from Inquisition, *ib.*; frames Edict of Romorantin, *ib.*; advises Catherine, on death of Francis II, 303; his discourse at opening of States-General of 1561, 306; seeks to modify the Edict of July, 308; guides the Moderates, 309; summons Assembly of S. Germain, 309; his moderate address, 310; his guidance, 311; tries to allay passions in vain, 313; the strict Catholics urge his dismissal, 325; his dismissal, 333; a saviour of France, 377.

Lüge, revolts against its Bishop, 50; character of its revolution, *ib.*, 51; defies Philip of Burgundy, 51; Charles of Charolais reduces her, *ib.*; is abandoned by Louis, 66; again revolts, under temptation from Louis, 69; is reduced by him and Charles the Bold, 70; frightfully punished, *ib.*

Limousin, Huguenots attacked in the, 503.

Literature of France in fifteenth century, 10; cynical under Louis XI, 71; the Farce of Patelin, *ib.*

Loches, Lodovico il Moro imprisoned at, 144.

Lodovico Sforza; see Moro.

Loire, the, in sixteenth century more central than the Seine, 151.

London, treaty of, 186.

Longjumeau, the Burgundians at, 41; peace of, 330.

Longueville, Duke of, threatens Paris, 392; commands an army for Henry IV, 401.

Lords of the Lilies, the, 100.

Lorenzo dei Medici, 117.

Lorraine, key-stone of territories of Charles the Bold, 58; Charles the Bold in, 80; entered by Germans, 204; friendly to France, 269.

Lorraine, Charles, Cardinal of, his power and character, 291-293; reproached by Olivier, 301; leads the Guise party, 303; sketches programme of the League, 323; very active, 327; plays into Alva's hands, *ib.*; sets Charles IX against Henry of Anjou, 336; thereby saves the Huguenots, 337; his death, 365.

Lorraine, Charles II, Duke of, sends his son to support the League, 398; withdraws his son, 403; supports the Leaguers, 414.

Lorraine, Duke and Cardinal of, 258; quarrel with Montmorency, 259.

Lorraine, Francis of, killed at Pavia, 202.

Lorraine, Louis, Cardinal of, deals with Spain, 419.

Lorraine, House of, claims throne of France, 397; not formidable, *ib.*

Loudon, Treaty of, 490; gives chief power to Condé, *ib.*

Louis of Bourbon, Bishop of Liège, 50.

Louis, Saint (IX of France) as depicted by Joinville, 1.

Louis XI, his life by Commynes, 2; 'the universal spider,' 5; his government of Dauphiny, 14; honourable banishment there, 16; his early career, *ib.*; inspires fear, *ib.*; engaged in all active movements, *ib.*;

head of the first Praguerie, *ib.*; governs well in Dauphiny, *ib.*; is refused the government of Normandy, 17; marries Charlotte of Savoy, *ib.*; quarrels with his father, 17, 18; which was most in fault? 18; what should he do? *ib.*; escapes to the Duke of Burgundy, 19; writes to his father and the bishops of France, *ib.*; settles at Geneppe, *ib.*; joined by Charlotte of Savoy, *ib.*; bides his time, 20; attaches himself to Duke Philip, *ib.*; ever suspicious of his father, 22; mourns little for his death, 24; is crowned at Rheims, *ib.*; his character and appearance, 25-34; contrasted with Pius II, 26; with Edward IV, 27; on his son's education, 31; his religion, 32; his intellectual qualities, 32, 33; periods of his reign, 34; his tournament, *ib.*; dismisses his Burgundian friends, *ib.*; befriends the towns, 35; imprudent in dealing with his father's ministers, *ib.*; seeks abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, *ib.*; checks power of clergy, 36; makes a progress to the south, *ib.*; his arbitrary taxation, 37; interferes in English affairs, *ib.*; repurchases the Somme-towns, *ib.*; desires to lessen the nuisance of hunting-privilege, 38; attacked by the League of the Public Weal, 39; his peril, *ib.*; and means of resistance, *ib.*; his brave front, he defeats Bourbon, 40; marches on Montleheri, 41; ill-served by his nobles, *ib.*; fights battle of Montleheri, 42; withdraws to Corbeil, 44; had shown great bravery, *ib.*; marches for Paris, *ib.*; secures the capital, 45; goes into Normandy for help, *ib.*; returns to Paris, 46; treats for peace, 47; makes peace, 48; names commission of Thirty-six, 48; it is a great defeat for him, 49; succeeds in dividing the Leaguers, *ib.*; recovers Normandy, 50; encourages Liège to revolt, *ib.*; contrasted with Charles the Bold, 54; gets politicians from Venice, 55; receives homage of Philip of Burgundy, 58; has two periods, answering to two lines of policy of Charles

the Bold, 60; consolidates his strength, 61; more prudent with his servants, *ib.*; calls the Estates of France together at Tours, 63, 64; makes friends with the noblesse, *ib.*; attacks and reduces Brittany, 66; how shall he deal with Burgundy? *ib.*; decides on an interview with Charles, 67; goes to Peronne, *ib.*; his fears, 68; his dealings with Liège detected, 69; yields to the demands of Charles the Bold, *ib.*; is forced to attack Liège, *ib.*; sends a decisive message to Edward IV, 71; his 'mot' on S. Pol, *ib.*; calls an assembly of Notables at Tours, 72; declares war on Charles the Bold, *ib.*; his chances of success good, *ib.*; birth of a dauphin in 1470, 73; makes truce with Charles the Bold, *ib.*; welcomes Commynes, 77; renews truce with Charles the Bold, 83; makes peace with Edward IV, *ib.*; his terms, 84; meets Edward IV on Pecquigny Bridge, *ib.*; renews truce with Charles the Bold, *ib.*; hears of his death with joy, 87; his government at home, 88; smites down the ill-affected, *ib.*; beheads S. Pol, 89; attacks the House of Burgundy, *ib.*; his lines of policy, 90; claims the Burgundian fiefs of the Crown, *ib.*; is recognised by the Duchy, *ib.*; and by Franche Comté, *ib.*; recovers the Somme-towns, *ib.*; arrested by Valenciennes, 91; treats Arras with great severity, *ib.*; betrays Mary of Burgundy to the men of Ghent, *ib.*; makes peace with Maximilian of Austria, 92; and with Edward IV, *ib.*; alters the 'free archer' system, *ib.*; levies Swiss, who reduce Franche Comté, 93; retakes Arras, *ib.*; his anger at the battle of Guinegate, 94; puts an end to the 'free-archers', *ib.*; a truce follows, *ib.*; the last years of his reign, 94, 95; his triumphs, 95; makes peace with Maximilian, *ib.*; shuts himself in Plessis-lez-Tours, *ib.*; his joy at death of Mary of Burgundy, 97; would not hear of death, *ib.*; his last hours, 98; effects of his reign, 99; his Italian

policy, *ib.*; his administrative gifts, *ib.*; revenues, 100; encourages a kind of French Hansa, *ib.*; his posts, *ib.*; encourages the provincial Estates, 101; makes France the land of officials, *ib.*; his centralisation, *ib.*; his additions to her borders, 102; the popular view of him, *ib.*; founder of the later French monarchy, *ib.*; Anne of Beaujeu his true successor, 103; had not cared for the French Neapolitan claims, 116; his statue destroyed, 318.

Louis XII, his coronation, 131; his pedigree, 132; promises to marry Anne of Brittany, 133; divorces his wife Jeanne, *ib.*; makes Caesar Borgia Duke of Valentinois, *ib.*; his character, 134; appearance, 135; is Pater Patriae, *ib.*; treats Peter and Anne of Bourbon kindly, 136; his reign a reaction against that of Louis XI, *ib.*; his kindliness, 137; reads Cicero de Officiis, *ib.*; his great Ordinance, *ib.*; his Great Council, *ib.*; 'the well-served', 138; allows the old Marshal Gié to fall, *ib.*; cares more for Milan than France, *ib.*; hates all freedom, 139; his claim to Milan, *ib.*; his style and title, 140; the foes of Charles VIII are his friends, 141; his treaties with Philip of Austria and Ferdinand of Aragon, *ib.*; hires many Swiss, *ib.*; goes to Lyons, *ib.*; enters Lombardy, 142; enters Milan, *ib.*; returns to France, *ib.*; loses Milan, *ib.*; treats Lodovico 'il Moro' ill, 144; delighted with Caesar Borgia, *ib.*; acts without any true policy, 145; is very ambitious, 146; his blunders, *ib.*; signs the Treaty of Grenada, *ib.*; seizes Naples, 147; quarrels with the Spaniards, *ib.*; loses Naples, *ib.*; begins system of venal offices, *ib.*; raises a loan, *ib.*; a lazy King, 148; makes the three Treaties of Blois, 149; arranges for marriage of his daughter Claude to Charles of Austria, *ib.*; his treaties are against the interests of France, *ib.*; their errors, 150; falls into Ferdinand's toils, *ib.*; makes peace with him,

ib.; breaks off the engagement of Claude, and betroths her to Francis of Angoulême, 151; is saluted Pater Patriae, *ib.*; represses the Republic of Genoa, 152, 153; Julius II seeks his friendship, 153; picks a quarrel with Venice, *ib.*; his aims, 154; signs the Treaty of Cambrai, *ib.*; its terms, 155; sells Pisa to Florence, *ib.*; pushes an army forward from the Milanese, *ib.*; fights battle of Agnadello, 157; overruns all the mainland, *ib.*; overshadows all Italy, 158; Julius II goes against him, *ib.*; the Holy League against him, 162; offends Swiss, 160; calls a National Council at Tours, 161; a General Council at Pisa, 162; resists the Holy League, *ib.*; mourns for his nephew Gaston of Foix, 163; loses all hold on Italy, 164; makes a fresh attempt on Italy, *ib.*; which fails, *ib.*; allied with James IV of Scotland, *ib.*; loses his Queen, 166; at last allows Claude to marry Francis of Angoulême, *ib.*; looks out for a wife, *ib.*; takes Mary Tudor, 167; his unfitness, and death, *ib.*; results of his reign, 168.

Louis XIII, King at nine years old, 487; the royal family round him, *ib.*; married to Anne of Austria, 490; wearies of Concini, *ib.*; has a new favourite, Luynes, *ib.*; shows unexpected vigour, 492; his campaign in Normandy, *ib.*; makes peace at Angers with his mother, *ib.*; his best times, 493; his appearance and character, *ib.*, 494; takes command against the Huguenots, 495; his treatment of Du Plessis Mornay, 496; fails at Montauban, *ib.*; takes Monheur, *ib.*; his cruelty, 497; rejoices at Luynes' death, *ib.*; returns to Paris, *ib.*; the sport of parties, *ib.*; is allured into a new campaign, *ib.*; marches for lower Guyenne, *ib.*; his successes, 498; closes the war, *ib.*; drifts into Richelieu's hands, *ib.*

Louis of Nassau, in France, 343.

Louis of Orleans, brother of Charles VI, 139.

Louise of Savoy, intrigues of, 136;

her party, 148; her love for her son, 161; her journal, *ib.*; her character, *ib.*; rules her son, 172; intercepts the money intended for pay of Swiss, 194; effects of her bad passions on the Constable Bourbon, 195; feud between her and Susanne of Bourbon, 196; offers her hand to Bourbon, and is rejected, *ib.*; succours the French army after Pavia, 202; gathers help, 204; Henry VIII signs treaty with, 205; negotiates peace of Cambrai, 213; hates the financiers, 221; and monks, 224; is on the Catholic side, 226; her death, 233; leaves a great fortune, *ib.*

Low Countries, affairs in the, 327.

Loyola, Ignatius, in Paris, 228.

Luther's death, 255; his influence gone, 265.

Lutheranism, after Peace of Kadan, spreads fast, 236.

Lutherans obtain equal terms at Passau, 267.

Luxemburg, war in, 250; Henry II in, 269.

Luynes, Duke of, new favourite of Louis XIII, 490; goes with the nobles, 491; becomes minister, *ib.*; recalls Richelieu, *ib.*; his origin, *ib.* note 1; offensive to the nobles, 492; makes Louis XIII treat with his mother, *ib.*; bribes the nobles, *ib.*; is named Constable, 495.

Lyons, Charles VIII at, 122; returns to, 127; Louis XII at, 141; riots in, 223.

M.

Macchiavelli, compared with Commines, 2; gives a name to an age, 25; is grave and patriotic, *ib.*; on Caesar Borgia, 145; Savonarola's hearer, 159.

'Madame la Grande,' 110.

Madrid, Treaty of, 206; declared broken, 211.

Magdeburg, Moritz marches from, 266.

Mahomet II probably saves Europe, 229.

Maine, Count of, half-hearted for Louis XI, 39; set to check the Dukes of Brittany and Berry, 40; deserts the King, 41; was he a

traitor? *ib.* note 2; swears faithful friendship with Louis XI, 65.

Malherbe, his *primi proprietates*, 451.

Mantua, Congress at, follows siege of Mirandola, 161.

Mansfield, P. Ernest, Count of, 336.

Mansfield, Ernest, Count of, tries a diversion for the Huguenots, 498.

Maraviglia, French agent, 235.

Margaret of Anjou, befriended by Louis XI, 37.

Margaret of Austria, infant daughter of Maximilian, 109; betrothed to Dauphin Charles, 95; her dowry, *ib.*; carried into France, 97; her dowry returned to her father, 110; signs Treaty of Cambrai, 154; her history, 155, note 1; welcomes the Swiss, 165; negotiates the 'Ladies' Peace,' 213.

Margaret of France, head of Renaissance party, 226; shelters the reformers, 227; not a Protestant, *ib.*; supports Briconnet, 287; has L'Hôpital as her Chancellor, 301; is to marry Henry of Navarre, 342; desires to marry the Duke of Guise, 343.

Margaret of Scotland kisses Alain Chartier, 11; married to Louis XI, 16; her death, *ib.*; her unhappy lot, 29.

Margaret of Valois, 421; divorced, 467.

Marignano, battle of, 179.

Marillac, Archbishop of Vienne, a moderate person, 302.

Marot, Clement, 229; patronised by French Court, 285.

Marseilles becomes a French port, 102; siege of, 199; compact of, 234; attacked by Charles V, 241.

Martin, S., his remains thrown into the Loire, 318.

Mary of Burgundy, succeeds to her father's great schemes, and is foundress of European politics, 54; heiress of Charles the Bold, 74, 89; is dangled before all eligible princes, *ib.*; whom should she choose as husband? 90; her suitors, 91; accepts Maximilian of Austria, *ib.*; their marriage, 92; her death, 97.

Mary of England, 265; marries Philip of Spain, 270; declares war on

France, 275; sends troops to Calais, *ib.*; makes peace with France, 281.

Mary of Guise, Regent of Scotland, 263.

Mary, Queen of Hungary, threatens Picardy, 269.

Mary dei Medici, Henry's letter to, respecting Plutarch, 443; her Court-party, Florentine favourites and Spanish sympathisers, 450; marries Henry IV, 468; her journey and views, *ib.*; her dower pays for Savoyard campaign, *ib.*; her coldness, 469; is disliked by Henry, *ib.*; mixed up in Biron's plot, 471; named Regent, 483; wishes to be crowned, *ib.*; a traitor to France, *ib.*; was she accomplice in the murder of Henry IV? 485; refuses to mix in German politics, 486; seizes supreme power, *ib.*; treats Sully prudently, *ib.*; is recognised generally, 487; buys off princely opposition, *ib.*; her inner cabinet, *ib.*; builds her power on Henry's treasure, 488; withdraws to Blois, on fall of her party, 491; intrigues there, *ib.*; receives government of Anjou, *ib.*; her little Court at Angers, centre of disaffection, 492; nobles rally round her, *ib.*; Louis XIII marches against her, *ib.*; is guided by Richelieu, 497; recalled by Louis XIII, *ib.*; gets the upper hand, 498; makes peace with Huguenots, *ib.*

Mary Stewart, Queen of Scots, carried to France by Henry II, 263; it is a triumph of the Catholics, *ib.*; her life amidst intrigues, *ib.*; marries the Dauphin, 279; the political bearings of the match, *ib.*; her pretensions to the English crown, 292; contrasted with Catherine dei Medici, 294; the fears lest she should be too powerful cease, 298; suffers from changes in Scotland, 302; obliged to return thither, 305; unfortunate there, 326, 327; a prisoner at Lochleven, *ib.*; escapes to England, *ib.*; the instrument of Philip II's plans, 340; her death, 386.

Mary Tudor, marries Louis XII in his old age, 167; at his death bestows her hand on Duke of Suffolk, *ib.*

VOL. II.

M M

Massacre of Vassy, 312; of S. Bartholomew's Day; see Bartholomew.

Matthias Corvinus, 108.

Maubeuge, 24.

Maurevel, hired to kill Coligny, 349.

Maurice, Prince, takes Breda, 408; eager for war, 478; to join Henry IV in Cleves, 483; drives the Catholic party out of Jülich, 485; his party triumphs in the Provinces, 494.

Maximilian of Austria (afterwards Emperor-Elect), receives a half-promise of the hand of Mary of Burgundy, 74; is her favoured suitor, 91; marries her, 92; makes truce with Louis XI, *ib.*; besieges Therouenne, 93; wins battle of Guinegate, 93, 94; withdraws to Flanders, 94; makes peace with Louis XI, 95; loses his wife, 97; troubled by the Flemish Estates, 106; interferes too late, 107; betrothed to Anne of Brittany, 108; misses her, 108, 109; his daughter Margaret rejected by Charles VIII, *ib.*; makes war on Charles VIII, 110; in Switzerland, 141; encourages Genoa to revolt, 152; reaches Trent, 153; proposes to Louis XII to renew stipulations of first Treaty of Blois, 154; his aims in Italy, *ib.*; seizes Friuli, Istria, Verona, etc., 158; appeals to France for help, *ib.*; wavers, 162; makes terms with Ferdinand of Aragon, 164; joins Henry VIII, and takes pay of him, 165; covets Tournay, *ib.*; wishes to have his grandson Charles named King of the Romans, 185; was never crowned, *ib.*; dies, 1519, 187.

Maximilian II, wept on receiving tidings of the S. Bartholomew, 359.

Maximilian Sforza, re-established in Milan, 164; defended by the Swiss, *ib.*; wins battle of Novara, 165; attacked by France, 175; again dependent on Swiss, *ib.*; surrenders to French after Marignano, 180; dies in Paris, *ib.*

Mayenne, Charles, Duke of, commands League army, 385; withdraws to Paris, *ib.*; opposed to

Henry of Navarre, *ib.*; escapes for his life from Henry III, 390; head of the new government of Paris, *ib.*; fails to take Tours, 392; head of League party, 397; wishes to seize the throne, 400; not accepted by League or Philip II, 401; commander-in-chief of the League under Cardinal Bourbon, *ib.*; sets out to conquer Henry IV, *ib.*; defeated at Arques, 403; recovers Vincennes, 405; besieges Meulan, *ib.*; defeated at Ivry, 406; falls back to S. Denis, 408; called in to quiet Paris, 415; ceases to head the League, *ib.*; makes his bargain with the Estates, 418; disliked by the Sixteen, *ib.*; goes to Netherlands, 424; joins Spaniards in 1595, 427; submits to Henry IV, 428.

Meaux comes in to Henry IV, 423.

Medici, Cardinal, afterwards Clement VII, enters Milan, 194.

Medici, Cosmo dei, 115; Lorenzo dei, 117; Piero dei, 123.

Medici, the, in France, 3, 4, 8.

Mehun sur Yèvre, death-place of Charles VII, 23.

Mendoza; *see* Bernardino.

Mercenaries in France, basis of despotism, 5; replace the French soldiers, 252.

Mercœur, Duke of, claims Brittany, 412; is in Brittany, 429; makes peace with Henry IV, 433.

Metz, promised to Henry II, 265; taken by Montmorency, 267; has Francis of Guise as governor, 269.

Meulan, Mayenne at, 405.

Meuse, valley of the, 50.

Mezières, siege of, 192.

Milan, Duchy of, Louis XII's claims to, 139; attack on it planned by Julius II fails, 161; Louis XII abandons his pretensions to it in favour of his daughter, 166; yields to France after Marignano, 180; Francis has claims on, 191; lost to France through ill-management, 194; is under Sforza, 214.

Milhaud, Compact of, 366.

Mirandola, besieged by Julius II, 161; capitulates, *ib.*

Moderates, the, in France, 361;

headed by Montmorency, *ib.*; draw towards Alençon, *ib.*

Mohacz, battle of, 213.

Monarchy in France dreads a strong clergy, 286; what are its bases, 380, 381.

Moncontour, battle of, 337.

Monheur taken by Louis XIII, 496.

Monsieur, the title, 367, note 1; Paix de, 367.

Montaigne, Michel de, the one great French writer in his age, 39.

Montauban, Huguenot city of refuge, 338; takes up arms again, 359; successfully resists Louis XIII, 496; holds out for the Huguenots, 497; one of their two strongholds, 498.

Montgomery, Gabriel of, kills Henry II, 292; defends Rouen, 319; cause of death of two kings, *ib.*; escapes on fall of Rouen, 320.

Montleheri, S. Pol at, 41; battle of, 42; the battle changes disposition of Charles the Bold, 56.

Montluc, Bishop of Valence, a moderate, 302; wins crown of Poland for Anjou, 349; is French Envoy in Poland, 362; his promises for Anjou, *ib.*

Montluc, Blaise of, his Memoirs, 252; his barbarities, 319; is defeated by Coligny, 337.

Montmorency, Anne, Duke of, saves Mezières, 192; ravages Provence, 223; is secular arm of the Catholics, 226; ravages Provence, 240; his hardness of heart, 241; his camp at Avignon, 241, 242; has much influence over Francis I, 246; his fall, 248; member of the party of Henry II, 258; quarrels with the Guises, 259; the honours accumulated on his house, 260; takes Metz by guile, 267; fails in Luxemburg, 269; does his best against Charles V, 270; wages war slyly in Picardy, *ib.*; is incompetent, 273; attempts to relieve S. Quentin, 275; fails, loses battle of S. Quentin, 276; taken prisoner, *ib.*; discredited, 277; is eager for peace, 280, 281; makes peace of Cateau Cambresis, *ib.*; returns to Paris, 291; in favour at Court, *ib.*;

ruined by death of Henry II, 292; his character, 293; his loyal stupidity, 304; his position, *ib.*; dissatisfied, 306; kept by Catherine from deserting, *ib.*; shocked at Huguenots, *ib.*; is afraid of losing his wealth, 307; joins the Guises, *ib.*; follows Condé, and defeats him at Dreux, 321; a prisoner, *ib.*; killed at the battle of S. Denis, 329.

Montmorency, Francis, Duke of, 329; Charles IX's opinion of, 348.

Montmorency-Damville, Henry, Marshal, 307, 370; urges Henry III to join Politiques, 365; becomes the King's general, 372; draws to the Huguenots, 383; opposed by Joyeuse, 385.

Montmorencies, party of the, becomes powerful, 342; the four, head the moderates, 361; in Catherine's power, 364.

Montpellier, battle frustrated at, 372; besieged by Louis XIII, 498.

Montpensier, Louis, Duke of, prisoner at S. Quentin, 276; sent to support Anjou, 376.

Montpensier, Louis II, Duke of, is at Ivry, 406; his proposals to Henry IV, 430.

Montpensier, Madame de, her bread, 409.

Morat, battle of, 85.

Moritz of Saxony returns to the Princes, 264; his character, *ib.*; his acts, 264, 265; marches from Magdeburg, 266; defeats Charles V, 267; urges Henry II to hold his hand, 269; his death, 271.

Mornay, Du Plessis, 377; his memoir to Henry III, 379; his letter to Henry of Navarre, *ib.*; appointed governor of Saumur, 391; sneered at by Henry IV, 442; tries in vain to mend finances, 454; Du Perron covers him with scorn, 466; trusts Louis XIII, 496; his anger, and death, *ib.*

Moro, il, Lodovico Sforza, 122; is friendly to France, 117; purchases investiture of Milan from Maximilian, 125; shuts up Louis of Orleans in Novara, 126; a prince of mark, 150; his sobriquet, whence, *ib.*, note 1; ejected from Milan, 142; returns,

143; betrayed at Novara, 144; sent prisoner to France, where he dies, *ib.*

Mortara, Trivulzio, at, 143.

Moulins, Assembly of, 325; Edict of, *ib.*

Münster, Bishop of, comes to relieve Neuss, 81.

Murders rife in France, 324.

N.

Nanci, to be the capital of Charles the Bold, 58, 60; Charles the Bold at, 80; taken by Charles the Bold, 84; recovered by René of Lorraine, 85; besieged by Charles, *ib.*; he perishes there, *ib.*

Nantes, Louis XI at, 36; surrendered to Charles VIII, 109; Edict of, 434.

Naples, opens her gates to Charles VIII, 124; disgusted by him, 125; left by Charles VIII, 126; French ejected from, 127; again in possession, 147; again ejected, *ib.*; claim of Francis I to, 191.

Napoleon Bonaparte shook Austrian yoke from Italy, 213.

Nassau, William, Count of, lays siege to Mezières, 192; is driven off by French, *ib.*

Nassau, Prince of, killed at Dillenberg, 331.

Navarre, Francis has claims on, 191.

Navarre, Peter of; *see* Peter.

Nemours, James of Savoy, Duke of, helps the Leaguers, 398; deals with Spain, 419; submits to Henry IV, 428.

Nemours, John of Armagnac, Duke of, joins the League of the Public Weal, 39; reduced to submission, 72; perishes, 89.

Nemours, Louis of Armagnac, Duke of, Viceroy of Naples, 147.

Nemours, Treaty of, 384.

Nérac, Conference at, 374.

Netherlands, French interests in the, 343; invite Anjou, 373; the ambitions of the Southern Provinces, *ib.*; chronicle of movements in, *ib.*; the Seven Provinces offer sovereignty to Anjou, 375.

Neusz, tenacity of Charles the Bold at, 57; besieged by Charles the Bold, 81; resists successfully, 83.

Nevers, Charles, Duke of, to command French horse, 482.
 Nevers, Francis, Duke of, escapes at S. Quentin, 276; garrisons towns, 277; makes rendezvous at Laon, *ib.*
 Nevers, John, Count of, half-hearted towards Louis XI, 39; set to check Charolais, 40; failed to do so, *ib.*
 Nevers, Louis, Duke of, quarrels with Bouillon, 427.
 Nice, Conference of, 245; siege of, 250.
 Nicolas of Calabria receives a half promise of the hand of Mary of Burgundy, 74.
 Nieuport taken by De Thermes, 280.
 Nimes takes up arms, 359; taken by Louis XIII, 498.
 Nobleman, a, his family, and its arrangement, 220.
 Noblesse, state of the, 11; changes in the, 12; of Dauphiny, 17; their rights of the chase controlled, 38; vicious and haughty, 285; defend the early reformers, 288; disaffected under Henry IV, 451; think the Regency of Mary dei Medici their opportunity, 488; their paltry scramble for money and place, 488, 489; overthrow Concini, 491; set up Luynes, *ib.*; weary of him, 492; he buys them off, *ib.*
 Noce vermeilles, the, 343.
 Normandy, Estates of, 101; Henry IV in, 401, 402; mostly reduced by him, 405; recovered by him, 424.
 Notables, Assembly of, at Paris in 1558, not a States General, 279; nominated by Henry II, *ib.*; at Fontainebleau, 302; at Rouen, 431, 454.
 Novara, Louis of Orleans in, 126.
 Noyers, Condé's castle at, 332.
 Noyon, Treaty of, 184.

O.

Odet d'Aydie, Lord of Lescun, goes over to Louis XI, 77.
 Olivier, Chancellor, falls, 259; his sad end, 301.
 Olivier le Daim, 29.
 Orange, Philibert of Chalon, Prince of, in Italy, 211.

Orange, William of; *see* William.
 Ordinances of Louis XI show administrative power, 101; of Blois, 137.
 Orleans, Edict of, 306; seized by Condé, 317; its importance, *ib.*; dangerous for the Catholics, 319; defended by Condé, *ib.*; with Lyons, the only Huguenot strong place, 320; defended by d'Andelot, 321; given up by Calvinists, 323.
 Orleans, Henry, Duke of, left as hostage in Spain, 206.
 Orleans, Louis, Duke of (afterwards Louis XII), opposes Anne of Beaujeu, 104; head of the government, 105; leagued with Brittany, Maximilian, Richard III, *ib.*; captured, 106; present at marriage of Charles VIII, 109; fascinates Charles VIII, 110; leads the Swiss into Italy, 122; is cooped up in Novara, 126; comes to the throne, 127; succeeds as Louis XII, 130; *see* Louis XII.
 Orleans, House of, won over by Louis XI, 89.
 Ostend, siege of, 478.

P.

Pancarte, the, 458.
 Palatine, Elector, the, takes part of Francis I in struggle for Empire, 189.
 Palatine Elector, Frederick III, about to help Huguenots, 318; joins Condé, 320.
 Paris, University of, opposed to the new Learning, 10; Ambrose of Cambrai its Chancellor, 31; city of, threatened by Charles of Charolais, 41; cherished by Louis XI, 45; beleaguered by League of Public Weal, *ib.*, 46; not quite loyal, *ib.*; makes much profit out of the starved Leaguers, 49; all-important for Louis, 61; his care of her, 62; review of citizens in, *ib.*; Parliament of, refuses to register Concordat, 182; is forced to receive it, *ib.*; sequesters Constable Bourbon's goods, 196; city of, English threaten, 198; democracy of, 226; is panic-stricken, 253; hostile to the Reformation, 287; eager for strife, 316; Guise enters in

triumph, 317; threatened by Condé, 321; hates the Huguenots, 347; rejoices over the S. Bartholomew, 352; her condition, 353; inhabitants fanatically Catholic, 381; her League springs up, *ib.*; aims at a strict Catholic kingdom, 383; her organisation, *ib.*; forms the 'Sixteen,' 384; receives the Duke of Guise with joy, 387; her barricades against Henry III, 388; is intensely Catholic, *ib.*; compels Henry III to dismiss Épernon, 389; new government established in, 390; threatened by Longueville, 392; beleaguered by Henry III and Henry of Navarre, 393; rejoices at assassination of Henry III, 393; learns the defeat of Mayenne at Arques, 403; her richer burghers wish for peace, the rest fiercely Catholic, 408; her clerical regiment, 409; is very Spanish, *ib.*; suffers from Henry IV's siege, *ib.*; is completely in Spanish interest, 412; Leaguers in, show weakness, 415; violence in, *ib.*; Mayenne quiets her, *ib.*; looks for peace, *ib.*; the 'Sixteen' dislike Mayenne, 418; welcomes the Duke of Guise's name, 420; Parliament of, upholds the Salic Law, *ib.*; receives Henry IV with enthusiasm, 423; Parliament of, declares for Henry, 424; demurs to the Edict of Nantes, 435; city of, much improved by Henry IV, 448; her 'Statute of Labourers,' 458; States General of 1614 at, 489.
 Parliament for Dauphiny, 17; of Bordeaux, rival to that of Paris, 37; of Beaune, 90.
 Parliament of Paris, refuses to ratify Peace of Conflans, 49; unwilling to register renunciation by Louis XII of the Bourbon inheritance, 136; resists Edict of Orleans, 306; upholds the Salic Law, 420; declares for Henry IV, 424; condemns Chastel, 425; recognises Mary dei Medici as Regent, 487; supports the Third Estate, 489; aims at power, 490; makes peace with the Regent, *ib.*
 Parma, Duke of, in Netherlands, 375;

overbears Anjou, 376; represents Spanish interests in France, 398; ordered to march up to relieve Paris, 410; joins Mayenne, *ib.*; successful, *ib.*; his splendid generalship, 411; returns to Low Countries, *ib.*; under orders for France, 416; becomes head of the resistance to Henry IV, *ib.*; just fails to capture him, 416; withdraws to the Somme, *ib.*; relieves Rouen, 417; assaults Caudebec, is wounded, *ib.*; his death, *ib.*
 Parma, retaken by Pope Julius II, 164.
 Pasquier, 394.
 Passau, Agreement of, 267.
 Pastorals, the age of, 448.
 Patelin, the farce of, 71.
 Paul III, Pope, meets Charles V, 238; mediates between Charles and Francis, 245; urges Henry II to resist Charles V, 263.
 Paul IV, his character and career, 273; allied with France, *ib.*; his speech to Guise, 274; makes peace with Philip, *ib.*
 Paul V, his quarrel with Venice, 468.
 Paulette, the, 458; its constitutional importance, 458, 459.
 Pavia, yields to France on news of victory at Marignano, 180; siege of, 199; battle of, 201; the destruction of French chivalry at, *ib.*
 Pecquigny, Charles the Bold at, 72.
 Peers of France, how represented at coronation of Henry IV, 423.
 Perez, preceptor of Henry IV, 451.
 Peronne, Louis XI visits Charles the Bold at, 67; Karl the Simple had been prisoner there, 68; the scene in the Castle there, 69; pies and jays taught to cry 'Peronne,' 71.
 Perpignan taken by Louis XI, 88.
 Pescara, leagues with the Emperor against Francis I, 193; enters Milan with Catherine dei Medici, 194; pushes French out of Italy, 198; entrenched at Lodi, 199; fights at Pavia, 201; plays with Clement VII, 210.
 Peter of Bourbon, Lord of Beaujeu, 103.
 Peter of Navarre, 211; great as an

engineer, 177; his end; *ib.*, note 1.
 Philibert II of Savoy receives a half promise of the hand of Mary of Burgundy, 74.
 Philibert Emmanuel, of Savoy, commands for Philip II, 275; besieges S. Quentin, *ib.*; reinstated in Savoy, 282; marries daughter of Henry II, 291.
 Philip of Austria, the Handsome, child of Maximilian, 97; neutral respecting Naples, 147; visits France, 148.
 Philip of Burgundy, the 'Great Duke of the West,' 7; praised by Pius II, 13; receives Louis XI as Dauphin, 19; parties at his Court, 20; refuses to make war with France, 21; is tempted by Pius II, 22; friendly with Louis XI, 37; cedes the Somme towns, *ib.*; his death, 51; his rule, *ib.*
 Philip of Spain, 264; marries Mary of England, 270; his character and aims, 272; at war with Henry II, 274; his forces, 275; receives tidings of battle of S. Quentin, 276; his cold caution, 277; makes peace with Henry, 281; marries daughter of Henry II, 291; allows Elizabeth to succeed unopposed, 292; slowly allies himself with the Guises, 298; relieved from fear of their power by the Scottish revolution, 302; interferes more in France, *ib.*; indicated as head of the League, 307; prepared to interfere, 309; heads the League, 323; redoubles his efforts, 331; eager to interfere, 339; his power, *ib.*; his plans, 340; congratulates Charles IX on the S. Bartholomew, 355; his share of blame, 357; the great gainer by it at first, 359; amazed at Anjou's acceptance of the Netherlands' offer, 375; supports the League more distinctly, 376; his schemes, *ib.*; buys support of Duke of Guise, 282; the crisis of his fortunes, *ib.*; prepares to attack England, 385; gathers together the Armada, 386; his Armada destroyed, 391; claims French throne, 397; makes common

cause with the League, *ib.*; his ambitions in France, 412; offers to accept title of Protector, *ib.*; means to give the Infanta to Archduke Ernest, 420; chooses the Duke of Guise, *ib.*; only remaining foe of Henry IV, 425; is still the dread of Europe, 426; how he deals with Henry's declaration of war, *ib.*; his end, 436.
 Piacenza, retaken by Pope Julius II, 164.
 Picardy welcomes Louis XI, 90; headquarters of the League, 369; Spanish successes in, 427.
 Piero dei Medici, 123.
 Pinkey, Battle of, 263.
 Pisa, Charles VIII at, 122; besieged by French and Swiss, 144; abandoned by Louis XII, 155.
 Pisa, Council of, convoked by Louis XII, 162; takes refuge at Milan, 163; driven by the Swiss to Lyons, and comes to nothing, *ib.*
 Pitigliano, Count of, commands Venetians, 156.
 Pius II, Pope, 115; urges on a Crusade, 7, 9, 21; his view of the state of Europe, 13; his offers to Philip of Burgundy, 22; parallel with Louis XI, 26.
 Pius IV, to bless the League, 323.
 Pius V, his Bull of Excommunication, 334; sends troops to France, *ib.*; the Grand Inquisitor, 340.
 Plessis-lez-Tours, castle of, 95; described, 96; menagerie at, 96, 97; Louis XII at, 151.
 Poitiers, Great Days of, 220; siege of, 337.
 Poitou, home of reformed tenets, 288.
 Poissy, Colloquy of, 309.
 Poland, envoys from, 362; chooses Anjou as King, *ib.*; declares the throne vacant, 365.
 Politiques, their party, 284; the, spring from l'Hôpital, 297; their rise, 298; compared with the Armagnacs, *ib.*; get their name, 333; their character, *ib.*; make overtures to Huguenots, 340; their strength, 341; much strengthened by the S. Bartholomew, 359; draw closer to the Huguenots, *ib.*, 361;

their plans not known certainly, 363; call for the States General, *ib.*; try to win Henry III, 365; make compact of Milhaud with Protestants, 366; lose the Duke of Anjou, 30; call for the States General, *ib.*; Épernon of their party, 378; Sixtus V called one, 404; Henry IV their head, 414; their position defined, *ib.*; part of the King's army, *ib.*; Henry IV keeps up their policy, 464; very sulky with Henry IV, 465.
 Poltrot assassinates the Duke of Guise, 322.
 Poncher, Bishop, 208.
 Pontoise, sold to the Duke of Brittany, 47; States General at, 308; their acts, *ib.*; Mayenne at, 405.
 Posts, the royal, 87, 100.
 Poyet, Chancellor, imprisoned, 248.
 Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, 9; Louis XI negotiates for its abolition, 35; its practical working, *ib.*; abolished, 181.
 Pragerie the, 11; the first, headed by Louis XI as Dauphin, 16; the second, 17.
 Preaching, liberty of, not granted to Huguenots, 308.
 Printing-press at the Sorbonne, 33, 99; its work in France, 230.
 Privy Purse, expenses of, of Francis I, 222.
 Prosper Colonna, leagues with the Pope against Francis I, 193.
 Prosper de Sainte Croix, his advice, 311.
 Provence, annexed to the French crown, 95; suffers fearfully, 223; invasion of, 240-242; Épernon defeats Lesdiguières in, 385; overrun by Duke of Savoy, 413; declares for Henry IV, 429.

R.

Rabelais, contrasts in, 222; his Gargantua, 223; in Paris, 228; his characteristics, 229; protected by J. Du Bellay, 234; at Fontainebleau, 246.
 Ramus, 394; murdered in the S. Bartholomew, 352.

Ravaillac kills Henry IV, 483; had he accomplices? 485; said he had not, *ib.*; the rumours current at the time, *ib.*
 Redon near Vannes, Louis XI at, 36.
 Reformation, the, in different ages, 225; not accepted in France, *ib.*; German Protestants extort Peace of Kadan from Charles V, 236; in Switzerland, its epochs, 243; in France, 283 sqq.; why not received? 284; why aristocratic? *ib.*; how widely spread, 285, 286; is Calvinistic, 286; has not much support, 287; is unpopular in Paris, *ib.*; is defended by young nobles, 288; its second growth comes from Geneva, *ib.*; has its chief home in south and west of France, *ib.*
 Regency, Council of, under Mary dei Medici, 487.
 Regiment, when the word appears, 235, note 2.
 Regius Professors, the, of Francis I, 230.
 Renaissance, the, has little influence on France, 3; reaches the University of Paris, 10; fails there, *ib.*; has no hold on France, 98; its relation to Reformation, 225, 228; Francis I its head in France, *ib.*; allied with absolutism, 230.
 René of Anjou, the 'Good King,' his tastes and sympathies, 11 his lands, 14; his Italian ambitions, 22; befriended by Louis XI, 37; his death, 95.
 René of Lorraine abandoned by Louis XI, 84; recovers Nancy, 82; defeats Charles the Bold, *ib.*; is chief mourner at his funeral, *ib.*, 86.
 Rennes, Anne of Brittany shut up in, 109; her marriage there to Charles VIII, *ib.*
 'Rentes,' Sully tries to reduce the, 458.
 Republican literature and ideas in south of France, 289.
 Retz, Albert of Gondî, Marshal, Charles IX's opinion of, 348.
 Revolution, the, 437.
 Rex Romanorum, the title sought for Philip of Spain, 264.

- Rheims, Louis XI consecrated at, 24; the nucleus of Catholic activity against England, 382.
- Rhine, to be the frontier of dominions of Charles the Bold, 81; its lands important in 1609, 480; the three Communions in, *ib.*
- Richard III of England, leagued with Duke of Orleans, 105.
- Richelieu, 437; on Henry IV's scheme, 477; at moment of Henry's death the obscure Bishop of Luçon, 484; sits in States General of 1614, 489; supports Concini, 490; shares his fall, 491; recalled by Luynes, *ib.*; leads the Queen Mother's party, 497; the King falls into his hands, 498; enters the King's Council, 499.
- Rincon, murdered in Italy, 249.
- Ripallo, battle of, 122.
- Rizzio, murdered, 327.
- Robert of Bavaria, Elector of Cologne, 81; names Charles the Bold his protector, *ib.*
- Rodolf, Emperor, grants his 'Letter of Majesty,' 479.
- Rohan, Henry, Duke of, to command Swiss mercenaries, 483; head of Huguenot uprising, 495; defends Montauban, 496; in the Cevennes, 498.
- Roman Law, cultivated by Charles the Bold, 55.
- Rome, Charles VIII at, 123; sack of, 211.
- Romorantin, Edict of, 301, 302.
- Romont, Count of, retakes Flemish artillery, 94.
- Ronsard, 394; celebrates the praises of l'Hôpital, 297.
- Rouen taken by the Huguenots, 318; a menace to the Catholics, 319; defended by Montgomery, *ib.*; taken, 320; Parliament of, declares majority of Charles IX, 323; threatened by Henry IV, 402; taken for him, 405; besieged by him, 416, 417; relieved by Parma, 417; Notables at, 431, 454; they fail over finance, *ib.*; secured by Louis XIII, 492.
- Roussillon secured by Louis XI, 88; threatened by Ferdinand of Spain, 110; differences about, with Ferdinand and Isabella, 128.
- Royan reduced by Épernon, 497.
- Ruggieri, astrologer, 295.

S.

- Sablé, Treaty of, 107.
- S. André, Jacques d'Albon de, member of the party of Henry II, 258; prisoner at S. Quentin, 276; carries Montmorency over to the Trumvirate, 307; killed at Dreux, 321.
- S. Aubin du Cormier, battle of, 107; decides fate of Brittany, *ib.*
- S. Bartholomew's Day, Massacre of, 315; not planned at Bayonne, 325; was it premeditated? 339; proximate cause of, 350; the massacre agreed to, 351; Guises eager for it, *ib.*; want to kill Bourbons and Montmorencies, *ib.*; the actual outbreak, 352; acts of generosity, 353; spreads to the provinces, *ib.*; the numbers slain, 354; how received abroad, 355; the guilt, how distributed, 356; its effects afterwards not great, 358.
- S. Claude, Louis XI writes letters thence, 19.
- S. Denis, Battle of, 329.
- S. Dizier, Charles V besieges, 253.
- S. Germain, Assembly of, 309; its composition, *ib.*; edict of, 310; Peace of, 338.
- S. Jacques, battle of, 17.
- S. Jean d'Angeli, siege of, 337; taken by Louis XIII, 496.
- S. Leu of Angers, the True Cross of, 30; Count of Maine swears on it, 65; Louis XI and Charles the Bold swear on it, 70.
- S. Maur des Fossés, Treaty of, 48.
- S. Peter takes S. Paul, 89.
- S. Pol, Louis, Count of, his position, 12; and fate, *ib.*; his intermediate position, 39; marches with Charles of Charolais to Montleheri, 41; defeated there, 43; alone of the Leaguers showed skill in war, 44; made Constable of France, 48; well treated by Louis XI, 61; Louis XI's mot on his head, 71; sent to make

- war on Charles the Bold, 72; to hold S. Quentin for the King, 73; frames a new League, 74; his fall and death, 88, 89.
- S. Pol, the Count of, prisoner at Pavia, escapes, 202.
- S. Quentin, its position and importance, 275; siege of, *ib.*; battle of, 276; falls, 277; its fate, *ib.*; Henry IV at, 430.
- Salic Law, the, 412; upheld by Parliament of Paris, 420.
- Saluzzo, seized by Duke of Savoy, 389; point of dispute between Henry IV and Savoy, 465; retained by Savoy, 467; its position, 468.
- Saluzzo, Marquis of, foolishly trusted by Francis, 237; goes over to Charles V, 240.
- Sancerre takes up arms, 359.
- Scaliger, 394.
- Schynner, Matthew; *see* Sion.
- Scotland, French affairs in, 302.
- Scots, the, summoned to help Louis XI, 74; hope that Francis will make a French fleet to rival English navy, 185.
- Scottish guard, the, of Louis XI, 43.
- Satire Ménippée, the, 448; the aim of satire, *ib.*
- Saumur, a hostage in hands of Mornay, 391; taken by Louis XIII, 496.
- Savonarola, 159; sides with France, 117; with Charles VIII, 123; shuts gates of Florence against him, 126.
- Savoy, Charles Emmanuel, Duke of, seizes Saluzzo, 389; threatens Geneva, 392; intent on Geneva, 404; overruns Provence, 413; negotiates with Henry IV, 465, 466; claims Geneva, 466; his agreement with Henry IV, *ib.*; thinks France will revolt, *ib.*; at war with France, 467; sues for peace, *ib.*; retains Saluzzo, but loses Bresse and Bugey, *ib.*; is allied with Henry IV, 483.
- Savoy, Charles III, Duke of, ejected from Geneva, 243.
- Savoy, Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of, meets Catherine, 324.
- Savoy, little but a French dependency, 117; goes over to Charles V, 214.
- Saxony, Frederick of, the one strong man in all the Electoral College, 189; is offered the Imperial crown, and refuses, 190.
- Scholasticism at Paris, 10.
- Sedan, Henry II ill at, 269; Duke of Bouillon at, 472; garrisoned by Henry IV, *ib.*
- Semblançay, Lord of, keeper of royal finances, 194; accuses the Regent of taking money intended for pay of Swiss, *ib.*; falls into the hands of Du Prat, 195; after a long trial unjustly executed, *ib.*
- Senlis, Bishop of, colonel of the clerical regiment, 409.
- Senlis, truce of, 77.
- Seyssel, his remarks on the state of France in Louis XII's reign, 168.
- Sforza family owns Milan, 140.
- Sforza, Francesco Alessandro, his advice to Louis XI, 49.
- Sforza, Francesco Maria, 208; yields Milan to the Imperialists, 210; at Milan, 214; dies, 237.
- Sforza, Lodovico; *see* Moro.
- Sigismund of Austria hands Alsace over to Charles the Bold, 79; makes league with Swiss, 82.
- Sillery, one of Henry IV's ministers, 450; recalled by Louis XIII, 497.
- Sion, Matthew Schywnner, Bishop of, 160; traffics with Louis XII, *ib.*; sells help to Julius II, *ib.*; is made Cardinal, *ib.*; tries to rally Swiss at Milan, 177, 178; takes refuge with the Emperor after Marignano, 179.
- 'Sixteen, the, of Paris,' 384.
- Sixtus V, newly Pope, excommunicates Henry and Elizabeth, 384; his character, *ib.*; will take no steps against Henry IV, 404; called a 'Politique' Pope, *ib.*; his death, 414.
- Smalkalde, League of, 233; revived, 264.
- Soissons, Count of, aims at Infanta's hand, 420; virtual head of the princes on death of Henry IV, 487; his weakness, *ib.*; is bought off, *ib.*
- Soliman II, all-powerful in eastern Mediterranean, 236; openly allied

- with Francis, 237; sends out his fleet, 249.
- Somerset, Protector, 263.
- Somme towns, the, recovered by Louis XI, 37; Charles of Charolais desires them above all, 38; their importance, 38, 61; welcome Louis XI, 90.
- Sorbonne, the, 224; printing-press at 33, 99; its influences, 230, 231; martyrs Estienne Dolet, 257; declares for Henry IV, 424.
- Soubise, Benjamin of Rohan, Lord of, supports Huguenot uprising, 495; defends S. Jean d'Angely, 496; in England for help, 498.
- Spain, Francis carried to, 205; shattered by Holland, 273; influence of, under Henry IV, 451; her party very strong at French Court, 455; alarmed at influence of Gabrielle, 465; joy at her death, *ib.*
- Spaniards, entrench themselves at Ravenna, 162; defeated by French at battle of Ravenna, 163; drive Bonnivert out of the Pyrenees, 192; fail at Bayonne, 198; suffer much at Pavia, 201; distinguished for their cruelty, 319.
- Spanish troops, unpopular in Germany, 265.
- Spenser, his 'changed shield' of Burbo, 354; eloquent spokesman of English feeling, 359; refers to pamphlet-war of 1584, 382.
- States-General, the, described, 63, note 3; of Tours, 105; their action, *ib.*; see Tours; of Orleans, 302; L'Hôpital's address to them, 305; their action, 306; Edict of Orleans, result of their demands, *ib.*; of Pontoise, 308; rally round Catherine, *ib.*; abolish Edict of July, *ib.*; advice of Prosper de Sainte Croix at, 311; called for by both parties, 370; meet at Blois, *ib.*; their action influenced by Bodinus, 371; their dismissal, *ib.*; meet again at Blois in 1588, 389; composed of Leaguers, *ib.*; appealed to by League party, 400; have they the right to elect a king? 412, 413; are a danger to the unity of France, 413; part of them propose to elect a king, 418; hesi-
- tate to elect the Spanish Infanta as Queen of France, 420; Henry IV shrinks from calling them, 454; of 1614, 489.
- Stephanus, Henry, 394.
- Stewart of Aubigny, Constable of Naples, 127; commands for Louis XII, 142.
- Sully, Maximilian of Bethune, Duke of, gives advice to Henry IV as to his conversion, 419; refuses to help the 'Conseil de Raison,' 431; becomes finance-minister, *ib.*; describes the Court on news of fall of Amiens, 431, 432; his activity and organizing power, 432; one of the great ministers of France, 437; success of Henry much due to him, 439; on the character of Henry IV, 445; on his expenses, 447; his policy and character, 450; tries to reduce French finance to order, 452, 453; reforms the war-power, 453; has a balance in hand, *ib.*; his characteristics and fitness for his task, 455; his 'Économies Royales,' *ib.*; not a philosophic statesman, 457; does not make a true reform, *ib.*; his actual measures, 458; his aphorism on 'the plough and the cow,' 459; his report on the state of France, 461; shows the arsenal to the Duke of Savoy, 466; superintends war in Savoy, 467; at the arsenal with Henry IV, 471; his 'Économies,' their literary history, 473; on the Christian Republic, 476; appointed to command the artillery, 482; expects his ruin on death of Henry, 486; is well received by Mary, *ib.*; tries to mediate between Louis XIII and the Huguenots, 496; has to surrender Cavenac, 498.
- Susanne of Bourbon, marries her cousin Charles, Constable Bourbon, 136, 195; feud between her and Louise of Savoy, 196; her death, *ib.*
- Swiss, the, in collision with Charles the Bold, 79; are his danger, 80; defeat the Bastard of Burgundy at Héricourt, 82; make league with Sigismund of Austria, *ib.*; perish at Granson, 84; win a battle there against Charles the Bold, *ib.*; also

- at Morat, 85; also at Nanci, *ib.*; in French pay, their wretched plight, 127; betray Lodovico il Moro, 143; secure Bellinzona, 144; win battle of Novara, 165; welcomed by Margaret of Austria, *ib.*; besiege Dijon, 166; bribed by La Trémoille to make peace with France, *ib.*; the true strength of Maximilian Sforza, 175; occupy mountain passes towards Dauphiny, 176; some abandon League, others fight at Marignano, 178; are beaten and crushed, 180; allowed to return home in peace, *ib.*; return home after repulse at Bicocca, 194; fight at Pavia, 201; march for France, 392; see that Duke of Savoy can be defeated only at Paris, *ib.*; march for Paris, *ib.*
- Swiss mercenaries, hired by Louis XII, 141; employed by Henry IV, 482.
- Switzerland, invaded by Maximilian, 141.
- T.
- 'Taille,' the, described, 457, and note 2.
- Tavannes, Gaspard de, 209; attaches himself to Catherine dei Medici, 259; his opinions and acts, *ib.*; his picture of the Court, 260; his offer as to Diana of Poitiers, 261; commands at Verdun, 270; connives at Condé's escape, 332; victor at Jarnac, 335; at Moncontour, 337; objects to war in the Netherlands, 345; Charles IX's opinion of, 348.
- Taxation under Louis XI, 100.
- Teligny, 347, 348; perishes in the S. Bartholomew, 352.
- Theatine Pope, the (Paul IV), 273.
- Thermes, Marshal, sent to crush Huguenots, 303.
- Therouenne, siege of, by Maximilian, 93; besieged by Henry VIII and allies, 165; yields, *ib.*
- Thionville taken by Guise, 280.
- Throne of France, competitors for, 397, 398.
- Toul promised to Henry II, 265.
- Tournament held by Louis XI on his accession, 34.
- Tournay, besieged by Henry VIII and allies, 165; coveted by Maximilian, *ib.*
- Tournon, Cardinal, falls, 259.
- Tours, States-General of, 61, 63, 105; their decision as to the alienation of Normandy, 64; their other acts, 65; the 'Notables' of, 72; declare against Charles the Bold, *ib.*; Three Estates of, in 1506, 151; induce Louis XII to give Claude to Francis of Angoulême, *ib.*; National Council at, called by Louis XII, 161; asked if he might make war on the Pope, *ib.*; declares for the King, *ib.*; Parliament of, recognises Henry IV, 404.
- Trent, Council of, resummoned, 264; watched over by Charles V, 266; hastily dissolved, 267; third convention, 302; closes, 323; its results, *ib.*; its decrees urged on France, 324; its decrees, 334.
- Trèves, interview of Frederick III and Charles the Bold at, 79, 91.
- Trèves, Elector of, befriends Francis I, 189.
- Tristan l'Hermite, 29; busy at Paris, 63.
- Triumvirate, the, of Catherine, Antony, Montmorency, 305; its aims, *ib.*; that of 1651, Francis of Guise, Montmorency, S. André, 307; end of it, 322.
- Trivulzio, commands for Louis XII, 142; governor of Milan, *ib.*; ejected, *ib.*; reinforced at Mortara, 143.
- Tunis, in hands of Barbarossa, 236; taken by Charles V, 237.
- Tunstal, Cuthbert, 188.
- Turkey, called on to help to restore Francis to liberty, 205; allied with France, *ib.*; recognises Henry IV, 404; Henry IV allied with, 464.
- Turks, the, Christendom against, 6, 7; threaten the Mediterranean, 185; at Mohacz, 213; menace Vienna, 233; their Mediterranean power, 236; held back in Germany, 248; allied with France, 249; winter at Toulon, 250; appealed to by German princes, 265.

U.

- Ulrich, Duke of Würtemberg, to be reinstated, 235; is restored, 236.
 Union, the Evangelical, 480, 481; meets at Hall, 482.
 University of Bourges, founded by Louis XI, 99.
 University of Paris, opposed to the new learning, 10; Ambrose of Cambrai its chancellor, 31; favoured by Louis XI, 99; Regius Professors in, 230.
 University of Valence, 17.

V.

- Valenciennes resists Louis XI, 91.
 Valentina Visconti, marries Louis of Orleans, 139.
 Valois, House of, characterised, 26; end of the, 394.
 Vassy, massacre of, 312.
 Vaudebant, Count of, helps to disperse German rabble in Lorraine, 204.
 'Vauderie' at Arras, 10.
 Vaudeville, origin of, 10.
 Velasco commands in Franche Comté for Philip II, 427.
 Velly, Bishop of Macon, envoy of France to Rome, 238.
 Venal offices introduced by Louis XII, 147.
 Vendôme, Antony of, sent to recover Hesdin, 269.
 Vendôme, Cardinal of, bids for the crown, 414; his character, 420.
 Vendôme, Charles of Bourbon, Duke of, supports the Regent in her efforts to succour French army after Pavia, 202; declines the offer of government of the kingdom, 204.
 Vendôme, Louis, Duke of, great-grandson of Henry IV, 449.
 Vendôme, the Bastard of, set to retard John of Calabria's advance in 1465, 40.
 Venetians, two, come to Paris to teach Louis XI, 99; the, posted at Treviso, 156; march to Agnadello, 157; fight there, *ib.*; enter Bologna, 161; unite with France, 164; are defeated by the Spaniards, 165.

- Venice tries to enlist Western Europe against the Turk, 7, 9; leagued against Charles VIII, 125; threatened by Maximilian, 153; calls on Louis XII for help, *ib.*; is denied it, *ib.*; makes a private truce with Maximilian, *ib.*; joins the Holy League, 162; begins to lose her trade, 185; punished by Charles V, 214; sends ambassador to Henry's coronation, 423; is opposed by him, 468; allied with him, 483.
 Verdun, promised to Henry II, 265; taken, 268; garrison of, commanded by Vieilleville, 269.
 Vermandois, the, occupied by Spanish troops, 277.
 Vervins, negotiations at, 433; Peace of, 435; its condition, *ib.*
 Vesc, Stephen de, favourite of Charles VIII, 117, 118.
 Vezins, a Querci gentleman, his generous act, 353.
 Vieilleville, in favour of war, 266; fails to win Strasburg, 268; brings a map of the Rhine into France, 269; on the Luxemburg campaign, *ib.*; in command at Verdun, *ib.*; at Toul, 270; Charles IX's opinion of, 348.
 Villars, André de, holds Rouen for the League, 416; paralyses the attack, *ib.*; comes over to Henry IV, 424; vain and brave, killed, 427.
 Villeroi, promoted by Henry IV, 433; is minister of Henry IV, 450.
 Villon, 'first modern French poet,' 10.
 Vimory, battle of, 387.
 Vire, birthplace of the Vaudeville, 10.
 Visconti, male line of the, ends, 139.
 'Viscounts,' the, 336.

W.

- Walsingham organises his anti-Spanish spy-system, 382.
 Warwick, Earl of, sent to Paris by the English nobles, 62.
 Wenceslas, King, 140.
 'White Party,' the, at the French Court, 247; gains by Peace of Crespy, 254.
 William the Conqueror, his tomb destroyed, 318.

- William of Orange, the Silent, at Paris, 291; takes refuge with Condé, 331; allied with Condé, 333; in France, 343; obliged by the S. Bartholomew Massacre to fall back, 359; helps Anjou, 376; his assassination, 382.
 William III, his success marks turn of the European tide, 437.
 Wine-riots of Lyons, 223.
 Wissembourg, farthest point of French advance, 268.
 Wolsey, Cardinal, makes Treaty of London, in which the Dauphin is affianced to Mary of England, 186; looked upon as arbiter of Europe, *ib.*; close friend of Charles V, 191.
 Words, Italian, introduced into France, 114.

- Worms, Diet of, condemns Luther, 191.

Y.

- York, House of, hostile to Louis XI, 37; in league with Charles the Bold, 62.
 York, Margaret of, married to Charles the Bold, 66.
 Yuste, Charles V at, 272.

Z.

- Zamet, the king's money-lender, 465.
 Zizim, Bajazet's brother, dies, 125.
 Zweibrücken, the Duke of, 336.
 Zwingli, death of, 225; dedicates his Confession to Francis I, 227.

THE
VOLUME
OF THE

JUL 24 1936

This book is due on the date indicated below, or at the expiration of a definite period after the date of borrowing, as provided by the library rules or by special arrangement with the Librarian in charge.

[illegible]

0026052784

K 641

22

History of France

944.02

K 64

12

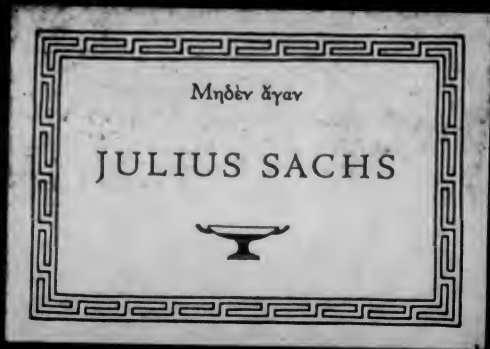
VOLUME 3

Vol-3

Columbia University
in the City of New York

LIBRARY





Clarendon Press Series

HISTORY OF FRANCE

KITCHIN

VOL. III.

a

London
MACMILLAN AND CO.



PUBLISHERS TO THE UNIVERSITY OF
Oxford

Clarendon Press Series

A

HISTORY OF FRANCE

COLUMBIA
UNIVERSITY

BY
G. W. KITCHIN, M.A.

VOL. III

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

M DCCC LXXVII

[All rights reserved]

CONTENTS.

BOOK IV.

[CONTINUED.]

The Bourbon Monarchy: its Rise. A.D. 1598—1660.

	PAGE
CHAP. IV. Richelieu. A.D. 1624—1635	I
„ V. France as a Principal in the Thirty Years' War. A.D. 1635—1643	58
„ VI. France under Mazarin, to the end of the Thirty Years' War. A.D. 1643—1648	84
„ VII. The Fronde. A.D. 1648—1653	101
„ VIII. War with Spain: Mazarin's Death. A.D. 1654— 1661	121

BOOK V.

The Bourbon Monarchy at its Height. A.D. 1661—1715.

CHAP. I. Louis XIV rules. A.D. 1661—1668	142
„ II. From Aix-la-Chapelle to Nimwegen; the Dutch War. A.D. 1668—1678	174
„ III. The Rise of Madame de Maintenon, and highest splendour of the Reign. A.D. 1678—1685	206
„ IV. Europe against France: Preparations. A.D. 1685 —1688	230
„ V. Europe against France: War. A.D. 1688—1697	251
„ VI. The Spanish Succession. A.D. 1697—1700	272
„ VII. The War of the Spanish Succession. A.D. 1701— 1713	290
„ VIII. The Last Years of Louis XIV. A.D. 1713—1715	341

944.02

K641

v. 3

BOOK VI.

The Decadence of the Monarchy. A.D. 1715-1793.

	PAGE
Introduction	358
CHAP. I. The Regency: Philip of Orleans, Dubois, and Law. A.D. 1715-1723	362
„ II. Fleury. A.D. 1724-1740	389
„ III. European Complications. A.D. 1740-1748	405
„ IV. The age of Madame de Pompadour. A.D. 1748- 1763	422
„ V. Sketch of Events from A.D. 1748 to 1763	441
„ VI. The Last Years of Louis XV. A.D. 1763-1774	463
„ VII. The Dying Monarchy. A.D. 1774-1789	469
„ VIII. The Fall of Louis XVI. A.D. 1789-1793	487
INDEX	509

TABLES.

	PAGE
I. The House of Condé	87
II. The Spanish and French Relationship	168
III. The Stuart and Bourbon Relationship	179
IV. The Electors-Palatine of the Simmern Line	241
V. Relationship of the Claimants for the Crown and Heritage of Spain	276
VI. The Family of Louis XIII	332
VII. The House of Austria, down to 1740	406

MAPS.

	PAGE
I. La Rochelle and Environs (to face)	25
II. Siege of La Rochelle „	28
III. The Frontier of France after A.D. 1648 and 1659	136
IV. To illustrate the Campaign of A.D. 1672	186
V. The Austrian Netherlands, with the Frontier- line and the Barrier-towns of A.D. 1713	336

BOOK IV.

[CONTINUED.]

THE BOURBON MONARCHY: ITS RISE.

A.D. 1598-1660.

CHAPTER IV.

RICHELIEU. A.D. 1624-1635.

HENRY IV in his day had tried to solve the pressing European problem, How shall religious toleration be granted, so as to preserve national unity? The freedom claimed for opinion had already split up the unity, such as it was, of Germany; it threatened that of France. The resistance to this claim by the House of Austria led to the breaking up of the Spanish power, chiefly by creating a free confederacy round the Rhine mouths and sandy coasts of Lower Germany; a little later, the same resistance in Germany brought on the Thirty Years' War, with all its long throes, ending in an equilibrium of exhaustion. In France it had caused, in large part, the miserable Civil Wars, which Henry's firmness had quelled at last; it had yet to face the disturbances which at once sprang up, now that the weak hand of Louis XIII had grasped the helm; it was destined to receive a solution, decisive if not satisfactory, at the hand of the great Cardinal Richelieu. 'Old thoughts' which had been abandoned in England in the sixteenth century were at

¹ Gardiner, *The Thirty Years' War*, p. 69.

issue with new thoughts which would hardly be adopted in England before the eighteenth': and it is this fatal clash of new and old, irreconcilable, moving in different worlds of thought, which in France has led to despotism, followed by Revolution. During the time with which we now deal this movement became a struggle of the nobles of France first for their old feudal independence; then for what we may call governmental or departmental independence; and lastly, when they failed in this, the nobles were fain to descend from a struggle for power to a prayer for privilege. Consequently, France in the eighteenth century shows us a nobility enjoying vexatious and senseless immunities, while its real power is almost entirely gone. When the spirit has thus evaporated, leaving but the lees, it will not be long ere the wine is contemptuously thrown away.

France, as we have said, with her central geographical situation, and her strong Catholic neighbours, might be, as she chose to act, either the heart of European politics, or only one member of a great Catholic group of kingdoms: if she fell to the latter position, it would be by courting the friendship and advancing the plans of the Austro-Spanish House. The former was clearly her true policy; it would weld the monarchy at home into a compact whole, and at the same time encourage the disruptive tendencies on every frontier. This view of her best interests had been lost sight of since the murder of Henry IV, and the Catholic powers had made the best use they could of a period in which France was paralysed, if she did not actually go over to their side. But as time went on the dullest minds began to be alarmed: even the pious wish of Louis XIII to prove himself deserving of his title of 'Most Christian King' ceased to mean a quiet acquiescence in the daily growth of his neighbour's power. For two or three years the policy of the Court of France, which had already become less Spanish after Concini's death, seemed to oscillate; in 1623 some slight help had been sent to the struggling foes of the House of Austria, though it was done in a hesitating way, as by one timidly changing his political front, and not sure of

his steps. The keen sight and cool hand of Richelieu were still to come. And it was time they came: for the Austro-Spanish power had sprung up again with amazing vitality. The first period of the Thirty Years' War was over, and Germany seemed prostrate at the Emperor's feet. The position was like that of Charles V after Mühlberg; the Princes were crushed; Electors were made and unmade at will by the Imperial fiat; Frederick, Elector Palatine, was degraded, Maximilian of Bavaria promoted: the Austrian troops, overrunning the Rhine-Palatinate, shook the French King's faith in the wisdom of his course. The Austrians were now masters of the Rhine from Basel to Emmerich; war had again broken out in the Low Countries in 1621, which were torn to pieces by religious and political factions; the whole of Italy, except Venice, lay at the Spaniards' feet; they had seized the Valtelline, and so secured their communications with Austria and Germany. The English Court, in its eagerness to reinstate the Elector Palatine without having to fight for him, seemed to have forsaken its old French alliance and to have turned to Spain; the Prince of Wales, men learnt with anger and surprise, was making a romantic journey to Madrid to win a Spanish bride¹.

In Germany the Protestants were destined once more to be saved by the dissensions between the Catholic Princes and the Imperial power, between Tilly, the Princes' general, with his Jesuits, and Wallenstein, the Emperor's, with his astrologers: in France it is a Cardinal who will arrest for ever the triumph of the Church, set his country into its right course, and lay the foundations of the peace of Europe.

There were two ways by which the Spaniards could get round France, and make a land-route to the Netherlands, now that their

¹ 'L'affaire de la Valteline, celle d'Allemagne, la liaison d'Espagne et d'Angleterre, la nécessité des Pays Bas, le mauvais traitement que reçoivent les Suisses, l'extrémité où sont les Liégeois, étant choses de si grande prise à la France et en état si avantageux pour l'Espagne.' Richelieu, *Mémoires* (Petitot, II, vii. p. 283).

sea-route was become precarious through the rise of the two maritime powers. The one way was by the Savoyard passes, across the Rhone somewhere between Lyons and Geneva, through Franche-Comté and thence into Alsace, or across the Rhine, and so down the territories of the German Princes to where Cleves borders on the Netherland Provinces. This road however was barred, first by uncertainty as to the friendship of the Duke of Savoy, who could never, thanks to his geographical position, be depended on, and secondly by the foresight of Henry IV, who, in obtaining Bresse and Bugey, had completely blocked the way. This route was therefore of little avail; and there was but one other.

That grand range of Alps, which we see stretching for leagues along the northern horizon as we travel down the Valley of the Po, divides northern from southern Europe as with a wall of iron. There were in it few passes available for troops in the seventeenth century; those at the western end were in the Duke of Savoy's hands, and the easier ones at the eastern end were commanded by Venice: between the two there was but one great valley which did not lead directly into Switzerland;—and that was the Valtelline. Due north of Milan lies the lovely lake of Como, stretching far up into the hills: from near its northern end the Valtelline runs away to the east, towards the great mountains: out of it one pass, high but not difficult, communicates with the Engadine, and thence with the Grisons, while another road leads the astonished traveller over great heights into the Tyrol¹.

Henry IV, foreseeing the importance of this roadway, by which so many a sturdy Swiss had already descended to seize the spoils of Italy, or to take service with the Venetians, had long ago secured it by an alliance with the Leaguers of the Grisons², to whom the Valtelline was then subject.

¹ The Stelvio would not have been practicable for armies in the sixteenth century.

² There were three of these Leagues: the Graubund proper (1424) (whence the Canton takes its name), head place Ilanz; the Gotteshausbund,

In 1620 an explosion took place. The Italian-speaking inhabitants were strict Catholics; the Grisons across the mountains talked German or Romance, were Protestants, and treated their subjects harshly: with the approval of Federigo Borromeo, Cardinal Archbishop of Milan, cousin and successor of the great S. Carlo Borromeo, and also a strong supporter of the high Catholic party, the Italians of the Valley, whose grievances were aggravated by the encouragement of the two prelates, broke out into a frightful massacre. On a certain day and hour every Protestant found in the valleys was ruthlessly murdered, and the independence of the district was forthwith proclaimed: it was formed into a democratic republic, in opposition to the aristocratic republicanism of the Grisons: the Duke of Feria and the Spaniards at once supported the revolt; German and Spanish troops occupied the strong places in the valley, the four Valtelline forts of Morbegno, Sondrio, Nova, and Riva.

In vain were negotiations carried on at Madrid, and the new King Philip IV even signed a treaty¹ to replace everything in the state it was in before the outbreak; the French King, traitor to himself, added a secret clause, that he would undertake to break up the alliance between the Grisons and the Venetians, a stipulation which, if carried out, would have utterly neutralised the treaty. No one listened to the voice of negotiation: the Grisons took up arms; the Spaniards resisted, occupied the 'two jurisdictions'; it seemed as if the Grisons would have to submit. These things at last aroused Louis XIII, the war-party friendly to Spain having lost ascendancy at the time of the peace of Montpellier²; and he listened to the counsels of the Duke of Savoy, and the Venetian ambassador.

the 'Ligue Cadée' (circ. 1401), head place Chur; and the Zehengerichte (1436), head place Davos. These three formed themselves into a single confederation in 1471, allied themselves with the Swiss Cantons in 1498, and became to a great extent dependent on them. In 1798 they were actually admitted into the Helvetic body, and since that date have formed one of the Swiss Cantons. For a short account of them see Richelieu, *Mémoires* (Petitot, II. vii. p. 309).

¹ 25 March, 1621.

² See above vol. ii. p. 498.

Early in 1623 an alliance was signed, engaging France to enter vigorously into the struggle for the restitution of the Valtelline. Hereon the Spaniards, not wishing to push France into an unfriendly position—France neutral being so great a help—offered (thinking to secure their object just as well) to hand over the Valtelline forts to the Pope in deposit, till terms could be come to; and this was done just before the death of Gregory XV. France subsided; and in the interval of quiet Gregory died, and was succeeded by Urban VIII, that ‘temporal Prince,’ whose sympathies and thoughts were opposed to the Spanish domination. In France Richelieu was called to the King’s counsels, and in a very few months became supreme at the Board: he began by a new and strict chamber of justice, which was intended to pull the state out of its financial and social wretchedness; and cautiously at first, but firmly, set himself to resist the overpowering pretensions of the Austrian and Spanish thrones: these, in closest harmony of religious and political aims, menaced once more the liberties of the world.

When Richelieu became master of the fortunes of France, he was thirty-nine years of age. Sprung from a noble house in Poitou, he at first followed his father’s profession of arms, and was soldier long enough to learn much that was afterwards very useful to him. We shall see him, a Cardinal, acting as commander-in-chief; nor did he ever forget his earlier calling, sedulously as he fulfilled his clerical duties. Before however he had time to see much of warfare, his career was changed: his family seeing his great powers, thought the Church a better field for his ambition than the camp; his elder brother, then holding the Bishopric of Luçon, which was a kind of family benefice, resigned that charge in his favour, and thereon the young soldier passed from State to Church, and was consecrated Bishop when only twenty-one years old. We have already seen him at the States General of 1614, then befriended by the Queen Mother and the Concinnis; at last, after ten years of cautious dealing, he now sets his foot on the pinnacle of his ambition.

There stands this foremost figure of the age, looking even

younger than he was. His form was slight, and his health was always frail and delicate. His portrait by Champagne in the Louvre, a masterpiece in its kind, shows us a tall figure, with long thin hands, flexible, eloquent and tenacious; his face is eminently characteristic, marked and pointed, with a long high-backed nose, inquisitive and masterful; his eyes, a little closed, veil their lord’s will, yet see all that passes; his white hair, combed back, and covering his ears and neck, is silky and sparse, and betokens the ecclesiastic, while his little sharp-pointed beard and well-trimmed moustache seem to denote the statesman and soldier. Behind this delicacy of frame and feature lay an iron will and pitiless nature, a swift clear-seeing intelligence, a sleepless vigilance and subtlety of mind which carried him safely through many a crisis. He was surrounded with a network of spies and corrupt agencies; he thought all men had their price. He never wearied of work, and his work lay in many different lines; he could guide the destinies of nations in the morning, and write indifferent verses in the afternoon; or, seated amidst his authors, sketch out the plots of a play for them to fill up afterwards. There was in him a vein of personal vanity which led him to aspire to eminence where a greater and less self-conscious man would have felt no temptation. His patronage of the drama begins the period of French literary history in which the stage takes up a prominent position,—when playwrights are the comrades of kings, and a tragedy can convulse the political world, or a comedy throw all society into agitation. With Richelieu comes in that era of the drama which, drawing its first inspiration from Spain, rises to the dignity of an expression of national life in Corneille¹, flavours the despotism of the ‘Great Monarch’ in Molière, and shakes the tottering state when Voltaire wields the pen.

It is not easy to determine what power Richelieu had at the opening of his ministry. While under the Queen Mother he had gone with those who favoured the Spanish policy; when

¹ Corneille’s first piece, a comedy, was played in Paris in 1629.

he came to stand by the King the Court was fluctuating between the two parties and lines of action: the King, left to himself, being a strict and narrow Catholic, would doubtless have preferred the friendship of Spain to an alliance with the Protestant powers. But circumstances and the general tendencies of the time were too strong; and Louis XIII bowed before them. We cannot tell how much of truth there may be in the statement that Richelieu laid before his young sovereign the full-formed plan of a policy opposed to Spain. It is hardly likely that, to use a modern phrase, the new minister 'came in to carry out' a new line of political action. His *Memoirs*, it is true, which obviously aim at drawing a coherent and favourable view of his whole career, tell us that in an almost theatrical interview he unfolded to the astonished King a perfect scheme of policy, convinced him of the justice and necessity of it for France, and at once seized complete ascendancy over the royal mind. It is more probable—and also more in accordance with the facts—that Richelieu, for the first and second years of his ministry, was far from omnipotent, was crossed and thwarted by hostile influences, and even compelled to follow the course he did not approve, as at the Peace of Monzon in 1626.

Few characters in history are so difficult as that of Richelieu. The *Memoirs* of the time seem written only to mislead: those which bear his name were composed under his eye, with a special view to his reputation in time to come; they are accordingly almost valueless as evidence respecting the man, useful as they are for political study and for facts: the Rochfort *Memoirs*¹, bright and amusing, are nothing but a romance of adventure; the other documents of the time are partisan-writings: the interesting *Life of Father Joseph*² was written after 1689, and is a malicious panegyric. Nor can we clearly make out the springs of policy and action. The Cardinal

¹ 'Mémoires de Mr. L(e) C(omte) D(e) R(ochfort) contenant ce qui est passé de plus particulier sous le Ministère du C. de Richelieu et du C. de Mazarin.'

² Printed in the *Archives Curieuses*, 2^de Série, tom. iv.

wraps himself in mystery; we cannot tell how far that hard cold force, of which we are conscious, influences the world, nor indeed do we know what it is like: to add to the difficulty, we discern behind him his double, 'two heads under one cowl,' as men said: Father Joseph is the great intriguer and negociator, though not, as some have affirmed, the real statesman of whom the great Cardinal was only the agent and mouthpiece. Though we cannot sever them, their lives being bound up together for good or ill, it is quite clear that after Father Joseph dies in 1638 Richelieu's severities are not relaxed, nor his policy changed or weakened, nor his ascendancy shaken. It is true that the grey Father was no mere secretary or mere ambassador; he was a man of rare ability, able to give sagacious counsel; yet he cannot be regarded as the true centre of his age; that glory posterity has rightly reserved for his great master, Richelieu. Still, as we study these men, we grope in mysterious gloom, and are tempted to say with the author of the *Life of Father Joseph* that 'ordinary history is like the face of a clock; we see the hands that move and mark the time, but not the wheels and secret springs whereby it goes'.¹

Remembering then these uncertainties, we must deal modestly with the Cardinal's career, for we can never be quite certain as to our judgments respecting it. We may, however, without hesitation divide it into periods, studying it in parts and detail, and endeavouring, at the end, to sum up our impressions of the man and of the great results of his life's labours.

These periods will be four:—

(1) The Valtelline period, from 1624 to 1626, ending in an apparent collapse of all attempts to resist the Austro-Spanish power, at the Peace of Monzon; during which time Richelieu seems scarcely to have seen his way clearly. (2) The period of La Rochelle, from 1626 to 1628, during which Richelieu strains every nerve to crush all independent spirit and resistance at

¹ *Vie du Père Josef*, *Archives Curieuses*, 2^de Série, tom. iv. p. 129; we must not flatter ourselves, with the writer, that his book 'supplies the lack of ordinary history, and serves to content our curiosity.'

home, seemingly in harmony with Spain against the Huguenots, and turning a deaf ear to the loud outcries of the German Protestants. (3) The years 1629 to 1635 see the Cardinal master at home, and resolutely entering on that course of policy by which he finally triumphed in Europe, though as yet he interferes only as a secondary power in the Thirty Years' War; for this is the period of Gustavus Adolphus and the Swedes in Germany. (4) The fourth and last period, 1635 to 1643, ends his career; it is the time when France interferes as a principal in the war, and lays the foundations of that aggressive policy which marks the reign of Louis XIV. The great Cardinal's work is carried on to its triumphant close, so far as foreign affairs are concerned, by Mazarin in the Peace of Westphalia (A.D. 1648) and in that of the Pyrenees (A.D. 1659).

I. *The Valtelline Period.* A.D. 1624-1626.

When Cardinal Richelieu was called to the King's counsels, he begged that he might remain in the background; for his health was frail, and often failed at critical moments; much standing, as before kings, exhausted his strength; he would gladly give quiet advice from behind, and leave to others the dignities, the fatigues, and wearing cares of office. This could not be: the King insisted, and La Vieuville, under whose patronage he had been brought forward, welcomed him into the Cabinet. Even at this time men's eyes were fixed on him; he was 'refined up to two-and-twenty carats,' as a pamphlet of the day says¹; it was hoped that, like Cardinal Amboise, minister of the well-loved Louis XII, Richelieu would resist the Spanish domination. In the King's Council, or inner cabinet of six persons, three at least, Lesdiguières, Constable of France, La Vieuville, and Richelieu, were opposed to Spain. But La Vieuville was not fitted by nature for the chief place; he was

¹ In the 'Voix publique à Louis XIII,' in Cimber and Danjou's Archives Curieuses, 2^me Série, ii.

rash, violent, unpopular, and corrupt. He soon had to give place to Richelieu, henceforth the virtual head of the Council. La Vieuville, thus supplanted, had been the first to reverse the ruinous Spanish policy of the Court: he had welcomed the English envoys, after the failure of the Spanish marriage-project, wrecked on the Palatinate difficulty¹; he had promised help to the Dutch, to Mansfeld, to the Elector Frederick; in a word, his policy had been the forecast of that of the Cardinal, who owed his rise to him, and now stepped nimbly over his head into his place.

England had declared war on Spain: France joined England in renewing the old offensive and defensive alliance with the Dutch, England promising men and France money. Even the Queen Mother was led to suspend her Spanish likings, by the hope that her third daughter, Henriette Marie, would ascend the English throne. A marriage-treaty was drawn², and England for the time sided with those who were resisting Spain, while she was debarred from encouraging the Huguenots at La Rochelle.

The Austro-Spanish power had greatly increased during these years: its successes had enabled it to knit together all the provinces which owed it allegiance. The Palatinate and the Lower Rhine secured their connexion with the Spanish Netherlands, as we may now begin to call them, and threatened the very existence of the Dutch: the Valtelline forts, as we have shewn, were the roadway between the Spanish power at Milan and the Austrians on the Danube and in the Tyrol.

Richelieu now resolved to attack this threatening combination at both critical points. In the North he did not propose to interfere in arms: there others should fight, and France support them with quiet subsidies and goodwill. He pressed matters on with the English, the Dutch, the North German Princes; he negotiated with Maximilian of Bavaria and the League, hoping

¹ The English Court having made the restoration of the Palsgrave Frederick a necessary condition.

² But not signed, thanks to delays at Rome, till 12th December, 1624.

to keep the South German Princes clear of the Imperial policy. James of England, ignorant of the true bearings of foreign politics, and intent only on the restoration of the Count-Palatine to his Electorate, did little but hinder the just progress of affairs; for not daring to lay the marriage-treaty before Parliament, he could not summon the Houses to meet, and consequently got no supplies. Count Mansfeld, with twelve thousand English troops, finding that money failed from England, and that the Cardinal peremptorily refused him leave to cross France on his way to the Palatinate, was fain to do as Richelieu wished, and to turn aside to the Low Countries, where he was joined by two thousand French volunteers; and though he failed to relieve Breda¹, which fell before the arms of Spinola (June, 1625), he came opportunely to the help of Frederick Henry of Nassau, who on the death of his great brother Maurice, in April, 1625, had taken on his worthy shoulders the burden of the war. Thanks to their union the progress of Spinola was arrested, and a great peril averted.

The French ambassador at Copenhagen, well supported by the English envoy, Sir Robert Anstruther, at this time organised a Northern League, headed by Christian IV of Denmark, a prince who has had hard measure dealt him by both fortune and history. He was Duke of Holstein, and therefore a German Prince, a member of the Lower Saxon Circle; his interests at Bremen and Verden led him to resist the Austrian power, which refused to guarantee the continued possession by a Protestant power of those secularised Bishopricks. Hitherto the war in Germany had been between the Imperial power, supported by the Catholic League, and the Calvinists, headed by Frederick the 'Winter-King': now the Lutheran Princes, alarmed at the threatening aspect of affairs, were beginning to think that they had made a mistake in leaving the Palatinate to be conquered; and turned a more willing ear to

¹ It is probable that King James, who had no wish for war with Spain, held his troops back from anything that might bring on a collision with Spinola. Ranke, *English History*, i. p. 535 (Oxford translation).

the French and English proposals for this Northern League. Gustavus Adolphus, the great King of Sweden, and brother-in-law of George William, Elector of Brandenburg, had been also asked to help. But he, with better knowledge of the greatness of the undertaking than was shown by Christian, made proposals which by their magnitude alarmed the allies; and the Danish King, whose demands were far less, was accepted as head of the League. The event showed that the Swede was right. Two men only, in all Europe, Gustavus and Richelieu, seem to have had a just opinion of the great task before them.

By 1625 the Cardinal's plans in the North seemed to be going well: the North-Saxon Princes, though with little heart and much difference of opinion, specially in the cities, had accepted Christian IV as their leader; and the progress of the Spaniards in the United Provinces was checked. In the other point to which Richelieu's attention was directed, matters had gone still better. The Valtelline had remained, in spite of all remonstrances, in joint-occupation of the Pope and the Spaniards. Richelieu, never attacking in full face if he could carry his point by a side-attack, allied himself with Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, and with Venice; he easily persuaded the Savoyard to threaten Genoa, the port by which Spain could penetrate into Italy, and her financial mainstay. Meanwhile, the Marquis of Cœuvres had been sent to Switzerland, and, late in 1624, had persuaded the Cantons to arm for the recovery of the Valtelline; then, heading a small army of Swiss and French, he had marched into the Grisons. The upper districts held by the Austrians revolted: the three Leagues declared their freedom, the Austrian troops hastily withdrew. Cœuvres at once secured the Tyrolese passes, and descending from the Engadine by Poschiavo, entered the Valtelline: in a few weeks the Papal and Spanish troops were swept out of the whole valley, abandoning all their forts, though the French general had no siege-artillery with which to reduce them. The Spaniards were infinitely annoyed and mortified at the blow: Urban VIII showed little or no resentment. He saw how

strong this new power in France was becoming; he had at heart no wish to be overshadowed by Spain: the mission of Father Joseph to Rome, in the matter of the Papal dispensation for the English marriage, had already half-won him: the skilful proposal of the crafty Capucin for a new Crusade to the East¹, led by a hundred Capucin friars, had dazzled the Pope's imagination, and led him to believe that so enthusiastic a Churchman as Richelieu was sure to be a true friend to the Papal power: Urban's position as a temporal prince, all-important in his eyes, was likely to be improved, if he could neutralise the too-great influence of Spain. The establishment of the Duke of Nevers in Italy, with his splendid pedigree and shadowy claims as 'successor of the Palæologi'², was regarded as the first step towards both ends; that is, as the beginning of the Oriental Crusade³, and as, still more, the first solid resistance to the Spanish power in the Peninsula. It was soon seen that the Crusade was but a dream: still, the astute Father Joseph succeeded in using it against the Austrians and Spaniards.

Early in 1625, the Valtelline being secured to the Grisons and French, the aged Lesdiguières was sent forward to undertake the rest of the plan, the reduction of Genoa. But just as things were going well for the party in Europe opposed to Spain and Austria, an unlucky outburst of Huguenot dissatisfaction marred all: Soubise in the heart of winter had seized the Isle

¹ For some brief account of this scheme see Martin, *Histoire de France*, xi. p. 213, note 1.

² Charles I, Duke of Nevers, grandson of Louis of Gonzaga, son of Frederick Marquis of Mantua, regarded himself as heir to Mantua and Montferrat; as descended from the Courtenays he was connected with Constantinople: and one of the Palæologi in the fourteenth century had by marriage obtained Montferrat: his line ended in 1533, but one of his nieces married the Frederick mentioned above, and thus connected the house of Gonzaga with the Palæologi; in 1565 the Duchy of Nevers passed by marriage to the Gonzagas.

³ This scheme was much mooted as early as 1618: it is curious that in connexion with it comes up our old friend 'Prester John,' 'la cour du Prête-Jan, autrement dit le Soldan d'Éthiopie.' Vie du Père Joseph, in Cimber et Danjou, 2 Série, iv. p. 139. The name was clearly used as a generic title. It was understood that this scheme was to be first applied to an attack on the Austrian house, and failing that on Palestine. See Cimber et Danjou, pp. 146, 147.

of Ré, and had captured in Blavet harbour on the Breton coast six royal ships; he failed however to take the castle which commanded the place, and was himself blockaded, escaping only with heavy loss. Thence he seized the Isle of Oléron: in May the Huguenots were in revolt in Upper Languedoc, Querci, and the Cevennes, led by Rohan on land, and Soubise by sea. Their rash outbreak came opportunely to the aid of the distressed Austrian power, their true enemy. Although very many of the Huguenots stood aloof and refused to embarrass the government, still enough revolted to cause great uneasiness. The war in the Ligurian mountains was not pushed on with vigour; for Richelieu could not now think of carrying out the large plans, which by his own account¹ he had already formed, for the erection of an independent Italy: 'the true secret of Italian affairs is to eject the King of Spain and put in his stead the princes and potentates of Italy, whom the instinct of self-preservation would have held together . . . France would seek herein the diminution of Spain as her only share of reward'². He was for the present content to menace Genoa, without a serious siege.

At this time James I of England died, and the marriage of the young King with Henriette Marie was pushed on. In May Buckingham went to Paris to carry her over to England; he tried in vain to persuade Richelieu to couple the Palatinate with the Valtelline question; the Cardinal was cautious, for in this visit Buckingham inspired in him no confidence, irritated and annoyed Louis XIII, and laid the foundations of that ill-feeling which for a time prevailed between England and France.

After this the tide of affairs turned sharply against the Cardinal; while Tilly with the troops of the Catholic League, and Wallenstein, the new general of the Emperor, who begins at

¹ Mémoires, i. (Michaud, II. vii. p. 329).

² Martin holds that Richelieu aimed at restoring the ancient frontiers of France, 'Confundere Galliam cum Francia' (if we may quote from a very doubtful document, his so-called 'Testament'), and that his was the complement of the theory of Henry IV, who wished that all French-speaking men should be Frenchmen. These are the two elements of the modern theory of nationalities. Martin, *Histoire de France*, xi. p. 216, note 2.

this moment his brief and marvellous career, easily kept in check the Danes and their half-hearted German allies, Lesdiguières and the Duke of Savoy were forced by the Austrians and Spaniards to give up all thoughts of success in the Genoese country, and the French were even threatened in Piedmont and the Valtelline. But the old Constable of France was worthy of his ancient fame; he drove the Duke of Feria out of Piedmont, and in the Valtelline the Spaniards only succeeded in securing the fortress of Riva.

Richelieu felt that the war was more than France could bear, harassed as she was within and without, and undermined as the ground was by the Spanish faction at Court, which, headed by the Queen Mother, and seconded by the Jesuits, had great influence over the King. Richelieu saw that an attack of the illness to which his feeble health was prone might at any moment throw the King entirely into the hands of his foes, and reverse the whole policy of France. In the autumn of 1625 the King called together an assembly of notables at Fontainebleau, to which came the usual shadow of a Parliament: the princes, dukes, peers of France, great officers of the Crown, the presidents and proctors-general of the sovereign courts, the Provost of the Traders of Paris, and four prelates named by the assembly of the clergy. It was announced by Richelieu that the clergy would bear the whole cost of reducing the Huguenots, so that the King's resources were free for foreign war; menaces of vigorous action were thrown out; and under cover of them the Cardinal skilfully negotiated for peace. He was determined to free his hands in Italy, to leave the war to work itself out in Germany, and to bring the Huguenots to reason. He would have liked to accomplish this by friendly dealing and peaceful agreement with them; but his embarrassments were great; the King was fanatical against them, and they, or at least the Rohan party among them, were set on relieving La Rochelle from the domination of Fort Louis, which was garrisoned with royal troops and commanded the harbour. The joint fleets of Soubise and of La Rochelle had driven back the King's ships, and

had taken Ré and Oléron; but in their attempt to force an entrance into the harbour of La Rochelle they were defeated by Montmorency, who now commanded the royal fleet: the islands were retaken, and the Huguenots sued for peace. It must be remembered that the bulk of them did not agree with the Rochellois, and were quiet through this time.

Early in 1626 the treaty of Montpellier granted a hollow peace on tolerable terms to the reformed Churches; and soon after, two draft-treaties having been first rejected by Richelieu's influence, because they were utterly illusory, peace was signed with Spain at Monzon in May, 1626. All was done so silently that the interested parties, Savoy, the Venetians, the Grisons, knew nothing of it till all was settled: on Buckingham, who was pluming himself on having forced Louis XIII and the Huguenots to make peace at Montpellier, the news fell like a thunderclap. Peace between France and Spain was the greatest mishap that could have befallen him: he felt himself cheated and outwitted, his hopes of vengeance on Spain were shattered in a moment. The Valtelline remained under the Grisons, with guarantees for Catholic worship; France and Spain would jointly see that the inhabitants of the valleys were fairly treated: the Pope was entrusted with the duty of razing the fortresses: Genoa and Savoy were ordered to make peace. It was a treacherous affair; and Richelieu comes out of it but ill. We are bound, however, to remember the time, the pressure exerted by the Queen Mother and her Spanish friends, the underhand character of all negotiations, the selfishness which ruled all parties and almost all statesmen; above all, the desperate straits into which the Cardinal had come. For the eventual safety of France and Europe it was quite necessary for him to extricate himself. And his nature led him to do it skilfully, secretly, with cynical contempt for his old allies. Yet it must be noted that Richelieu, at the time and afterwards, declared positively that this peace was not of his making. True: Bérulle and the Spanish faction at Court made it; yet the Cardinal accepted and adopted it, and used it.

To all appearance it reversed his whole policy. The Protestant party in Europe was cheated, abandoned; the Austro-Spanish alliance courted; the Huguenots were about to feel the Cardinal's heavy hand. In reality it gave him time to bring his true policy into play; he did but fall back in order to make that wonderful leap forward which changed the whole face of European politics.

II. *The Rochelle Period.* A.D. 1626-1628.

Years ago, Richelieu, as yet the obscure young Bishop of Luçon, pacing up and down with his friend Father Joseph, had speculated on the struggle now about to begin, and in particular they had discussed how the stiffnecked Huguenot refuge, the neighbouring town of La Rochelle, could best be subdued. The Capucin, with his wild crusading schemes, and the Bishop eager to crush the heretics of France, seemed scarcely the men destined to be the champions of the Protestant policy in Europe. Yet it was to this that their speculations and aspirations directly tended. So clearly did even Spain herself feel this, that she was willing at times to help the heretics of La Rochelle in their struggle for independence and free exercise of their religion¹.

Even before La Rochelle allowed her impatience of Fort Louis, a constant and grievous menace at her gates, to lead her into open war, the Cardinal found himself surrounded by intrigues which threatened his destruction and that of the King. Louis XIII, sickly, narrow-minded, illiberal in thought and act, cross-tempered and unfriendly, contrasted but ill in the courtiers' eyes with the lively Gaston of Orleans his brother, whose very vices were such as they loved. The Court-ladies, foreshadowing the days of the Fronde, imitating the faults of the old times of Catherine dei Medici, were at the bottom of a fresh conspiracy. Henceforward the influence of women in

¹ As when she supported Rohan with money and even made a kind of treaty with him in 1628.

the history of France becomes almost uniformly baneful. The whole affair turned on the proposal to marry Gaston to the wealthy heiress of the House of Montpensier, a proposal supported by the Queen Mother and Richelieu: the other Court-ladies, for one reason or another, violently opposed it, and carried with them Gaston himself; he was led by Marshal Ornano, who was infatuated by a passion for the fair princess of Condé: the Duchess of Chevreuse tempted the young Count of Chalais, at the time chief favourite of Louis XIII, to join the conspiracy. It was very formidable from the importance of the personages implicated, their nearness to the King, the far-reaching character of their schemes. It was proposed, it is said, to shut up Louis in a monastery, and govern in his stead: to marry, on his death which might come at any time, the Queen to Gaston; Richelieu should perish. The plot had wide ramifications: it was known, more or less, at the Spanish and English Courts, in Savoy, and elsewhere: the Savoyard envoy was specially anxious that Richelieu should be murdered. Some hints, if not clear proofs, could not fail to reach the Cardinal; he alarmed the King, who had Ornano thrown into the Bastille. Gaston was furious; vengeance was vowed against Richelieu; Chalais and his friends offered themselves to dine with him, intending to assassinate him at his own table. But Richelieu was on his guard, and with consummate coolness defeated the plot. Chalais, seeing detection before him, gave way and made a full confession: Gaston passed from gross insults to abject submission and sacrificed his friends to save himself. He was too near the Crown to be punished; a reconciliation followed; Ornano died in prison, no one knows how. The ramifications of the plot had already been followed out; the Duke of Vendôme, 'César Monsieur,' as men called him, indicating his royal origin, and alluding to the hopes of Gabrielle that he would one day be King of France, had been imprisoned and deprived of his government of Brittany; his brother the 'grand prior'¹ of France fell with him; the Count

¹ A title of honour given to the holder of certain great benefices.

of Soissons and Condé were also punished. The Duchess of Chevreuse was banished; the Queen herself was openly rebuked and reproached by the King and Richelieu. The jealous temper of Louis once aroused served both to secure the Cardinal's ascendancy, and to keep his antagonist Buckingham out of France. Louis, these things quieted, presided over the Estates of Brittany, and heard from them a declaration that they prayed the King never to set over them as governor any descendant of their ancient Dukes: they would be henceforth Frenchmen, and nothing else. With these words the long isolation of Brittany came to an end: it was, as Ranke says, 'a true epoch in the history of France,' a proof, if need were, that the consolidated and united monarchy must prevail. The Estates went farther; they besought the King to demolish the fortifications of towns and castles, which were but so many barriers against true national unity: the prayer was gladly granted; and to the great joy of all France, the Breton strongholds were at once dismantled. Slowly this great reform would spread across the country; the downfall of La Rochelle was but an episode in it; after a time there will be no stronghold within the realm, but chains of frontier-fortresses, a menace to neighbouring nations, a defence at home; it is the true preparation for the policy of Louis XIV, the policy of making 'France one huge central fortress, compact within, and terrible to all without.'

It may be true, as has been said by Avenel¹ and Michelet, that the Cardinal 'had no bowels of mercies, and loved not the people': yet his policy, if not his feelings, made him wish to relieve the French people from some of its burdens. That he accomplished but little in that direction, beyond the overthrow of the feudal castle, is true enough: his energies were taxed, first to reduce the malcontents at home, then to carry out his gigantic schemes against Austria. Yet he had time to sketch out the policy which as a beneficent despot he desired to follow: only, as is too often the case with beneficent despots,

¹ In his admirable collection of Richelieu's Letters.

he never remembered that theories are best tested by being carried out in practice. There exists in his own handwriting a detailed project on domestic reforms: he wished to abolish the annual dues, to put an end to purchase of appointments and hereditary places, to let many offices die out, and so relieve France from the burden of them; we know that he actually did get rid of those great dignitaries, the Constable and Admiral of France; he proposed to reduce privilege and exemption, whether feudal or bureaucratic. Thus the administration, which by usurpation, by purchase, or by hereditary succession, had become a kind of private property, would be once more thrown open to merit; finance-officers would be checked, as under Sully; even Church-abuses diminished¹. The breadth of the Cardinal's views may be seen in his dealings with the Assembly of Notables sitting in 1626; finance, the position of the monarchy, the army, the creation of a new navy to cope with Spain and England, the relief of the lower nobles, as a counterpoise to the greater, were all passed in review: a policy of strict protection was regarded as the true means of restoring the prosperity and finance of France. Prohibition of foreign merchandize, and the nursing of home-products by government, have ever been the machinery by which France has proposed to compete with her neighbours in material well-being: from Louis XI to our own days she has again and again tried the plan, with some successes, and inevitable failure in the end. In all these things, Richelieu shadowed out a plan of a popular-absolutist monarchy, under which a happy people, free from the vexations of feudal or official rights, should be ruled by a generous prince, who should in turn be guided by a wise statesman². The theory was impossible with so narrow a monarch as Louis XIII, was partly tried and proved to be a failure under Louis XIV: it received its full development in the hands of Napoleon.

¹ Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, ii. p. 212.

² How far was he in earnest? Michelet, who hates him, sneers at it all. *Henri IV et Richelieu*, p. 403: 'Un projet superbe de réforme utopique.' . . . 'cet âge d'or sur le papier,' p. 405.

The treaty of Monzon had paralysed the foreign policy of both France and England; and Germany felt the results. Christian IV did his best; and Count Mansfeld, after his kind, 'a mere rolling-stone,' seconded him: but in 1625 an entirely new power had risen up in Germany. Wallenstein had undertaken to raise, discipline, organise, and lead to victory a new kind of army, an imperial army, costing the Emperor nothing, independent of the Empire; and this promise he had already begun to fulfil. He was no German, but a Bohemian; his brilliant career was as much an object of suspicion and dislike to the Catholic princes as that of Gustavus Adolphus, his greater rival, was to the Protestant. Yet his influence, for the time, was decisive: when the campaign of 1626 began, Wallenstein and Tilly made firm front against Mansfeld and Christian of Denmark. No French help came; and England, thanks to the well-founded distrust in Parliament of both Charles and Buckingham, sent scarce a tithe of the subsidy she had promised. Mansfeld was beaten at Dessau on the Elbe, and forced to abandon all thought of combining, if indeed he wished it, with the Danes: he was driven towards Silesia, and thence, followed by Wallenstein, found his way to Bethlem Gabor. There Wallenstein watched and wearied him. Bethlem made peace; and Mansfeld, unconquered save by disease, succumbed. Meanwhile Tilly, reinforced by part of Wallenstein's army, had caught the Danes at Lutter: the battle was long and hot; towards the end old discontents and jealousies broke out; the Germans would not fight without pay, and, thanks to English Charles, no pay was to be had. The Danish King was utterly defeated; and Wallenstein, who had swiftly returned from Hungary, drove him to the north. Tilly overran Hanover, Wallenstein seized Pommern and Mecklenburg, and pursued the luckless King through Holstein to the sea (end of 1627). Ferdinand, the Emperor, confiscated the two Duchies of Mecklenburg, and gave them to his general Wallenstein. What Richelieu could do, when he was able to look round about him, was but little. He encouraged the Dutch; negotiated between

the Elector Palatine and his Bavarian rival; but the terms he obtained were such that England rejected them with scorn, and a coolness between the two nations gathered strength. No worse persons could have been entrusted with the destinies of nations than the narrow Catholic Queen of England, Henrietta Maria, and the frivolous un-English Buckingham. The anti-Protestant policy followed by the Court, which took the form of alliance with France against the Huguenots, had been most unpopular in England; now, to avenge himself on the French and Henrietta Maria, and to recover his foothold at home, Buckingham set himself to oppose the Franco-Spanish alliance: the Queen's Catholic household was dismissed; the King was irritated by her foolish acts; and a fine fleet was prepared as a menace against France. The French and Spanish Courts replied by a secret project of invasion: Spain to attack Ireland, France to land in the Isle of Wight, and occupy the southern counties. Such secrets are ill-kept, and hints at least—perhaps Spain managed that it should be so—reached the English Court. Then all broader views of politics were thrown aside: the English people wanted to assert their Protestantism, and how, save by the championship of the Huguenots? Buckingham longed to vex the French Court; pique, vanity, a fancied love-affair, the desire to gain the popularity he could not deserve at home, were among the many motives attributed to him. And so war was begun with France; the King's favourite, commanding the fine fleet, set sail from the English shore. It was an alarming moment for France: Rohan was moving in Languedoc, Savoy and Lorraine menaced their respective frontiers, the Emperor was known to have schemes for the recovery of the Three Bishopricks, the English fleet was on its way towards La Rochelle, and at home Anne of Austria and the Court-party were their guilty accomplices. Had Buckingham sailed straight to the mainland, and landed near Fort Louis, he would have found it quite easy to pluck out that thorn in the side of La Rochelle; for it was almost defenceless, most of its garrison having been carried over to the Isle of Ré. But the

English fleet was directed by double interests, and failed accordingly: Buckingham was more anxious to secure Ré and Oléron, as a menace at once to France and Spain, than to help the Huguenots. So he sailed to Ré, and his failure before S. Martin saved Richelieu. The true stuff of a soldier was not in Buckingham¹: S. Martin, which was the key of the island, bravely defended by Teiras, stood out against him. The defence was far more vigorous than the assault: Richelieu himself found the money needed to revictual the place: it was felt that La Rochelle went with Ré. Unheard-of efforts were made; the Cardinal's ardour spread to the troops; he was seconded by his clerical lieutenants, Sourdis, Bishop of Maillezais, and 'general of the galleys of France,' Father Joseph, the Bishop of Mende, and others². At last Schomberg with six thousand men sailed from head-quarters, between Oléron and the mainland, broke through the English fleet, and threw ample supplies into the citadel of S. Martin: a fierce battle ensued, in which Buckingham was defeated with great loss; he was fain to reembark, and set sail for home (Nov. 1627). The English flags taken from Buckingham were displayed amid great rejoicing in Notre-Dame on Christmas Day: Paris saw in it a proud victory over her rival, on that rival's own element.

Before this had happened, the people of La Rochelle, after some hesitation, and not forgetful of the old fable of the horse

¹ 'Il fut dit au Roy que le duc de Bouquiquan estoit homme pour ne sçavoir ny combattre ny fuir.' Cimber et Danjou, Archives, 2^{me} Série, iii. 80.

² One of the satiric writings of the time hits the clerical character of Richelieu's government well. We must remember that these were not all contemporaries:—

Un archevesque est amiral (Sourdis Archbishop of Bordeaux).
 Un gros Evêque est caparol (the Bishop of Chartres).
 Un prélat préside aux frontières (the Bishop of Nantes).
 Un autre a des troupes guerrières (the Bishop of Mende).
 Un capucin pense aux combats (Father Joseph).
 Un Cardinal a des soldats (the Cardinal de la Valette).
 Un autre Cardinal est généralissime (Richelieu).
 Mais, France, je crois qu'ici bas
 Ton église si magnanime
 Milite, et ne triomphe pas.

Quoted by Robson, *Life of Cardinal Richelieu*, p. 482.



and his rider, had at last made a treaty with Buckingham, in which he bound himself not to retain the Isle of Ré or any forts on the mainland after the war had ended. La Rochelle, stubborn and rebellious as she was, was no traitor to France. Rohan had also raised the standard of Huguenot revolt in Languedoc. They were now met by the iron will, the long-enduring patience, the fertile resources of Richelieu. It may be to our eyes the saddest part of his history, this destruction of the Huguenot power; yet it showed off his high qualities to the most advantage, for it was also the most critical moment of his career. Neither he nor his King had declared war on the stubborn town without much reluctance; they would gladly have avoided it altogether; but, once declared, it admitted of no half-measures and must be carried through.

And, in truth, La Rochelle had long been a sore trial to the French monarchy. Planted not far from the mouth of the Loire, with a splendid outer and inner harbour on a dangerous coast, sheltered by the Isles of Ré and Oléron, La Rochelle had long been the true capital of the Huguenot party in south-western France. She had a splendid harbour, with a fine land-locked bay as the outer roadstead, and safe and tranquil pools as her inner docks or harbourage; she was built in a crescent round the head of this bay, on the shores of the little tidal river which runs into it. Outside the walls the banks of the river formed a salt marsh, which adds to the strength of the place. The country generally is marshy and the coast barren and sandy. With its strong walls, and its harbour open, the place could well defy a siege. She had stood hot attack in 1572, and had beat back the royal arms; had she but command of the sea, she was deemed impregnable. Her position was a menace to Spain; from her the cruisers could cut off the Spanish commerce, and retire safely home; she was the best point for English interference in the South of France. Often had she tried the patience of her kings; against Louis XI she had espoused the cause of his brother Charles of Berri; when Charles VIII and Louis XII were in Italy

she had been restless behind their backs; when Francis I was in the thick of the struggle with Charles V, she had caused him no small anxiety; she had gone with the Huguenots against Charles IX and Henry III; under Henry IV she had been quiet, but now that Louis XIII had endeavoured to curb her with Fort Louis, she broke out once more into stubborn resistance, and was willing to shake the State to its foundations.

Standing almost alone, as she did, La Rochelle was still very formidable; the siege taxed all the energies of the Cardinal and his ecclesiastical lieutenants. For this siege, in which, as he said, 'he had to conquer three kings, France, England, and Spain,' Richelieu set aside all other work, concentrating himself on it with the force of a strong and clear-sighted nature, which sees where the key of the position lies, and is determined to get possession of it. For this he shut his eyes and ears to the death-struggle in Germany and to the menaces of Austria directed against the three Bishopricks and Champagne¹; the intrigues of Spain, which he knew, he seemed to forget; the treachery of Lorraine and Savoy passed unnoticed; Rohan's rebellion in the South (Montauban, Querci, Rouergue, and Upper Languedoc) was watched and restricted, not crushed; he did not even molest the reluctant nobles in the royal army, who said with Bassompierre that they would be fools indeed were they to let the Cardinal take La Rochelle. The camp was a pattern of all military virtues; the army was trained to do what the nobles hung back from; never were troops better cared for, or the country round less harried and annoyed; the camp, as Richelieu says, 'was a convent,' the siege a great 'act of faith.' The clerical captains, the Capucins gliding from tent to tent, the conversions of Huguenot gentry announced from time to time, leave on the mind the impression of a religious rather than a political event. Yet no siege ever did more for the vanquished party; the fall of La

¹ Richelieu, *Mémoires* (Michaud, II. vii. p. 474).

Rochelle securing the eventual defeat of the High Catholics of Austria and Spain. Richelieu himself became general, chief engineer, pay-master; he gathered and reviewed troops at the headquarters at Marennes, near the Isle of Oléron; he sent orders for the founding of cannon, drew out the lines round the town, and projected with help of engineers the great mole which at last broke the town's heart. And all this while his power hung on a thread; one disaster, a high tide with a westerly gale, or a vigorous English admiral crushing the weak sea-power of the French, might at any moment have ruined his siege and him. So long as he could keep Louis XIII in the entrenchments and amuse him with warlike shows and dangers of war—for the King was fearless enough, and liked to hear the bullets whizz—he was tolerably safe; but after the King wearied of the monotony of the long siege, and had escaped back to Paris, the Cardinal could not have had a moment's peace of mind. How could he tell whether at any hour some malign influence might not shake Louis' trust in him; and then down would come the whole fabric of his ambition and his policy. So anxious he was that when the King left the camp he determined to go with him, and to entrust the siege to his lieutenants; Father Joseph however with greater prudence persuaded him to stay, for to have gone would have let operations slacken, and probably fail; and then the outcry of his enemies would have destroyed him. And it was in truth a turning-point; all France was in ferment: Montmorency in Languedoc was discussing revolt with Rohan; Guise and Richelieu were enemies; the people of Bordeaux listened to Epernon, perhaps had a friendly feeling for the neighbour-port of La Rochelle; the Duke of Orleans was a known foe to the Cardinal, personally and politically; disturbances were to be expected from the side of Lorraine and from Savoy, whose Duke was in communication with Buckingham. These all had one first aim, the overthrow of the great Cardinal¹; and he seemed

¹ Ranke, *Franz. Geschichte*, ii. p. 246, 247.

the inner harbour, and see that the Rochellois did not sally out to burn the moored ships; outside, the main body of the fleet cruised, between the harbour and the islands, keeping watch and ward against the English ships which were daily expected. This great feat of engineering skill and dauntless patience was completely successful. Twice the English came and strove to relieve the town; they tried to blow up the barrier by means of some primitive torpedoes;—a tin box full of powder was placed on a willow log, and launched at the ships. The powder was so arranged (the contrivance is not explained) that when the log drifted with the tide against the moored vessels, it should at once explode. The machine failed to work, and did no mischief; after a sharp attack, against which Louis XIII exposed himself recklessly to fire, the English sailed away, leaving the town to its fate. The citizens, after heroic efforts, saw themselves wasting with famine. They sent their starving women and children out of the place to the royal lines: but Louis XIII had none of his father's kindly heart, which had led him to pity the poor Parisian fugitives; he coldly drove them back to the walls of the perishing town. At last, after fourteen months of siege, and eleven of blockade, La Rochelle capitulated, 30 October, 1628. The church of S. Margaret was reconsecrated, and Richelieu performed Mass there on All Saints' Day: the King had already made his triumphal entry. In the siege fifteen thousand had died of famine; hardly a man at the end had strength to lift a pike: it is said that there were only one hundred and thirty-six men in the place able to bear arms. The dead lay unburied in the streets; for none had strength to carry them out; the living were like 'for-pined ghosts'; 'everywhere, in a word, La Rochelle presented the sad image of death'.¹ The Cardinal remembered that La Rochelle in her worst strait had steadfastly refused to become English or to sell herself to Buckingham: accordingly the terms granted were not harsh: no severe punishments followed; the Huguenots

¹ J. de Serres, *Inventaire general de l'Histoire de France*, p. 1073 (ed. 1640).

were allowed the exercise of their worship; but the proud and independent spirit of the town was broken, her walls thrown down, the towers being left standing, her prosperity destroyed, her privileges suppressed¹. Guiton, her heroic defender, was exiled for a time, then recalled and made captain of a ship of war. The fall of La Rochelle roused the patriotic feelings of the country. In Paris it was regarded as a great triumph over England; 'formerly England was an evil beast,' they said 'now she is well-bridled and broken in,'—she was clearly no longer what she had been under Elizabeth.

Richelieu wished to make the town an Episcopal See, and to appoint Father Joseph the first Bishop; but the astute Capucin refused the mitre now, as once before at Albi: every one believed, and probably with justice, that he cared for nothing in the way of preferment, except the red hat.

Never again did a French city stand up against the monarchy, till in 1789 Paris swept that ancient institution away. It was a great but a melancholy victory: for France showed that she knew not how to absorb and adopt those municipal and local liberties, which have done so much to make free nations in modern times: instead of appealing to the loyal instincts of her citizens, and enlisting them among the bravest and best defenders of the crown, France knew then, as she knows still, but one way of dealing with political opposition. It must conquer or be crushed. And the fall of La Rochelle brought France nearer to that fatal simplicity of institutions which is the pride and peril of France, and the true parent of her despotism.

¹ In the days of Vauban Louis XIV saw how important the place might become: and her walls were rebuilt, enlarged, and improved.

CHAPTER V.

III. RICHELIEU TAKES UP HIS POSITION IN EUROPEAN POLITICS. A.D. 1629-1635.

WHILE preparing to relieve La Rochelle, Buckingham, when on the point of sailing, had been assassinated by Fenton. His death and the fall of the town paved the way for a reconciliation with England. Charles saw that his best policy lay side by side with France: and he made peace with her in September 1629.

La Rochelle fell not a moment too soon, if Richelieu would interfere in time in the crisis of European affairs. In Germany, while the siege was going on, the failing princes of the North had stretched out their hands in vain: Wallenstein trod them under foot with the power and scorn that come of pride and genius; his standards were seen by the seamen of the Baltic and the North Sea: as yet the jealousy and fears of the Catholic Princes of the Empire had not broken out into revolt against him. Protestant or French interests were thrust aside with contempt, and all Germany seemed to be on the point of being consolidated into an all-powerful Catholic empire. Nor were things better on the other side; the King of Spain, after secretly helping La Rochelle, was now preparing to throw off the mask, and declare war on France; he was in league with Rohan and the malcontents of Languedoc, where a formidable revolt threatened to break bounds at any moment; in Italy, the death of the Duke of Mantua had brought up new questions, which the Austro-Spanish coalition

would speedily settle in its own interests, were France only to abstain from interference: Savoy was known to favour that coalition: France was hemmed in, and girt round, from the Bidassoa to Dunkirk, by a chain of eager foes.

The old Gonzagas of Mantua and Montferrat, princes of strong Spanish proclivities, had now become extinct¹: the new line, the Gonzaga-Nevers family, closely connected with France and supported by French sympathy and by all the foes of Spain, were naturally opposed by the Emperor Ferdinand, who, as overlord, sequestered the Duchy and Marquisate: the Duke of Guastalla claimed Mantua; while the Duke of Savoy, Charles Emmanuel, aimed at getting Montferrat, and seemed likely to bar the way from France into Italy. Casale, on the Po, a strong place both by position and art, was the key to the whole difficulty, being then to Italy what Alessandria afterwards became: 'it was,' said Richelieu, 'the only place by which the King could succour the Pope, the Venetians and the other princes of Italy his allies, and keep in check the Duke of Savoy².' Fortunately for the interests of France a considerable force of French volunteers had entered Italy by the Valtelline and had garrisoned the place. These men defended Casale heroically: the Spaniards however were pressing the place hard. This was during the siege of La Rochelle; and even Pope Urban VIII had urged Richelieu to give up his plans for the downfall of the Huguenots rather than let the Spaniards become all-powerful in Italy. But the clear eye of Richelieu saw that the garrison of Casale would hold out yet a while; and he contented himself with letting its defenders know that help would come at last, and they, trusting him, kept up good heart: now that tidings of the fall of La Rochelle had reached them, they felt certain of relief. The stout walls and brave hearts of Casale turned the tide of European politics.

¹ Vincenzio Gonzaga Duke of Mantua and Marquis of Montferrat died childless in 1627; his next of kin was Charles of Gonzaga Duke of Nevers. See above, p. 14.

² Richelieu's Memoirs (Michaud, II. vii. 574).

While he sent Charnacé, a new and most successful diplomatist, to the north of Europe, to check the onward movement of the Austro-Spanish successes, and to enter into communication with Gustavus Adolphus, Richelieu bent all his energies to the more pressing task of relieving Casale. It was no easy matter; for the Queen Mother, who instinctively took the wrong side—there are always persons whose opinions may be taken as sure indications of what one ought not to do or think—and who hated the Gonzaga-Nevers family heartily, was eager for the success of Spain and the weakening of France; she vehemently opposed the proposal that the King should interfere in Italian affairs. Richelieu however was now all-powerful with Louis. After his great triumph at La Rochelle, Louis XIII was willing to undertake anything: he was naturally fond of the excitement of warfare, and showed best in the presence of danger. And so he was easily persuaded to take the command and to march, in the very depth of winter, for the Italian frontier. Great was the amazement and even the consternation at Madrid, where men looked daily for the courier to bring news of the fall of Casale, when tidings came that Louis XIII, in the middle of January, when the Alpine snows and cold were at their worst, had actually set forth [15 January, 1629] and was on his way to Susa. In spite of all obstacles, he triumphed over the natural difficulties of the road, and over the formidable barricades he found in the Passo di Susa, just above that town, where the roadway runs through a defile in which a handful of resolute men might have held their own against an army. Louis XIII thus came down into Italy, to the perplexity of Charles Emmanuel, who, following the natural policy of his ambiguous position, 'changed resolution every moment,' and could not be trusted at an arm's length. 'He was a prince who liked to have his foot in two stirrups at once; that is, to be both Spanish and French.' Susa was taken; and the Duke was fain to send his son Victor Amadeus¹ to make offers of peace.

¹ Married to Christine, sister of Louis XIII.

The King gladly consented, on condition that the siege of Casale should be raised by the Spaniards, and the place re-victualled by the Duke. The Spaniards, weak in force and ill-commanded, were little loth to break up the siege; and thus almost without a blow France triumphantly reasserted her position in Italy. Charles Emmanuel now tried to persuade the King to go farther, to declare open war with Spain, and to risk the chances of an Italian campaign. But Richelieu was not like the reckless kings who had made Italy 'the graveyard of French chivalry'; he stood firm against the temptation, content with the great triumph he had already won. He sedulously avoided the risks of drifting into a war with Spain: he negociated at Madrid, and turned a deaf ear to the Duke of Savoy. His policy was too fine to be understood at once: he kept up all appearances of strict and devout Catholicism, and appeared before the eyes of Europe as the repressor of heretics, while by a sharp side-stroke he weakened the power of Spain, shook her prestige in Italy, and attacked the jurisdiction of the Emperor over his more distant fiefs. It was a double blow, striking both branches of the great Catholic power, while still there was no war, and no one could say that Richelieu was doing more than was quite natural in a minister whose duty it was to watch over certain disputed French interests in northern Italy. A temporary peace with Savoy followed and with it reappeared a faint ghost of the old leagues between France, Venice, Mantua, and the Papacy: still, Richelieu knew that Charles Emmanuel was not to be trusted, and was quite prepared to find his slippery ally evading the stipulations of the treaty. He had accomplished what he chiefly had in view, the relief of Casale, and had got a breathing-time in which to settle the troubles of Languedoc, where Rohan was making an independent treaty with Spain: after that was done he knew he could return and set things right across the Alps. He had the keen pleasure also at this same moment not only of reasserting French influences there, but of winning a real diplomatic triumph on the other side; for peace with

England was signed in April, 1629: a treaty which was in fact a declaration that Charles of England both abandoned the Huguenots to their fate, and cut himself away from all Spanish alliances.

So now he set himself to reduce the rebels of Languedoc. The King was not unwilling to change the scene: whether as protestants or as malcontents, Rohan and Saint-André and their followers were equally odious to him: when he had taken Privas, capital of the protestant Vivarais, he treated the defenders with harsh severity. He actually wished to hang the gallant Saint-André, its commandant, and would have done so, but for the intervention of Richelieu. Louis XIII was, here as elsewhere, naturally heartless: though the Cardinal could be severe and even pitiless, when his interests or policy demanded it, he was not fond of blood, as the King was: the difference was the difference between the harshness of a strong man, who has aims which cannot be stayed by the gentle hand of pity, and that of a weak man, who enjoys cruelty for its own sake. After the fall of Privas, the Vivarais yielded; the King passed across into the Cevennes; and Rohan saw that no help could come from Spain, nor any effectual resistance be made at home. He yielded; Richelieu, following his usual plan, granted an amnesty to the rebels, but took care they should not revolt again. All their fortified places were demolished: the liberties of Languedoc, which still retained some constitutional rights, were extinguished; Montauban threw open her gates to Richelieu, and allowed her proud walls, last refuge of Huguenot independence, to fall. All means were brought to bear on the Huguenots: the zeal for achieving conversions grew daily stronger: Father Joseph was indefatigable; purse in hand he hunted down the Calvinist ministers; when force had failed or argument proved unconvincing, gold was sometimes eloquent and decisive. The Pope saw with thankfulness the success of this great crusade, and wrote in warm terms to the triumphant minister, the minister who was already preparing the overthrow of Catholicism in Europe. The first part of

the Cardinal's great task was now fully achieved: henceforth, no discord of free opinion, no local liberties, no proud aspirations of noble privilege and power, would disturb the monarchy, or thwart the minister, as he guided the intricate foreign policy of the kingdom towards its brilliant goal. Plots there might be and narrow escapes: an exile here, a scaffold there; but the real work was done when Richelieu rode proudly through the gates of Montauban, and heard its citizens make heaven ring with their cries of 'Long live the King and the great Cardinal!'

The royal army was partly disbanded: twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse were cantoned along the Rhone and Saone; for it was clear that they would soon again be needed in Italy. No sooner had the Emperor seen Richelieu, as he thought, entangled in a tedious civil war in Languedoc, than he set himself, in concert with Spain, to recover his shaken influence in Italy. Christian IV had been driven to make peace in May 1629, and a large part of the Imperial forces were set free: Wallenstein with a sufficient army remaining in the North. German troops were collected in Lindau, and marching thence in the summer of 1629 seized the Grisons and the Valtelline; a German army occupied the Mantuan territory, and besieged Mantua itself; another force of twenty thousand men, commanded by Spinola, who had been sent with a Spanish force from the Netherlands to secure the triumph of the Catholic powers in Italy, occupied Montferrat, and threatened Casale: it was known that the Duke of Savoy was in communication with them. On the other side of Europe, the Dutch rose to the surface like a cork, when Spinola, their ablest antagonist, was called away. Under the command of the Stattholder Henry Frederick¹, worthy successor of his brother Maurice, the Dutch began a new career of success with the reduction of Herzogenbusch (Bois-le-Duc); then after passing

¹ In this campaign the renowned Turenne served (as many French Protestants were doing) under the Stattholder, and learnt his first lessons in the art of war.

through the struggles of the later part of the Thirty Years' War, they arrived at a solid position when it ended, though the Stattholder did not himself live to see the Peace of Westphalia.

It was clear that, if Richelieu wished to retain hold on Italy, the troops which had reduced Languedoc would soon be needed. Before the end of 1629 the voices of the Duke of Mantua, of the Republic of Venice, of the Pope himself, took tones of alarm, and France must listen and come. But the King was not strong in health, and could not well expose himself again to the rude trials of a winter-campaign in Savoy and Piedmont; wherefore Richelieu, whose ascendancy grew ever stronger, in spite of the efforts and intrigues of the Court party inspired by the mad virulence of the Queen Mother, was named first the King's 'principal minister of State,' and then, a little later, 'Lieutenant-General representing the King's person in his army, at home or abroad.' With this splendid title, which seemed almost to give the Cardinal royal attributes, he set forth (29 Dec., 1629) with undaunted heart to grapple with the great difficulties that lay before him; to carry on indirect war with Austria and Spain; to make skilful use of the treachery of the Duke of Savoy; to foster the good-will of such Italian princes as the Pope; to keep the irritated Germans and Spaniards away from the borders of France; to undermine their power by skilful intrigues, by beckoning forth fresh armies from the far North, and by awakening the slumbering echoes of old jealousies in Germany itself. The years 1629 and 1630 are the busiest and most triumphant period of the Cardinal's life.

It was made matter of reproach against him and Father Joseph that in these years they set the Protestantism of Europe once more on foot, and taught it to defeat its mighty foes. It certainly was the ulterior result of the national policy; and one which, however distasteful to Richelieu's strictly Catholic feelings, was not in any sense opposed to his true policy as chief Minister of France. 'Nearest is dearest'; and in the question

of life and death to France involved in the struggle with the Catholic powers, all secondary results were disregarded: the one thing was to form a solid opposition to Ferdinand: the farther consequences must follow as they would.

So Richelieu rode out to the Army of Italy, in dress, bearing, equipments, feelings, a Marshal not a Cardinal.

He is the most brilliant example in modern times of the proverbial fascination which soldiering exerts on clerical natures. On his staff were a Cardinal and a Bishop, and three Marshals of France: he himself rode a splendid horse—no prelate's mule for him—wearing a complete harness of blue steel, with a gallant feather in his cap, and two pistols at his saddle-bow: gauntlets and helm were carried before him by his squire¹. Thus prepared for war or for negotiation, to win his ends by sword or pen, this great churchman entered the Alps, and in the very beginning of 1630 made his presence felt by the Duke of Savoy. Charles Emmanuel tried his old policy, wishing to persuade France to make open war with Spain; so that he, like another S. Pol, might balance between the two powers, and filch fat morsels now from this one now from that. But no man trusted him;—Spinola turned away, and Richelieu with a strong hand seized him. In vain the Duke and the invaders of the Mantuan territory offered to suspend hostilities, suggested terms, tried to interpose delays; in vain a Papal nuncio and legate waited on him, and Giulio Mazarini for the first time came into contact with his future master. Richelieu was not to be diverted from his aim: in March Pinerolo fell. When Louis XIII joined his triumphant army, he was gladdened by the sight of brilliant feats of war; all Savoy, except Montmélian, was subdued. An army under Montmorency crossed the Alps farther south, where the army of Charles VIII had crossed before², and occupied Saluzzo: the Duke of Savoy with impotent anger saw the French take possession of the district which he had won in

¹ Mémoires de Pontis, ii. 121, quoted by L. von Ranke, Franz. Geschichte, ii. 269.

² By S. Maurienne.

the League days, and had retained at so much sacrifice of territory in 1601. Though Mantua was taken by the Imperialists, Casale still held out; and the foolish intrigues of the Duke of Savoy enabled Richelieu to replace France in a position of vantage in Italy which she had not enjoyed since the best days of Francis I¹.

Brilliantly as the sun of success shone here, dark clouds were thickening on the side of Lorraine; and Richelieu must use all his consummate skill to ride out or to avert the storm. We must always remember that his main object was not to make war on Spain or Germany, but to defeat them without fighting. Thus far all had prospered;—how long would it continue? was it at all likely that the victorious Ferdinand would allow his great plans to be thwarted? There was obvious danger, then, from the side of Germany. The invincible Wallenstein, who looked askance at Italian warfare, was quite ready to invade France from the Rhine. Troops gathered on that ancient river, and in Luxemburg; the Duke of Lorraine was inclined for war; the Spaniards began to move in the eastern Pyrenees: Richelieu had great need to be wary.

It may be said that the foreign interests of France in modern times have centred first on her Italian frontier, next have passed to the Rhine, or to her Lorraine border, and last of all have been concentrated on the Netherland fortresses: the moment which we have now reached is the time when they pass from the first to the second, from the Italian to the Lorraine frontier. To see how this came about demands a brief glance at German affairs.

After driving Christian IV back to the north Ferdinand made peace with him at Lubeck (May, 1629). The Danish King recovered his possessions, with the stipulation, readily enough agreed to by him, poor King, smarting from the wounds of war, that he would meddle no more in German affairs. Then

¹ L. von Ranke, Franz. Geschichte, ii. p. 271.

Ferdinand set himself to carry out his great schemes, with Wallenstein as his chief instrument: he wished to make of Germany one great hereditary monarchy: with utter disregard of the feelings of the Diet he had deposed the Dukes of Mecklenburg, and had given Wallenstein their Duchies as well as that of Friedland (A.D. 1628). The great general's haughty and reserved manners, his contempt for the princes of the empire, the savage lawlessness of his army, struck terror into the hearts of even those who had helped to drive out the Dane. And now Ferdinand, full of zeal for the Catholic cause, issued, by his sole authority, the famous Edict of Restitution (March 9, 1629), which ordered the restoration of all Church property secularised since the Peace of Augsburg¹ (A.D. 1555), an order which deeply affected the fortunes of the North German Princes, especially of Brandenburg and Saxony: it also limited the benefit of toleration to the Lutherans, leaving out the 'Reformed' or Calvinistic Princes and Churches. All these things combined to fill the Princes of Germany, whether Catholic or Protestant, with forebodings: it was but natural that the old spirit of resistance, so stubborn under Charles V, should spring up again.

This antagonism took two forms: in the North it brought out the latent power of Sweden, in the South, at the Ratisbon Diet, it led to that explosion of resistance which overthrew Wallenstein. Wallenstein, the warlike Richelieu of German absolutism, was far less sure of his ground, and far more formidably opposed than even the great Cardinal was; his aims too were more personal, less single-minded: the Cardinal wished to raise the Monarchy, and to rise with it, and could repress the great nobles as traitorous towards the crown: but Wallenstein aimed at becoming a great noble on the ruins of

¹ The Peace of Augsburg confirmed to its possessors all ecclesiastical property, confiscated before the signature of the Peace of Passau (1552) but only so far as those possessors were Lutherans. See Dumont, *Recueil des Traités*, IV, Part iii, p. 88, and Heeren, *Political System of Europe* etc., pp. 47-94 (Eng. Trans.).

an older family of nobles; and thereby put himself in direct comparison and competition with the old nobility of Germany, a blunder which Richelieu never committed. He had no independent standing-ground when the anger of the Princes was aroused against him and the support of his master withdrawn.

Richelieu attracted the attention of all Europe, and the armies of Austria and Spain, by his splendid and theatrical entry into Italy; and like a skilful conjuror, who makes his audience look to one side, while he plays his trick on the other, the Cardinal at the same moment carried out his most brilliant diplomatic triumphs in both the Protestant north and the Catholic south of Germany. To both points, to the King of Sweden, and the Diet at Ratisbon, Richelieu sent his most trusted agents. Charnacé, who already had been travelling about among the North-German princes, and had brought back reports of the greatness of the 'Lion of the North,' was sent to meet Gustavus Adolphus. This envoy, a kinsman of Richelieu, and a man of singular skill and address, carried all before him. He first negotiated a truce for six years between Sweden and Poland, and thus having relieved the Swedish Monarch from anxiety on that side, called his attention to the dangers he was in from the overwhelming power of Austria, and of Austria's general, who had already received the title of 'Admiral of the Baltic Sea, and the Ocean.' Gustavus Adolphus also thought that affairs were in a most critical state, and readily accepted the proposed alliance with France¹. It was believed that many of the German Princes, Catholic as well as Protestant, would welcome him as a deliverer². France agreed to pay Gustavus a large subsidy for five years; the Swede promised to respect the empire, and leave the Catholics unmolested: this treaty re-echoed the toleration which now prevailed in France; it was approved of even by Pope Urban VIII.

¹ Agreed to in 1630, but not signed till early in 1631 at Bärenwald.

² Richelieu, *Mémoires*, tom. iv. p. 402.

While this formidable antagonist was gradually developing his greatness, and laying the foundations of his career in Germany, Ferdinand, as if all resistance was at an end, busied himself, after the programme he had laid down, in getting from the Diet the ancient title of 'King of the Romans' for his eldest son: it was a title which carried with it a presumptive claim to the Imperial diadem at its next vacancy. For this end he called together a Diet of the Empire at Ratisbon, in June 1630. Thither came in crowds the discontented Princes, full of suspicions, very unwilling to concede the point. Thither came also Father Joseph, devout, his head buried deep in his Capucin's cowl; he was the greatest of Richelieu's lieutenants, the head of that Capucin police, that great spy-agency, by which the Cardinal was so well served. This great master of intrigue and diplomacy set himself at once to sow discord between Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, the head of the Princely party, and the Imperial Court. Maximilian was brave and stoutly Catholic, but neither firm nor foreseeing. To Father Joseph he listened readily;—what but good counsel could come from under so saintly a cowl?—from him he learnt, first, how important France might be to the Princes, as a counterpoise to Austria, and secondly, that all the German Princes were interested in clipping Wallenstein's wings, specially the Electors of the Holy Roman Empire, 'in spite of whose august beards' the Duke of Friedland might actually make himself Emperor some day¹. The Princes were quite ready to think any evil of him as an ambitious upstart: the Emperor seemed to have no farther need of him, his confidence in him was perhaps shaken:—what if Wallenstein seized the prize he wanted for his own son? Consequently, that he might secure the much coveted title of 'Rex Romanorum' for Ferdinand his son, he consented to sacrifice his great captain, who had restored the authority of the Empire even to the northernmost limits of Germany.

¹ 'A la barbe des Electeurs,' says the Vie de Père Joseph.

So Wallenstein fell: he was in fact the price paid by the Emperor for the younger Ferdinand's succession to the Imperial throne, a price which, after all done, the Electors refused to pay.

At the very moment when Wallenstein, victim of these princely jealousies and of his master's ingratitude, retired in dignified anger to Bohemia, that other consummate captain of the war, the only man who could rival the soldierly skill and splendid political vision of Wallenstein, Gustavus Adolphus, had actually landed in Pomerania (24 June, 1630).

The Ratisbon Diet went farther, and protested against the war in Italy, and the attack on the Duke of Mantua. Ferdinand, discerning that things looked ominous in northern Germany, acceded to the wishes of the Princes, hastened to make terms with France, promising to secure Charles of Nevers in his Duchy, and releasing Casale, which was in the uttermost peril; for the Germans and Spanish had already won the town and castle, and were pressing the citadel very hard. Richelieu professed great anger at this first treaty of Cherasco (6 April, 1631), for he feared lest it might cool the King of Sweden's friendship; but he did not disavow it: the need of concentration on Germany, the peril of Casale, above all the alarming state of Louis XIII, who was likely to die any day, and so to end the Cardinal's career, induced him to accept, if he had not actually arranged, what had been done.

The war in Italy came to a close in a most dramatic manner. The French army at Casale was actually drawn up in battle array against the Austro-Spanish forces, and a cannonade had actually begun, when Mazarini, the Pope's agent, at risk of his life rode in between the combatants, waving a paper, and crying, Peace. The impending battle was arrested, and the great siege of Casale came suddenly to an end: the incident attracted the attention of all Europe, and proved to be the beginning of the fortunes of the chief actor in it, the future Cardinal Mazarin. The Austrians evacuated the Man-

tuan territory, the Spaniards Montferrat, the French Piedmont: by a second treaty, signed soon after with Victor Amadeus, the new Duke of Savoy, Richelieu secured Pinerolo to France, and, by a stroke of successful diplomacy, made himself more formidable than ever to the Imperialists in Italy.

This was perhaps the highest triumph of Father Joseph's skill as an ambassador, though he never rested till he died (in 1638). It is impossible to say with the Italians¹, that Richelieu owed everything to him; that Father Joseph not only strengthened him in all the crises of his fortune, and gave him wise advice, but that he even invented his policy for him, and supplied him with ideas: yet we must admit that Richelieu owed more to him than to any other person, and that he was thrice happy in such an agent and friend. Yet the difference between them is great: Father Joseph lives in history as an able intriguer; Richelieu as a King among men.

Meanwhile a striking drama had also been played out in France. A few weeks after the startling appearance at Casale of this 'Signor Mazarini' with his tidings of peace, the French army was thrown into still greater amazement: a courier arrived post haste from France with a despatch, signed by Louis XIII, and addressed to Marshal Marillac; it named him sole commander of the Italian army, and recalled La Force and Schomberg, the other generals, who were friendly to Richelieu. The rumour ran at once through the camp that the great Cardinal had fallen; that he was disgraced and deposed, and the Queen Mother triumphant. Before however any action could be taken, another courier, the very next morning, came in with fresh despatches under the King's hand, addressed to Schomberg, containing an order for the arrest of Marillac, who was to be sent at once a prisoner into France.

¹ Siri, *Memorie Segrete*, tom. vii. says that Father Joseph was 'conscio non solamente delle più arcane intenzioni del Cardinale, ma mente suprema e regolatrice delle medesime in tale faccenda, et fabro e proponente di tutte le negotiationi d'Almagna e del Norte.'

These two contradictory orders were two successive waves sent forth from the opposing currents running in the French Court, and expressing the violent disturbance which was taking place there. For the 'Day of Dupes' had come and gone: the most critical hour in Richelieu's history had passed, and he was firmer than ever in his seat.

The Queen Mother, Mary dei Medici, steadfastly holding by the high-Catholic and Spanish party, had determined to have one great and final struggle with Richelieu, and to overthrow him. She was supported by a formidable party: Gaston of Orleans, contemptible enough in himself, was yet the heir to the throne, and no one thought Louis could live long. Beside him she had at her back the great House of Guise, Epernon, Bassompierre, Créqui, and the two Marillacs, the Marshal, and the Keeper of the Seals. The relief of Casale and peace in Italy had brought things to a point. Nevers, her foe, was to be secured in Mantua by the Emperor's hand: the renown of the Cardinal was daily growing, as success attended the French arms and negotiations. But Casale being out of peril, Louis XIII could now no longer allege that the Cardinal was essential for him and for France: Richelieu's very success, they thought, might be turned to his ruin. The Queen Mother, however, though she held the place of Catherine dei Medici, had little or nothing of her finesse, her self-control, her high intelligence: she was a brutal and violent woman, a fanatic and partisan. Her means were singularly ill-chosen: she thought that she could overbear the weak King by violence;—she had heard Richelieu scold him like a boy; and had observed that the Cardinal's influence had not suffered from his plain speaking. She determined that she too would speak out, and did so with emphasis and oaths. The King seemed to yield to her fierce and brutal invectives, to the storm of passion with which she overwhelmed the Cardinal. Louis retired from her presence in great agitation: and the Queen Mother, following up her advantage, drove him to sign the first of the two despatches, which was instantly sent off to Casale. No sooner

had Louis rid himself of the storm by signing the document, than he rode off to Versailles to hunt, hoping thereby to calm his troubled spirit, to be rid of the turmoil in the quiet of the woods, and in the excitement of the chase to forget his faithful servant. Catherine dei Medici would never have lost sight of one of her sons for a moment; but Mary, blinded by triumph, stayed behind in Paris, that she might enjoy her success: it cost her dear. The obsequious friends who thronged to pay her court at the Luxembourg heard how the Cardinal was down: how the dreadful scheme of the Cardinal's party, which embraced not only the marriage of Madame de Combalet, Richelieu's niece, to the Count of Soissons, but the deposition of Louis XIII, the seizure of the throne and the setting thereon of the Count and his new spouse, had been defeated by the plain speaking of the Queen Mother: how the two Marillacs should now rule the state, the one at home, the other in the field: how the Spanish alliance should flourish and carry all before it: how the despatch had been already sent off to Italy: how the proud Cardinal had hastily packed up his valuables and was perhaps even now on his way to Havre. Swift couriers sped with the tidings to all the hostile Courts, to Brussels and Madrid, to Vienna, even to Turin. But while the two Queens thus lived in this pleasant buzz of falsehoods and fatal hopes, the vigilant Cardinal had already followed his master to Versailles, and in a single interview had smitten down all their cardboard fabric. The King, who had seen clearly enough that their triumph was his own fall, threw himself entirely into Richelieu's hands: and the Queens woke up next morning to find themselves and their party the silly victims of 'the Day of Dupes'.

Nor was their punishment leaden-footed. The despatch to Marshal Marillac was recalled, as we have seen: the Duke of Orleans thought it well to yield; the Marshal's staff was granted to Montmorency and Toiras, to reward or to secure them: the

¹ 11 November, 1630.

Queen Mother was forced to bow her head and be silent; Queen Anne for the moment was curbed. But intrigues soon began again, and it was clear there could be no peace so long as the two Queens were together. How could they be severed? It was impossible to banish Mary dei Medici; so Richelieu hit on the simple plan of leaving Paris with the King; she, taught by her late mishap, sedulously followed: they halted at Compiègne to rest the night; long ere the Queen Mother was awake next morning, Louis XIII and the Cardinal were riding in hot haste back for Paris: they never saw her more. From Paris Louis wrote to his mother requesting her to withdraw to Moulins, with the governorship of the Bourbonnais, as a kind of honourable exile: but she dreaded anything which took her nearer to Italy, and, after a short delay and hesitation, she fled to the Flemish frontier, and took refuge at Brussels. It is said that Richelieu had given secret orders to those who had been left to watch her, to smooth away all obstacles to her escape, so greatly did he feel the relief of having her as an open instead of a concealed enemy; at a distance, not at Court. The most prominent of her ladies were exiled;—Bassompierre was sent to the Bastille: Gaston, who was making open threat of war at Orleans, had to flee into Burgundy, thence into Franche-Comté and Lorraine. The Parliament of Paris, which had shown a decided sympathy for Richelieu's opponents, was soon brought to its knees: the Duke of Guise in Provence, who was intriguing with Spain, with the Huguenots, with all who were discontented, was made to see that it was a vain attempt: Provence was pardoned and calmed by judicious handling; and the Duke himself, when summoned to Court, begged permission, instead of turning his face northwards, to go on pilgrimage to Our Lady of Loretto. He saw the fair plains of France no more; for the 'King of the League' died an exile at Florence in 1640.

The Cardinal received at this time high marks of the favour and confidence of his King. He was made Duke and Peer, and Governor of Brittany. His opponents were everywhere steadily

rendered powerless. In Languedoc some relics of constitutional liberties still survived; and the Estates there, headed by Henry of Montmorency, son of the Constable of that name, one of the most brilliant and dashing of that chivalrous race, showed signs of independence. Montmorency, by tradition of his house, by personal services, by rewards and high prizes received, was bound to Richelieu and the King; but the instinct of the noblesse was too strong in him: it was whispered that a great revolt of provinces under their governors was imminent, that Orleans was to break in from Luxemburg, supported by the Duke of Lorraine and the Spanish power: a great civil war seemed once more imminent. Richelieu, however, was resolute, watchful, and swift to strike: his cool hand, pitiless, fearless, unerring, was on the conspirators ere they had time to move. The attempt of the emigrés from the north-eastern frontier failed completely. They tried Verdun in vain, and made fruitless offers to the Duke of Bouillon at Sedan; the Austro-Spanish aid on which they counted failed them. Richelieu by his second Peace of Cherasco had sundered the Imperial from the Spanish interests; and by a great diplomatic triumph had not only neutralised the hostility of the Duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus, but had secured Pinerolo, the key of the Alps. Marshal Marillac was executed; Calais, which was one of the critical points, was secured; Louis XIII gladly carried war across the frontiers into Lorraine: contrary to expectation, Épernon, the Governor of Guienne, stood firm. Schomberg was sent into Languedoc to make head against Montmorency. At Castelnaudary it came to a battle, in which Montmorency was brought down by a musket-ball, as he was leading a mad charge of cavalry against the royal troops. The modern gun, that constant foe of feudal chivalry, once more asserted its supremacy. Montmorency was taken alive, tried and executed: it is a curious trait in his character, and in that of his times, that he admired Richelieu so much as to leave to him by his last testament one of the finest pictures in his possession. His death on the scaffold closes the line of the Montmorencies (1632).

Richelieu took occasion, now that the pacification of Languedoc was complete, to remove all hostile or suspected governors of provinces, and to set his own friends in their places: there was also no small stir and change among the Court-ladies, who were always ready to form a centre for unpatriotic and dangerous intrigues.

Thus the great Cardinal triumphed over one after another: first, he trod down the independence of the Huguenots at La Rochelle: then he rescued Italy from the grasp of the Austro-Spanish power: then he defeated the party hostile to him at Court: he thrust back the emigrants, when they attacked the frontier; and now, lastly, he crushed the resistance of the governors of provinces.

It was in these days of his highest power and triumph, that Richelieu remembered once more his old literary tastes. The Gazette now first became an authorised and regular publication, parent of the modern newspaper in France: the King himself sometimes acted as editor, while Richelieu is said to have contributed articles to it. Soon after this time he established the Royal Printing-Press; and, chief among all his titles to the respect of France, he was the true founder (1635) of the French Academy, which has done so much to centralise the language of France, and to affect her literature in after ages. Louis XIII established the Academy at Richelieu's advice, as he says in his letters patent, to advance 'the most noble of all arts, eloquence' (a truly French sentiment!); 'the French tongue which has hitherto suffered only too much from the neglect of those who might have made it the most perfect of all modern languages, is still more capable than ever of becoming such,' . . . 'to make the French tongue not merely eloquent, but capable of treating of all arts and all sciences'¹. From its very foundation the Academy busied itself with the form of expression, rather than with the substance of things: it is the opposite of that other great creation of this age, the Royal Society

¹ Cimber et Danjou, II. vi. pp. 99-103.

of England, which has done as much to promote Baconian and scientific investigation in this country, as the Academy has done to secure a polite and well-regulated style in France. The letters-patent for it were issued in January, 1635; but the Parliament of Paris was jealous, and refused to verify them till 1637: the lawyers were suspicious of Richelieu, and even literature herself hesitated to receive the gift: the Academy was vehemently attacked in a pamphlet-war, and bore much of the odium felt for the great minister. French writers lost by it in quaintness and in originality; on the other hand, the Academy soon became the arbiter of literary praise, the measuring-rod of culture. If it has shown a tendency to exclude the highest names in letters, on the other hand it supported and guided the authorship of the age of Louis XIV and of later times. French literature long owed to this bright instrument of despotism many of its excellencies, and much success: yet it may be doubted whether the equalising of language and expression, and the discouragement of individuality, however congenial to an autocratic age, really tended to increase the true greatness of French letters. At least, the Academy was eminently well suited to the ages in which it flourished most brilliantly; and perhaps also it was congenial to the temper of the French people. The names which are great in French literature owe as little to the patronage of the Academy, as the splendid achievement of M. Littré's Dictionary does to that interminable work, the ever-unfinished Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française.

The successes of Richelieu at home enabled him to turn his attention to foreign affairs, which had now reached a critical point. The Thirty Years' War had entered on an entirely new phase: the champion with whom Charnacé had negotiated was already gone, and how was his work to be carried out to the end?

Gustavus Adolphus had landed in the Isle of Rügen in June, 1630. The North German Princes, almost to a man, treated him with coolness and suspicion, as was perhaps natural;

nevertheless, swiftly and surely, he secured his base of operations on the Baltic, round the mouths of the Oder; compelled his reluctant brother-in-law, the Elector of Brandenburg, to abandon a fatal neutrality; became master of the country between the Oder and the Elbe; waited his time, encamped where the Havel joins the Elbe, till the fanaticism of the Emperor sent Tilly to ravage Saxony, and drove the wavering Elector to call in Swedish help. Then Gustavus with his grim and war-worn troops came, and utterly defeated Tilly at Breitenfeld, five miles from Leipzig¹. That victory made the Catholic scheme impossible for the future; the cowed and cowering Protestantism of Germany, smitten with dismay by the sack of Magdeburg, once more raised its head: the league which had exiled Wallenstein was crushed: that great adventurer, dazzled by the sterling qualities of the Swedish troops and by the splendour of Gustavus, entered into communications with him, offering to join him, and to help him to punish Princes, Priests, and Emperor, if only Gustavus would take his help and not that of the French. Gustavus, however, had little in common with Wallenstein, and steadily followed the lines laid down by his own farseeing genius; lines which might have completely changed the course of Europe, had not his life been taken on the victorious though fatal field of Lützen.

Hitherto the power of Gustavus may be said to have been bounded by the Elbe: to the east of that great river all was in his hands; to the west of it, from mouth to the Bohemian frontier, all was held by Tilly. After the battle of Breitenfeld almost all the north-west was cleared: Tilly fell back with Pappenheim to the Weser; the Rhine became his line. Two paths of attack were now open to Gustavus: one through Silesia, Bohemia, Moravia, and so descending on Vienna; the other by the Rhine into Franconia and Bavaria, and thence to Vienna. The first seemed to promise swift and brilliant

¹ The battle is also called the Battle of Leipzig, but that name is wanted for another age.

successes; but it would have left an insecure rear, and a breadth of hostile territory from the Rhine to Bavaria: moreover, it is not clear that a victorious entry into Vienna would have had any great effect, or have put an end to the war. Gustavus therefore determined to adopt the latter plan, while he sent the Elector John George of Saxony to make a secondary campaign in Silesia and Bohemia: the Elector found no resistance, and entered Prague in triumph. Then Gustavus came onwards to the Rhine: he took Mainz, and passed on to Nuremberg; thence, amidst the plaudits and blessings of the German Protestants, he marched to Donauwörth, Augsburg, Munich. It was during this march that old Tilly, defending the passage of the Lech, was struck down by a bullet, and the last bulwarks of the Catholic power seemed crumbling into dust. France could but look on with uneasy fears. She had not reckoned on so great a man, or on so rapid and startling a success.

Yet France did not fail to win something, in the utter prostration and consternation of the Imperial party. Louis XIII, finding that the Duke of Lorraine meditated an attack on France (July, 1632), declared him a rebel in the Parliament of Paris, confiscated the Duchy of Bar, and occupied Lorraine. Nancy, 'fit for a three years' siege,' was abandoned without a blow: men deemed the taking of Metz by Henry II a less triumph for France. Lorraine was declared subject to the French crown: the Imperial overlordship was denied; the lilies were displayed on all public places.

While all this was going on, Spain was urging the Imperial Court to reappoint Wallenstein. After chaffering in vain with Gustavus, the great adventurer had turned to the Elector of Saxony, proposing to join him in chasing the foreigner from Germany: at the end, however, of 1631 things took a new turn; the Emperor sent to urge him once more to take the command; and after making his own terms, which rendered him a Dictator, with the brilliant prospect of becoming the founder of a new race of German Princes, Wallenstein agreed to take the field against Gustavus. The Saxons were at once cast out of

Bohemia: John George, the Elector, again began to waver between the foreigner who was the champion of the Protestant powers, and the Emperor to whom he felt bound as a German. Wallenstein, the Imperial champion, was prepared to restore the unity of the Empire; Gustavus to secure freedom of religious opinion. How could the Elector choose between two such boons?

Then followed the struggle between the two high-soaring eagles of the war, Gustavus and Wallenstein, at Nuremberg. A line drawn from the westernmost point of the Bohemian mountains to the Rhine traverses Germany at its narrowest, where broken country and great forests interpose a barrier between North and South, Low and High, Germany. The irregular course of the river Main, from its source to its confluence with the Rhine may be taken as the central dividing line between North and South Germany; it consequently has often been the scene of war. This important district is flanked by the valley of the Rhine, which runs at right angles to it; from this side Germany has ever been easily reached by France; and now the possession of Lorraine brought the French power into closest communication with German interests. If France could get across the Rhine, and hold it firmly from Coblenz to Strasburg, she might cut North Germany from South, the Elbe from the Danube, and standing there with the North to her left hand and the South to her right, might become arbiter between them, rewarding herself with a great increase of strength, territory, and consideration on her eastern frontier. To this, to the reduction of Alsace, and of the whole middle Rhenish district—the old ambition of Charles the Bold—France turned her chief attention during these years.

The wise stedfastness of Wallenstein in his Nuremberg lines wore out his great adversary's strength, and wasted his time, which to him, as to all who are worth anything, was also strength. At last Gustavus, unable to tempt Wallenstein out of his entrenchments, marched away. His rival, fearless for the South, boldly entered Saxony, ravaging as he went: and

Gustavus was compelled to give ground and follow him: so well did that great master of war handle his army, that he caught Wallenstein in his lines at Lützen; and though he fell in the middle of the battle, Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, the hero of the next period of the war, restored the fight, and inflicted on the Imperialist troops a crushing defeat.

With Lützen the age of the warriors ends; with the fall of the 'Lion of the North,' the 'Protestant hero,' fell to the ground all those great plans and purposes with which he had entered into the strife. The plans of his opponents were dead also. The Empire was but a name: the far-reaching views of Wallenstein could have no fulfilment: the dream of a great Catholic reaction and restoration was gone; there was no prospect that the Edict of Restitution could be ever carried out: the princes, more than ever, were looking to their independent interests, and though here and there one of them seemed to remember that he was a German, yet in the end they struggled each for himself, and the Swede and the Frenchman, now the principals in the strife against the House of Austria, decided the fortunes of the Empire much as they would.

So long as Gustavus lived, there had been a really religious element in the war. Keenly as he enjoyed the marvellous sense of power which every great conqueror must feel, he lets us see throughout that the fear of God ruled first in his heart: no one has ever suspected Gustavus of playing a part or of being a hypocrite: his religion was pure and simple, and a guiding-line of life and policy. But when he fell, the religious side of the Thirty Years' War drops into the background, and it takes more and more a political texture. The time of France had come.

On the one hand stood the Protestants with their mixed interests, expressed in the warm religious feeling of the Swedes, and in the desire for temporal aggrandisement, which caused the resistance of the German princes to the Edict of Restitution; on the other side, were the Houses of Bavaria and

Austria, with their strong Catholic views and hopes for a firm-built Empire: between them France now steps in, guided by Richelieu, the 'Cardinal (as von Ranke says) who of all Catholics who have ever lived has done most for Protestantism'. The Catholic-tolerant party, the old party of Henry IV, now shows its strength; it persuades men that they may cling to the old faith and yet not seek to exterminate the new; it leagues itself everywhere with the opposition to the ambition of the high Catholic power, and, in the end, brings the war to a close, in which Austria is rendered powerless, Germany diminished and weakened, and France appears triumphant and wellnigh supreme in Europe.

After the death of Gustavus the conduct of affairs lay chiefly with Oxenstjerna and the great adventurer Bernard of Saxe-Weimar; but they did not act in harmony: Richelieu alone supported the Union of Heilbronn, and secured some coherence among the Protestant princes. He hoped to extend the limits of France to the Rhine, and thence to spread her influence across that great river into the very heart of Germany. The Elector of Treves had thrown open to the French the gates of his fortresses, above all he had placed in their hands the great fastness of Ehrenbreitstein, which commands the Rhine and Moselle at their confluence; Richelieu, by occupying this important position, commanded the Moselle valley, while he was already in possession of Lorraine. Montbeliard, Blavet, Héricourt, also fell into French hands; and the roadway into Alsace being thus laid open, ere long the King's troops appeared there, proclaiming their mission to be that of humane deliverers, come to free the oppressed folk now from the Swede, now from the Catholic powers. If Richelieu could prolong the war, great would be the profit to France.

The purse of France now comes into play: she is to Germany what England afterwards was, a well-head of supplies: her money upholds the Heilbronn Union, the chief princes of Western Germany are in her pay.

Wallenstein, ever scheming, entered into communications with

the Elector of Saxony, even with Richelieu. Plans of all kinds floated in the air; among them was one that Louis XIII should become Emperor and Wallenstein *Rex Romanorum*. The Elector of Treves tried to get Spires for Richelieu: a great partition-scheme was afloat: Bernard should be Duke of Franconia; Oxenstjern Duke of Mainz, and so on. The relations between Wallenstein and the Imperial Court, now cease to be friendly, and become cool and distant. The Spanish influence, expressing itself in the person of Ferdinand, the Emperor's son, became daily stronger at Vienna, while another Ferdinand, the Cardinal-Infant, the new Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, was thwarted by Wallenstein. In Vienna the belief grew daily stronger that Wallenstein was a traitor, that he sought only his own interests, and aimed at the crown of Bohemia. The entanglement became too difficult, and at last the Imperial Court cut the knot with the assassin's dagger. Wallenstein perished in 1634. His death was the signal for a great revival of Austro-Spanish energy, expressing itself in the battle of Nördlingen, which almost repaired for the Catholics the losses of Lützen. Franconia and Swabia fell into their hands. And now John George, the Elector of Saxony, always the waverer, instead of heading the Germanic national party in the war and trying to bring it to a patriotic close without the foreigner, abandoned the Princes, and made his own peace with the Emperor, at Prague, in 1635. It was a fatal step, prolonging the war and placing Germany at the mercy of strangers: yet at the moment the Elector believed that he had hit on the true basis for peace, and that he would enjoy the high praise of having shown the way to a German solution of the questions of the day. The Edict of Restitution was to be dropped; Saxony was to have the *Lau-satz*; Catholics and Lutherans were alone allowed standing-ground; the Palatinate was not to be restored to its Calvinistic lords. The German princes and cities, to a large extent, acceded to this treaty, little as there was in it of a conclusive kind: it was clear however that no Calvinists could accept it: the main part of

the Heilbronn Union rejected it; such adventurers as Bernard of Weimar were not likely to be contented with it: and finally France, having long ago drawn her sword half out of the scabbard, now drew it completely forth, and entered as a principal into the struggle, making it hers for the remaining nine years of the war.

CHAPTER V.

FRANCE AS A PRINCIPAL IN THE THIRTY YEARS'

WAR. A.D. 1635-1643.

IV. *The Last Period of Richelieu's Career.*

CARDINAL RICHELIEU is one of those men in whose favour the tide of affairs always turns at the critical moment, and who also have skill and courage to take it at the turn. Vigilant, cool, sagacious, and absolutely fearless, he never throughout his life missed a single point in the great game he played; and, even with dramatic force, knew how to snatch a triumph out of the very clutches of defeat. To few men could the theatrical 'Day of Dupes' have occurred: few have uncoiled the purposes of a life so steadily, in spite of opposing influences, or have left so clear a mark on the character and destinies of his country. Never did fortune favour man as she favoured him in the years 1634, 1635. His domestic enemies were for the moment cowed or exiled; and though, as he said, 'the cabinet and bed-chamber of Louis XIII gave him more trouble than all the rest of Europe,' still at this moment his hands were free, and he could attend to foreign affairs. The death of Gustavus Adolphus had relieved him of one serious anxiety; now that Wallenstein was gone, the series of great captains came to an end: the crushing defeat at Nördlingen of the Swedes under Count Horn and the Protestant Germans under Bernard of Weimar

had cleared the way for French intervention: lastly, the Peace of Prague, by drawing off the Saxons and many other German princes, obliged the Calvinists and the adventurer-captains to rely henceforth entirely on French help, and to accept, with whatever reluctance, the terms on which the Cardinal consented to fight their battle for them. Even the English, whose position was at this time very uncertain, were not likely to interfere, thanks to their home affairs, which Richelieu did his best to aggravate¹.

Richelieu had been preparing quietly for war for some years. While he had apparently been busy founding the French Academy, or harassed by the plots of the noblesse, he had steadily kept in view the coming war with Spain, knowing it to be the logical and inevitable consequence of his policy, and waiting calmly till the right moment should come. Not only was he well-prepared with warlike strength, but he had round him a band of political writers, pamphleteers on a large scale, the journalists of that day, who supported him against all attacks, who answered the libels and satires written by the exiles, especially at Brussels, and composed treatises on the claims, the rights, the future of France. With much that was exaggerated, much that was pedantic and ill-founded, these works testify to the growth in France of a distinctly national feeling, of a belief in the 'natural frontiers' of the country, and an arrogant assertion of the 'manifest destiny' of the nation. Just as the Englishman used to boast of his Empire of the Seas, or the American to foretell the unlimited expansion of the Union, so the Frenchman of Richelieu's days began to talk largely of the frontier of the Rhine, of his supremacy in Italy, of his rights to the Spanish Netherlands. One of Richelieu's friends, Jacques de Cassan, a lawyer, wrote

¹ At least so we learn a little later from that amusing historical romance, *les Mémoires de M. L. C. D. R.* The Count of Rochfort tells us that he himself was sent into England with despatches in cipher, which greatly encouraged the resistance of the Parliamentary party to the King. *Mémoires de M. L. C. D. R.*, p. 38.

at this time, and dedicated to his master the Cardinal, a work on 'the rights of the King and Crown of France over the kingdoms, duchies, counties, towns, and countries occupied by foreign princes, but pertaining to the very Christian King, by conquest, succession, purchase, or other titles: together with his rights over the Empire.' Richelieu had also employed two men of learning, Dupuy and Godefroy, to enquire into all these rights; and their labours were worked out and laid before him by Dupuy in 1631¹.

The extravagant language of these works finds its echo in Richelieu's Memoirs. 'Long possession gives no right in the matter of kingdoms; for princes are bound by no prescription, nor have they any tribunal before which to appear: wherefore they may always claim their rights against usurpers, and recover them by force.'² We may see from Cassan's book what these high pretensions were: he claims for the crown of France all Spain, Portugal, and Navarre; he cites twelve titles of the crown to the kingdom of Naples; Milan and Genoa are almost a matter of course: he rises higher, and asserts the right of Louis XIII to Imperial honours 'as the successor of Charlemagne': England is his, for was not the son of Philip Augustus elected by the Estates of England in 1216³? The doctrine, convenient and elastic, of natural frontiers is also loudly proclaimed. In 1635 however Richelieu was content with narrower ambitions: he would be quite satisfied if he fortified Metz, and pushed on to Strasburg; he was anxious, as he tells us in 1629, to do it gently, slowly, and surely; to grasp too hastily might be to lose all: he would come among the Germans as their friend and deliverer, using the language often imitated since that time by French conquerors, or would-be conquerors; he would enter in 'to save the liberties of Germany,' whether from the

¹ Not published till 1655. See Laurent, *Études sur l'Histoire de l'Humanité*, x. p. 260.

² *Mémoires de Richelieu* (Petitot, vii. p. 404).

³ See Vol. i. pp. 312, 313.

Swede, or from the Catholic empire; and meanwhile he would quietly make sure of the Rhine-frontier, to which his good friend and dependent the Elector of Treves had already introduced him¹.

At the end of 1634, Richelieu had renewed his alliances with Sweden and the Heilbronn Union; the Dutch, early in 1635, consented to join him in an attack on the Spanish Netherlands; his envoys were well seen at Turin, at Parma, at Florence; finally, all things being ready, a pretext for war was easily found: the Spaniards seized and imprisoned the Elector of Treves, whom France protected; hereon the French Court in May 1635 declared war on Spain, and came openly into that field, in which her occult influences had already long been felt.

It was the opening of a new era for France, an era of great and systematised warfare. Hitherto her military operations had been mere expeditions, momentary efforts, sharp and startling, and not of any great permanence of effect: now she comes into the arena as the central power bidding for the predominance in Europe, and eager to assert it on every frontier. Men saw with amazement the vast hosts which heralded these new conditions of warfare. They had thought Richelieu occupied with a thousand cares, with his Academy of letters, his colonial enterprises, his public and private works in Paris, where the grand Palais-Cardinal² was now rising, rival to the homes of kings, with his reformation of the Benedictines, and the beginnings of the great literary labours of that order under the guidance of the famous congregation of S. Maur, and with his royal Printing-Press; each by itself a work to occupy an ordinary man: yet all the while he had been quietly preparing and organising a mighty army; and when war at last broke out, one hundred and thirty-two

¹ See above, p. 55.

² Afterwards the Palais-Royal; for like Wolsey with Hampton Court, Richelieu was obliged to make a present of his splendid palace to the King. It is gone. The tasteless buildings of the Dukes of Orleans have entirely replaced it.

thousand men were under arms. This unheard-of force, which seemed to have sprung out of the ground, was divided into four armies. One under the Duke of Rohan was to occupy the friendly territory of the Grisons and the Valtelline, while Marshal Créquy, effecting a junction with Victor Amadeus of Savoy, should reduce the Milanese: a second, commanded by the Duke of La Force, should hold the line of the Vosges, defending Lorraine, and observing the Upper Rhine: the third, under the Cardinal La Valette, 'the Cardinal Valet,' as men nicknamed Richelieu's most subservient adherent, was to join Bernard of Saxe-Weimar across the Rhine, and operating with the Swedes, was to endeavour to counteract the effects of the Peace of Prague, which had been signed at the end of May 1635; the fourth, under the Marshals Châtillon and Brézé, was to unite with the Dutch under Frederick Henry Prince of Orange, and, calling on the Netherlands to revolt from their Spanish masters, was ordered to strike at the heart of the enemy's power at Brussels.

Splendid as these armies were, their real strength was far less than it seemed: France knew little or nothing of war; her civil troubles had weakened her fighting-power, without giving her any valuable experience: her chief captains belonged to another order of things, and had no true generalship: discord sprang up between them; the soldiers decamped in crowds, and were quite unfit to face a disciplined enemy, such as came forward to meet them, wearing the scars and experience of a hundred battles. On all hands the enterprises of the French failed. In the Netherlands Piccolomini with a small veteran army cut them off from their communications with northern France, and completely paralysed their action: over the Rhine they reached Frankfort, but were compelled by Gallas to draw back; the Duke of Lorraine raised his country against them in their rear, and they owed their safety solely to the skill and experience in war of Bernard of Weimar. Rohan's campaign was a model of excellence; but Victor Amadeus hung back, and Créquy

could accomplish nothing. Thus the year 1635 saw the downfall of all the extravagant hopes of France; her armies were dissipated or dispirited, her finance in great confusion, her people discontented and restless.

Nor was 1636 more prosperous: the essays of France in arms seemed to prove that she had returned to the state she had been in during the fifteenth century, when even French captains refused to command their countrymen, deeming them unfit for war, and quite unable by nature to stand up against the mercenaries of the day. One asks, what makes one nation at one time, and another at another, master in the battle-field? How came the Swiss, then the Spaniards, then the Swedes or the Scots, at another time the English, at another the French, to win the name of the 'best soldiers in Europe'? At this time, the French soldier makes a poor figure, and is unskilled and ill-led: when he gets practice in war, and finds generals in whom he has confidence, men of strategic genius, he begins at once to win the victories of the 'great age,' and to defy the power of Europe.

The campaigns of 1636 can be quickly summed up. Rohan was left penniless in the Grisons, and unable to do anything; in the following year the inhabitants, angered with promises unfulfilled, rose against him: he had to withdraw and was disgraced, for, though he was as yet the most successful of French generals, he was a great noble and a Huguenot, and Richelieu was never cordial with him. In the Milanese, leaning on that wavering reed the Duke of Savoy, the French accomplished nothing: on the Rhine their successes were but trifling: in Franche-Comté the Prince of Condé failed before the stiff resistance of Dôle¹. Burgundy was invaded by the Austrians under Gallas; revolts, due to oppressive taxation, broke out in the south of France; the Spaniards crossed the Pyrenees and

¹ Much against his expectation. In a MS. letter (in possession of Mr. Bridges Taylor of Elsinore), addressed by him to the Cardinal of la Valette, and dated 26 July 1636, he says, 'Dieu merci Dôle s'en va pris, nous sommes attachés au bastin qui sert de muraille à la ville et nos mineurs sont desjà dessous depuis deus jours: il ny a à craindre qu'un secours.'

threatened Guyenne: finally, Piccolomini, John of Werth, and the Cardinal-Infant, Governor of the Netherlands, finding the way clear, and delighted to punish France for her invasion the year before, marched with a cloud of light horse into Picardy, crossed the Somme, took Corbie, and threatened Paris. In the capital there was an abject panic: many of the great nobles fled to the south, leaving the city to its fate. Richelieu, however, after a moment of despondency, not to be wondered at, took the boldest and safest course, and threw himself on the patriotism of the Parisians; and the King, who was brave enough, came in to Paris from S. Germain. The effect was quite electrical: men took heart and grasped their arms, when the great Cardinal appeared among them, and seemed to wear a fearless countenance. It was strange and significant to see Paris rallying round the Cardinal, and even accepting as its commandant a Huguenot, La Force. It shewed how completely national feeling had overcome the old fanaticism which was wont to have its very stronghold in the trades of Paris. The seven bodies of traders and artisans offered the King their goods and persons for the war with 'so great a gaiety of heart and affection, that many of them embraced and kissed the royal knees': they agreed to serve, and also to pay soldiers. The other cities of the realm contributed speedily and well. The moment the panic was over, the peril was over; for the Spaniards and Netherlands were chiefly cavalry, unfit to take defended cities: so that no sooner did the King come out to reconnoitre the passages of the Oise, and to set his troops in motion northwards, than the enemy began to give way. Thirty thousand foot and twelve thousand horse soon swept them out of Picardy, and might have inflicted a sore blow on them, had not Gaston of Orleans and the Count of Soissons been less than half-hearted in the matter. They for their part had no wish to push their Spanish friends too hard for the benefit of Richelieu their old foe. Soissons was pre-

¹ Richelieu, *Mémoires* (Michaud, ix. p. 70).

sently detected in a correspondence with the Cardinal-Infant: the true difficulty felt in this war lay in the treasonable disaffection of the old Court party on the one hand, and the suspicion, on the other, with which the Government regarded the Huguenot nobles. If they failed, it was thought to be treachery: if they succeeded, it was feared that they would become too powerful to please the Cardinal.

The tide also turned against the enemy in Burgundy: they lingered over the siege of S. Jean de Losne, a feeble town, weakly garrisoned, where they were foiled by the bravery of a handful of soldiers, and of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, till Bernard of Weimar and the Cardinal La Valette came up and drove them headlong across the Rhine.

Operations in 1637 were desultory and isolated, the spirit of the last period of the Thirty Years' War affecting them. The Spaniards invaded Languedoc, and were defeated and driven out by Schomberg: the Iles de S. Marguerite were captured by Sourdis Archbishop of Bordeaux, one of Richelieu's old clerical lieutenants at La Rochelle. Elsewhere nothing decisive, nothing even interesting, took place: the efforts of France seemed fruitless, her waste of hardly-wrung treasure vain. Yet Richelieu persisted, even as he had persisted at La Rochelle, and compelled victory to follow in his train. Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, his best ally, kept up the war along the Rhine-lands in 1638; but as, in spite of all drawbacks and failures, the power of France gradually became more weighty, it was felt that her influence was directed towards selfish ends and was formidable to the other combatants in the great war. The Swedes began to wish for peace: as early as 1637 they tried to negotiate separately with the new Emperor Ferdinand III; they accepted the reluctant mediation of Venice, and Cologne was named as the city in which a congress for peace should be held.

France, however, would have no peace till she had settled the question as to the possession of Alsace. The Spaniards and Imperialists were not likely to abandon without a struggle the

province which secured the roadway for the former to the Spanish Netherlands, and for the latter to Northern Germany, to say nothing of the point of honour involved in the loss of territory. Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, having lost his hopes of a Franconian Duchy, desired to secure a principality for himself on either side the Rhine, in the Breisgau and in Alsace; personally and patriotically he had no mind to advance the frontier of France in that direction. The year 1638 was destined to provide the solution of this question; and, in fact, to lay, ten years ere it finally came, the first solid foundations on which the great fabric of the Peace of Westphalia should be built up.

Fortune and fortitude alike contributed to Richelieu's triumph in this 'turning-point of the struggle between France and the House of Austria'. At home an event had occurred, which was far more important than the birth of Louis XIII had been, when there were so great rejoicings in Paris: Anne of Austria, after twenty-four years of married life, astonished the world by giving birth to a son, the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XIV. Nothing could have been so opportune²: the hopes of the Court-party were dashed to the ground; Gaston of Orleans, now no longer heir to the throne, at once lost almost all his power and consideration; and it was seen that if the King were to die before Richelieu, that great minister would still be able to retain his hold of the government, instead of falling a victim, as they had hoped, to the implacable hatred of his royal and noble enemies.

In this year also the fleet gained the ascendent in the Mediterranean waters: the youthful Viscount of Turenne, after serving for five years under his great soldier-uncles, the two Stattholders Maurice and Henry of Nassau, made his first essay in command with complete success against Duke Charles of

¹ Gardiner's *Thirty Years' War*, p. 191, an admirable handbook of the war.

² It therefore led to rumours and conjectures as to underhand dealings and a supposititious child; men coupled Louis XIV with the Pretender.

Lorraine. Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, early in the year, won the decisive battle of Rheinfelden, in which he entirely dissipated the Imperial army, took its chief generals, including John of Wörth, prisoners, captured all its war-material and standards, and induced a large portion of the soldiery, ever in this war attracted by genius and success rather than by any considerations of nationality or patriotism, to enter his service. Rheinfelden first, and then the key-fortress of Breisach, after a long and brilliant siege, fell into his hands. By the end of 1638 Bernard had destroyed the Hapsburg power in its ancient home. He treated his conquests as his own: the citizens of Breisach paid him personal homage: when Richelieu bade him hand his Alsatian conquests over to France, he replied that he would never dismember the Empire. All Protestant Europe hailed the fall of Breisach with joy¹: he had cut the great serpent in two; no longer with head at Madrid and tail at Brussels could it strangle all Europe in its folds. Yet Richelieu could only look with anxiety at his success; as the prosperous career of Gustavus Adolphus had filled the French government with fears, so now they dreaded even more the brilliant rise, the genius, the patriotic German feeling, of this one hero of the later period of the war. The Swiss were rejoiced to see the beginnings of a power in Alsace likely to hinder the permanent establishment of the French in Lorraine, which they have ever regarded as a menace to themselves: Charles I of England, now strongly opposed to the French policy, and eager to recover the Palatine Electorate for his brother-in-law's family, warmly supported Bernard and hailed his successes with delight².

It was felt everywhere that England, if she could, would be a dangerous opponent to the French plans of aggrandisement. When Richelieu by sharp dealing with unsuccessful or half-

¹ 'La place de Brisach étoit de telle considération qu'elle étoit enviée de tout le monde; la réputation et le bien de vos affaires requéroient qu'elle demeurât en votre disposition.' Richelieu, *Succincte narration des grandes actions du Roi* (Michaud II. ix. p. 346).

² L. von Ranke, *History of England*, ii. pp. 158, 159.

hearted generals was endeavouring to compel them to do their duty for France, he had to suffer the annoyance of seeing the Queen Mother cross over from Brussels to London, and the Cardinal de la Valette follow her thither; he learnt also that Charles was listening to the Spanish Court, and that round him, in fact, all the influences hostile to France were gathering strength and consolidation.

At this moment of difficulty, Richelieu met with one of the greatest losses which had ever befallen him; for we may set aside as absurd the accounts of his jealousy and dislike of his old servant and friend¹. At the end of this year Father Joseph died. The dramatic story that with cynical worldliness Richelieu tried to rouse the dying Capucin, not by the consolations of religion, but by triumphant tidings of the fall of Breisach, 'Courage, Father Joseph, Breisach is ours,' is at once disproved by a simple comparison of dates: for Bernard of Saxe-Weimar did not enter the place till Dec. 19, 1638, the very day on which Father Joseph expired. It is hardly needful to add that the fall of Breisach into Bernard's hands was by no means a subject for unmixed satisfaction at Paris.

Father Joseph closed his eyes at the moment when all his ambitions were on the point of being realised. In this last year of his life France had fairly secured the Alsatian frontier; for himself the much-coveted Cardinal's hat was almost within reach; the King's nomination was actually on its way towards Rome when he died. His place at Richelieu's right hand was at once taken by Mazarin: the Cardinal's hat destined for the Capucin fell to the lot of the fortunate Sicilian.

The campaign of 1639, 'mingled roses and thorns,' as Richelieu says², would have been absolutely without interest or importance, had it not been for the unexpected death

¹ One ridiculous rumour ran that Richelieu, dreading the rise of Father Joseph, and knowing him to be nominated by Louis XIII to the Cardinalate, had caused him to be poisoned, so as to rid himself of a too powerful friend.

² Richelieu, Succincte narration (Michaud, II. ix. p. 344).

of Bernard, which cleared away the one great obstacle to French advancement. His army, the best war-power of the age, was left without a chief: England hoped to win it and use it for her objects, and, with incredible shortsightedness, Charles I arranged that the young Elector-Palatine Charles Louis, to whom personally Bernard's army was very favourable, should pass through France to Breisach, to take command of the 'Weimarian' soldiers.

How could Richelieu fail to seize so favourable and easy an opportunity? The young man was arrested on some trumpery excuse and shut up in Vincennes; and Richelieu, having thus made the field clear, easily won over the wavering army, concluding with it a convention, by which it at once passed into the service of France. It was, in fact, already very dependent on her: French subsidies had enabled Bernard to build it up: was it likely that Richelieu would let this splendid force pass over to a doubtful, if not a hostile, power? The chief officers in the army readily embraced the French side; the lilies flew over the towers of Breisach; French governors took the command in the chief fortresses; a French general, the Duke of Longueville, led the army: Guébriant, as his lieutenant, renewed relations with Banner and the Swedes, and prepared to strike at the heart of the Austrian power.

On all sides France grows in strength. A great Spanish fleet was utterly ruined in the Downs by the Dutch in 1639: it was as if by land and sea alike the connexion between Spain and the Netherlands was to be utterly severed: the French had now learnt the secret of the weakness of Spain, and that they could most easily conquer her by cutting her lines of communication. The great Monarchy of the Peninsula began to fall in pieces: revolts broke out in Catalonia; Portugal asserted her independence (December, 1640); the palsied hand of Philip III, far from being able to menace Holland, seemed likely to drop even the Netherlands. At home Richelieu, after finding his position unexpectedly endangered by the open defection of the Count of Soissons, who in 1641 entered

Northern France near Sedan, at the head of an Imperialist army, was as suddenly relieved from the peril; Soissons perished in battle, and his invasion came to a barren end. In Germany also the arms of France gradually took the ascendent. Guébriant, commanding Frenchmen, Germans, and Swedes, in 1641 defeated the Imperialists at Wolfenbüttel in the north, and at Kempten, in 1642, in the South. In Italy the year 1641 saw the French party dominant for the first time in Savoy. In Spain itself French arms supported the Catalonian revolt, and even penetrated, though with small success, as far as the walls of Tarragona. The Spaniards completely defeated Sourdis, the warlike Archbishop of Bordeaux, who was supporting the attack with a French fleet; and the town being thereupon successfully relieved, the French army abandoned the siege in August, 1642; Sourdis fell into disgrace. This was the only check which befell the Cardinal in these last years of his life.

Yet the resistance to him at home was still alive. The Parliament of Paris, so suspicious and unfriendly at the time of the foundation of the French Academy, grew more so as time went on, and deemed itself the defender of constitutional and legal rights against a ministerial despotism. Its obstinate resistance to the Cardinal irritated and offended him: these officers, the judicial hierarchy of the future, seemed to him exponents of principles ruinous to that absolute government which in his eyes was the only safe form of rule for France. In 1641 the Parliament was forbidden to interfere in public affairs, and ordered to confine itself to the humble function of registering the King's edicts¹. We shall see, when his heavy hand is removed, that the ideas of constitutional authority resident in the Parliament, ill-digested and futile though they proved themselves, never died out; they revived and bore fruit in the struggles of

¹ The Edict, which was read before the King to the Parliament on its knees, at this time, expresses in the plainest words Richelieu's views as to the absolute power of the monarch. It is quoted by Guizot, *Histoire de France*, ch. xxxix. tom. iv. p. 72.

the Fronde. Apart from these natural, and in themselves wholesome, aspirations of the lawyers, the great Minister had still to resist his old antagonists, the exiles and the Court. The exiles in the north had been smitten back in 1641; the foes at Court, in spite of Richelieu's most rigorous exclusion of all but persons supposed to be devoted to himself, were still active and mischievous. One of these, Cinq Mars, the Grand Equerry¹, a mere boy, observing that the King chafed under the Cardinal's rule, and weary of the dulness of Court-life, entered on a wide circuit of intrigues with the Queen Mother, with Gaston, with the Duke of Bouillon, and at last with the Spanish Court. He also imparted his plans to young De Thou, his friend, son of the historian 'Thuanus,' who tried to dissuade him from the attempt, and refused to take any part in it.

Richelieu, suspecting mischief—for he had a thousand ears—thought well to take steps to defeat the plot; he confined the war elsewhere to the defensive, while he persuaded the King to take the command of a strong army on the Spanish frontier, threatening to penetrate into Catalonia, and perhaps to dictate peace at Madrid. The King and his Minister, invalids alike, moved to the south by different roads: and Cinq Mars, thinking all things favourable, the Cardinal absent, the Court drawing near to the Spanish borders, where there were greater facilities for communication and a refuge in case of stress, redoubled his efforts, and seemed to carry the King completely with him. Strange is this last struggle over the dying King and the dying Cardinal. Richelieu had scarcely strength to continue his journey: while the King commanded at the siege of Perpignan, the Minister lay at Tarascon, within reach, if things finally went wrong, of Avignon or of Italy.

But Louis XIII, selfish and ungrateful though he might be, knew, as by instinct, that he could not stand a single day in the midst of the bewildering entanglements and risks of European

¹ Hence usually styled in *Memoirs* 'Monsieur le Grand.'

politics without the support of Richelieu's iron hand: to be free was to be miserable; no caged bird escaping in winter weather would have more lamented his release; and Louis knew also that if Richelieu were gone he would only exchange a nobler for a baser dependence. It must in justice be added that there was this good point in the King's character, that he really desired to advance the honour and dignity of France, little as he himself had done for it: the knowledge of this gives us now, as on the Day of Dupes, the clue to the King's conduct, and made it possible for Richelieu to outwit his enemies and secure his final triumph. When the moment came at which the plot against the great Minister was to take effect, and Louis should have shaken himself free, the King, instead of deposing Richelieu, sent Chavigny, one of the Cardinal's most trusted friends, to Tarascon, where he was lying, with a kind message. The Cardinal answered by placing in Chavigny's hands a copy of the secret treaty between Cinq Mars and Spain. This quite decided the King's action: he ordered Cinq Mars and De Thou to be arrested; the Duke of Bouillon, who was commanding in Piedmont, was seized, even at the head of his army, and shut up in Casale; the Duke of Orleans was a prisoner at Blois. Then the King rejoined his great Minister at Tarascon, and named him 'Lieutenant-General of the realm with full powers.' Having thus placed all power in Richelieu's hands, he returned to Paris, while the Cardinal slowly made his way up the Rhone. It was a strange sight to see the dying Minister, cold and hard as ever, a soul of steel in so fragile a frame, lying in his barge, scarcely strong enough to move, while towed behind in another boat were the two state-prisoners, whom he was dragging to their execution at Lyons. It was a gloomy triumph, 'in the manner, but not with the glory, of the Roman consuls who entered the eternal city with their captives bound behind their chariot; an act more pagan than Christian.' Richelieu was stern and relentless; all France, now on his side, condemned as traitors the conspirators who would have sold their country to the foreigner. Even

Gaston of Orleans himself, scared by the overthrow, this time more complete than ever, of all his unpatriotic schemes, fled from Blois to Bourbon, and thence sent to the Cardinal a full and abject submission, buying once more his own pardon by a mean and cowardly abandonment of his accomplices. He supplied the actual proofs on which Cinq Mars and De Thou were condemned and decapitated at Lyons in the autumn of 1642. Like the great heroes of antiquity, Richelieu had sent worthy victims before him to the shades; he now made ready to follow. He returned to Paris, carried in a great litter¹ with the utmost care: as he went none came forth to bless him: France seemed to regard him with fear, amazement, admiration, as something scarcely human. He had now not long to live: these last three months, however, saw his chief ambitions for the State fulfilled; and as no man ever identified himself more distinctly with his country, we may believe that the late autumn months of 1642 brought the dying Minister the keenest pleasure and reward for all the manifold toils and perils of his life.

At his feet lay the Court-party, discredited in honour, weakened by executions and proscriptions², shown in its true colours as an unpatriotic Spanish faction: the King was his servant, ready to do his bidding, and to accept as his future adviser the astute and wary Mazarin, the Cardinal's lieutenant and friend: abroad all had prospered; Perpignan had fallen and Roussillon was in French hands; the Spaniards were unable to make head in Catalonia; Artois was securely held by French armies; things were well in Italy; in Germany the House of Austria had just suffered another crushing defeat at Leipzig; the end of the war could not be far off, and must prove fruitful of

¹ This litter was like a comfortable chamber; it was so large that in some places the gates of towns had to be taken down and the entrances widened, before it could pass through.

² It is a long and dreary list (given in *Cimber et Danjou*, II. v. pp. 109, sqq.). Twenty-one exiles, all of them the greatest names in France; sixty-five banished, several of these being ladies; seventy-three noble prisoners of State; and beheaded or dead in prison forty-three.

gain for France. Seeing all these things Richelieu awaited the hand of death with almost stoical tranquillity; his last hours were calm and dignified; ever kind and faithful to his friends, he received from their loving hands the most tender return, as they smoothed his dying pillow; their hopes and prayers encircled him till the end. We may believe that his sick bed was the first place in which he tasted the pleasures of rest from toil, and of security from the open or secret attacks of foes: there too he was supported by the thought that he had lived for his country rather than for himself: when the priest bade him pardon his enemies, he replied, and men almost shuddered as they heard it, that 'he had never had one, that he had no foes save those of the State.' It was equally true, and a proof, were one wanted, of his greatness, that all the enemies of France instinctively concentrated on him their hatred, making it personal as well as political, because they regarded him as the true soul and life of his country. Those who saw his last hours, and remembered the merciless severity which had crushed the nobles of France, trembled at his serenity, as he fearlessly went forth to meet the judgment of God. The judgment of posterity he had already appealed to by careful preparation of his Memoirs, in which he draws a grand picture of himself, and a subtle delineation of the motives and principles of his political career. It is of this remarkable work that Michelet says with some truth: 'If one would not know Richelieu, one should read his Memoirs'.¹

The great Cardinal was fifty-eight years old when he died. No man, perhaps, who has ever lived has had so much influence over the destinies of France: to him is mainly due the splendid tyranny of Louis XIV; he it was who laid the foundations for the despotism of Napoleon. Judged by such results as these, he stands among great men, in spite of his want of many elements of real greatness: there was not enough of flesh and blood in him for a true hero.

¹ Michelet, *Henri IV et Richelieu*, p. 363.

After the affected fashion of the time, Charles I of England, though one of Richelieu's decided political opponents, did not hesitate to say of him that 'even as Scipio, after hearing the charges against himself, said, On this day I took Numantia, on that I conquered Hannibal, on the other I destroyed Carthage; let us go thank the gods in the Capitol; so Richelieu could say,—On such a day I took Rochelle; on that other, I reduced thirty-five Huguenot towns to allegiance, twice I succoured Casale, Savoy and part of Piedmont have I given to my King,—let these make reply for me.' Who can deny that his deeds were great, striking, and pregnant with large results? Yet as to their intrinsic and permanent value, there has ever been a great difference in opinion. No sooner was he dead, than a whole literature of pamphlets, satires, and squibs broke forth against him: these, however, were chiefly the work of political foes, expressing with more freedom and equal rancour the views of the exiles of Brussels. The French literature of hatred has a terrible fecundity: Satire, the avenger of despotism, has perhaps more cause to exist in France than elsewhere, and certainly in no other country has the weapon been wielded by keener or more dexterous pens. No language spoken is so neat, precise, and clear of expression as the French tongue, none so well-fitted to convey the delicate touches and ever-varying surface-reflexions which characterise good satire-drawing. Henry IV, Father Joseph, Richelieu, Mazarin, were all in turn assailed by that virulent party-writing, which in France has unhappily too often taken the place of wholesome party-life, and has been but a poor substitute for a fair constitutional resistance to despotism. While in England opposition to the Court ended in the Great Rebellion, the wars of the League in France, the revolts under Louis XIII, the miserable Fronde after his death, were all enveloped in a cloud of satires and scurrilities, and did but make political servitude inevitable.

In the eighteenth century, Frenchmen mostly deemed

Richelieu a 'clever intriguing rascal'; Montesquieu groups him with Louvois, as 'one of the two worst citizens France has produced'.² In Germany it was much the same; Schlegel says that 'Ferdinand, and Gustavus Adolphus fought for their faith; Wallenstein had at least a superstition, his astrology: but Richelieu had neither faith nor law, and was a political Atheist'.³ Anquetil, a little later, as he records the one cold and indifferent remark which Louis XIII made when he heard of the great Minister's death, 'So dies a great politician,' adds that 'this short funeral oration tells us all that can be said of him.' Corneille, whom the Cardinal had deeply offended by his hostility to the Cid, avenged himself by writing an epitaph on Louis XIII, which was a bitter satire on Richelieu's memory. 'Pride,' he writes, 'ambition, self-interest, avarice, clothed with his name, dictated laws to France.' Another epitaph, attributed to the great Grotius, says that 'he kept his allies in their places, and made Frenchmen his slaves; his friends were at his feet, his foes in the dungeon: it was his one curse, to be the curse of all men; he was at once the ornament, and the torment of his time'.⁴ Even Turenne thought Mazarin the greater man; but no one has ever supported that paradox.⁵

On the other side, Bolingbroke clearly saw and pointed out the right way of regarding the Cardinal's position⁶; he treats him as having 'formed the great design, and laid the foundations' on which Mazarin afterwards built, and on the topmost pinnacle of which stood Louis XIV. In other words, Richelieu must be judged by the vast results of his work:

¹ See Le Vassor's Louis XIII, iv. p. 574.

² Montesquieu, *Pensées Diverses*, Œuvres, vi. p. 308, ed. 1827.

³ Schlegel, *Lectures on History*, xvii.

⁴ 'Socios in praeinctu, cives in servitute,
Amicos in obsequio, inimicos in carcere;
Hoc tamen uno miser, quod omnes miseros fecit,
Tam saeculi sui tormentum quam ornamentum.'

The whole epitaph is quoted in Robson's Richelieu, pp. 472, 473.

⁵ There is a brilliant contrast drawn between Richelieu and Mazarin in Voltaire's *Henriade*.

⁶ Bolingbroke, *Letters on the Study of History*, vii.

we must allow that he was a patriot, so far as an ardent desire for the honour and glory of his country entitles a man to that name; beyond that, he was cold, severe, and implacable; he showed no feeling for the happiness of the French people, who have repaid his neglect by excluding him mercilessly from their roll of popular heroes: his influence over Europe was far greater than that of Henry IV; yet what Frenchman would for a moment rank them together? when Richelieu died, all France seemed to breathe again; bonfires were lit on many a hill, as if for some great deliverance or victory.

It would not be just to say that the Cardinal saved Europe from the universal monarchy of Spain; for Spain was already falling to pieces when he began to attack her; but it is true that he so handled the political movements of his day, as to bring Europe within reach of a more terrible universal monarchy, that of France herself under Louis XIV, which, but for the resistance of Holland, might have overwhelmed the world. The Dutch enjoy the high honour of having twice saved the Western world from subjection;—first, when they fought out against Spain their heroic struggle for independence, and then when they produced that great politician and soldier, William III, who dared to resist and arrest the far-reaching ambitions of France.

The results of Richelieu's life, then, whereon he stands for the judgment of posterity, are chiefly these:—abroad, though a Cardinal of the Church, he arrested the Catholic reaction, freed Northern from Southern Europe, and made toleration possible: at home, out of the broken fragments of her liberties and her national prosperity, he paved the way for the glory of France. Those who worship strength and success will admire a man who, moving on his high course with resolute step, seems unconscious of human infirmities, of pity or humanity. Yet if we count the love of our fellow-men the first quality of a great character, or think that land happiest in which the liberties of the subject are steadily and surely built up from

age to age, then we shall condemn the strong man armed, who gave no thought to his oppressed and labouring countrymen, and made constitutional life impossible for France. It may well be that this did not present itself to Richelieu's mind: he probably never told himself that his policy was based on the ruin of French liberties; the troubles of the sixteenth century, and the peculiar aptitudes of the French people, may even have led him to believe it impossible to do otherwise than as he did. Yet, as we watch his career, we see one after another the elements of constitutional life perishing: the Law Courts or Parliaments, at Paris and elsewhere, resist in vain, and are reduced to impotence; the Church becomes subservient; the Huguenot cities, which might have formed the nucleus of a healthy public opinion, are crushed into silence; the independence of the noble goes; the States General are not convoked, and the local estates lose their liberties¹: imposts are levied at the King's pleasure, the people overwhelmed with taxes and rewarded with neglect. Richelieu's Memoirs tell us that in 1634 taxation was much reduced, a quarter of the 'Taille' remitted, noble privilege curtailed, sometimes abolished, the clergy compelled to pay their share². But this was only a momentary relief; the burdens in fact grew frightfully. Under Henry IV the country paid from twenty to thirty millions of livres in the year, and deemed itself very heavily burdened: at the end of Richelieu's rule, the taxation had risen to more than one hundred and twenty millions; the old evils of a bad system reappeared; Sully's reforms vanished, the Treasury often did not receive one half the amount levied. The administration, so brilliant abroad, is baneful at home: 'obedience is based on fear, hatred shall be cast out by terrorism' says Ambassador Grotius, speaking of this time³. It may be

¹ With exception of those of the Duchy of Burgundy, which retained some power, in spite of the *Lanterlu* revolt.

² Richelieu, *Mémoires* (Michaud, II. viii. p. 514).

³ In his valuable Letters from the French Court, where he was Swedish envoy.

that Richelieu did but carry out tendencies long rooted in French soil¹, did but push one step farther that absolute and irresponsible monarchy, which had already been seen and approved by France, under Francis I and Henry IV. It may be so; yet to have systematised absolutism, to have formulated the terrible dogma that taxation is under control of the King alone, to have trampled out the last fires of French liberty, to have riveted the chains of that despotism, which for a hundred and fifty years had France at its feet, can never be called the work of a true patriot or of a great statesman.

And if it be urged that no other course lay before him, and that we must judge him by the times, there still remains the fatal fact, that in his earlier days Richelieu had been singularly fertile in great schemes for the welfare of France²; and that the overthrow of his country's liberties, and his cynical neglect of her prosperity, were to a large extent sins against light. He may have thought, after subjecting his country to the monarchy, and assuring its position in the European arena, that he might go on to play the part of the beneficent despot; had he lived ten more years, France might have blessed instead of hating him; though, even then, the country which owes its well-being to a ruler's will, in which 'all is for the people, and nothing by the people,' cannot be treading the path of a wholesome national growth or prosperity. Richelieu, however, does not seem even to have wished so much as this: he was willing that commerce should grow, he did nothing to vex the trading communities; but he held the true despot's doctrine, that heavy taxes and a squalid people were safer to build on, less likely to cause revolt and trouble, than a thrifty government and contented peasantry. He remembered the rich and turbulent cities of past time, and their manful and disrespectful resistance to their lords.

¹ So says Martin, defending him. *Histoire de France*, xi. p. 579.

² See above, p. 21, for his theory of a perfect France.

We look in vain throughout his career for any sign of a true statesman's love and care for his people.

And indeed Richelieu was a politician rather than a statesman: his mind, singularly acute and intelligent, was neither deep nor broad: ambition for his country, a desire to raise her among the nations, a consciousness that unity would bring her strength, these were the ideas which ennobled his career. This gives harmony to his life: his marvellous tenacity of purpose, his patience, fearlessness, sleepless vigilance, unscrupulousness in use of any means to win his ends, all these qualities were bent on one object—the abasement of Austria, the exaltation of France: for this he lived, defending with one hand his hard-won and precarious footing at home, while with the other hand he guided negotiations or led armies abroad against the great foes who in 1628 had seemed to be almost absolute masters of Europe.

This double struggle gives him an air of mystery at home and of grandeur abroad. He loved to hide himself behind some cloud: he had a thousand spies at his call; whole monastic orders became his secret police; while he reformed them, he made them his tools. The amusing 'Memoirs of Count Rochefort' tell us that the Cardinal often did things mysteriously, which he might just as well have done openly¹: all life was a game of cards, which depended on hiding one's hand. He may not have been a false man, but no one would expect us to call him a true one. Truth or falsehood, opinions or beliefs, were all alike subordinate in him to political interests. For instance, the Cardinal was coldly religious, and a man of apparently excellent life, neglecting none of the duties of his clerical station, strict in observances; yet he never for a moment hesitated about allying himself with the anti-Catholic party, or doubted about rescuing Protestantism from peril of destruction.

Richelieu was no high-soaring spirit, which forgets itself in the

¹ See also Michelet, *Henri IV et Richelieu*, p. 363. He gives as a motto for the Cardinal that of the Sphinx reversed, 'Quiconque me devine en mourra.'

grandeur of its objects: the very difficulties of his position and the vigilance it required, made him think much of himself; there was also in him a vein of personal vanity, which showed itself in the startling impressions he loved to make on others; many surprises in his life there were, and of a theatrical kind; he wished not merely to write dramas but to act them. He had little or none of the suppleness of the mere diplomatist; his temper was too haughty and too hot for that; he could be very winning and kind, but always as a great Prince might be; in which he contrasts greatly with his successor Mazarin, who glides in and out without pride. Richelieu was in fact proud as well as vain; he could not brook contradiction, and was easily moved to anger, having in him a sharp spark of latent fire, which often kindled his grey eyes till men could not bear to look on them.

He was apparently quite free from grosser vices, though his foul-mouthed enemies set afloat many a story; the mystery he loved gave idle folk plenty of excuses for fabricating tales: thus, he was much blamed and ill-spoken of for his frequent visits to the house of his niece; yet the 'Memoirs of Count Rochefort' affirm that the Cardinal went thither only that he might the more safely and secretly meet all kinds of emissaries and agents, whom he dared not have about his own house¹.

Richelieu has been likened to Cardinal Wolsey; still, apart from a common love of splendour, and a tendency to regard the world from the political rather than the religious point of view, apart also from the curious parallel and coincidence between the fortunes of Hampton Court and those of the Palais Cardinal, the two men will be found to have really had very little in common. In magnificence the Frenchman even surpasses the Englishman: Richelieu's last will is an amazing monument of his wealth, his splendid possessions, literary tastes, and patriotic ideas: as the terrible epitaph quoted above² has it, 'he willed away the kingdom to his family, and decreed that the people should perish of want.' Under him France grew yearly more

¹ Rochefort, *Mémoires*, p. 39.

² *Ibid.* p. 76.

starved and feverish: many provinces suffered horribly; Poitou, so fertile and wealthy, became as wild and waste as Brittany.

He desired to be supreme patron of literature and the arts: he founded the Academy, established the Gazette of France, wished to favour learned men. Yet we must not forget that he persecuted Corneille, and hounded on his new Academy to run down the Cid; it is a damaging fact that Descartes fled from him, unable to breathe the atmosphere of Paris, and worked out his philosophy at Amsterdam; nor could he tempt the all-learned Salmasius back from Holland, that refuge of letters and thought. His own literary attempts were failures, and lie buried in oblivion. The centre of court-literature was the Hotel de Rambouillet, which preceded and formed the nucleus of the Academy, where the meetings were thronged with fine ladies and obsequious authors. Its mouth-piece had been Malherbe, 'who organised the French language on the plan which Henry IV had followed for the State', and who perhaps also foreshadowed the method of Louis XIV; for while he ejected all foreign words and idioms, as Henry IV had cast out the Spaniards from Paris, he also drew a strict distinction between 'noble' and 'vulgar' words, and created a polite and subservient language, which threw the good old French speech into neglect; even as Louis XIV grouped a brilliant and powerless noblesse about the throne, while his people begged for bread. So Malherbe, a flat and commonplace intelligence, destroyed all provincialisms, all rough vigour; he would have died of an original phrase². What a gulf between him and Rabelais! Affected, euphuistic, full of finesse and proprieties, the writers of the day cringed before the noblemen of taste who set the tone; what in England had been a mere mistletoe-growth on the vigorous tree of literature became in France for a time the only growth. Happy for France that Corneille was too true and

¹ Geruzet, *Hist. de la littérature française*, ii. p. 3 (ed. 1876).

² Boileau, believing it to be an encomium, writes of Malherbe thus:

'Enfin Malherbe vint, . . .
Et réduisit la Muse aux règles du devoir.'

strong a man long to remain one of that poor quintett of dramatic writers, who were employed in building up for Richelieu a fictitious literary reputation.

The Cardinal's natural taste for splendour also no doubt called artists around him: yet their works are mostly of second-rate quality, their names obscure; whether they were painters, sculptors or architects, they belonged to an age of artistic decadence. For the time is one of the letter rather than of the spirit: arts and literature are formal, often pedantic, usually dull; genius bows to rule: the absolutist tendency shows itself in these realms as clearly as in the sphere of politics.

If we would sum up in a word Richelieu's claim to greatness, we may do so by saying that this frail personage, this invalid, this 'ghost of a great man,' as Michelet styles him, is the true founder of the French absolute Monarchy. His age is the age of the struggle of European monarchs against the growing life of their nations; a time of feeble sovereigns claiming exaggerated prerogatives and absolute power. In England James I and Charles I learnt what comes of collision with a strong and self-willed people; to Richelieu, who never could have understood the resistance of a people fighting for its liberties, the Great Rebellion was but one portion of the game, by which an unfriendly English monarch was hindered from interfering on the Continent: in Spain Philip III was doing his utmost, and with eminent success, to ruin his country: Ferdinand III of Austria was 'a new Philip II,' as fanatical, as bitterly opposed to German liberties and to toleration as the Spaniard had been: in France Louis XIII was a feeble prince, and then for some years Louis XIV was but a child; yet round them grew the strong fabric of absolutist government. It is singular that while the Monarch disappears from sight, and his Court is an actual obstacle, the great Minister, alone and unaided, successfully establishes the despotic and irresponsible monarchy on so firm a basis, that it stands the shock of war, the strain of its master's ambition, the wearing tooth of time, and only falls at last after it has tasked for ages the patient endurance of the world.

CHAPTER VI.

FRANCE UNDER MAZARIN, TO THE END OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR. A.D. 1643-1648.

WHEN Richelieu died Louis XIII seemed to be neither sorry nor glad. Doubtless the burden had been heavy on him; yet from what toil and responsibilities the great Minister had saved him! This King, otherwise so obscure, has, as we have said, one claim to the respect of his country: he sincerely desired that France should have an independent career, and throughout his life resented the unpatriotic position taken up by the Spanish party at Court, and was full of distrust towards his spouse, Anne of Austria: he was quite aware of the true import of Richelieu's policy in German affairs. Therefore, though his death may have been a relief, still Louis at once declared it his intention to 'follow out all the late Cardinal's plans, whether at home or abroad;' and Mazarin, heir of Richelieu's inmost thoughts and views, became forthwith the guiding spirit in the counsels of France.

Mazarin had little of his master's cold severity: the tension slackened at once; and reconciliations took place, the Minister seeming ready to be friends with all; charming and supple, he glides lightly between parties, smoothes down all jealousies, secures firm hold on the confidence and affection of Anne of Austria, and appears likely to begin once more the old Italian balancing-policy, which under Catherine dei Medici had been so fatal to France.

Gaston of Orleans, indolent and ambitious as ever, and a scandal to his country, returned to Court, was pardoned and

restored to favour: the nobles lying in the Bastille were released, the exiles recalled. Before they had time to group themselves, or form fresh factions, and before they had become familiar with the face of France without Richelieu, death overtook the melancholy monarch, and he ended his obscure life in May 1643.

Louis XIII left two sons, Louis the Dauphin, now four years and a half old, and Philip, Duke of Anjou, afterwards Duke of Orleans, founder of the younger branch of the Bourbons. The late King willed that the Regency should be entrusted to Anne of Austria, in spite of his dislike and distrust of her: we probably see in this the first mark of Mazarin's hand. Though Gaston was named Lieutenant-General of the realm, the government was in the hands of a Council, composed of the Prince of Condé, Mazarin, Seguier the Chancellor, Bouthillier and Chavigny. But as no one obeyed the late King while he lived, so now even his last will was not attended to. Anne, a woman of energy and ambition, proud and haughty, and of no small political capacity, having at her back the shrewd advice of Mazarin and the support of those who had been oppressed under the late reign, the nobles and the Parliament of Paris, soon freed herself from the Council of Regency, and ruled alone. Gaston made no opposition; the Parliament of Paris, pleased with a part which seemed not only to restore its old importance but to promise a great career for the future, willingly set aside the late King's testament, and declared Anne of Austria sole Regent of the realm.

It looked as if a great reaction would follow. The Queen Mother, centre of the former opposition to Richelieu's policy, was now supreme: the old Court-party and great nobles, who had ever looked up to her, expected to take the command; if Mazarin, who alone held the threads of foreign policy, were to be permitted to remain in office till peace was made, his power would have to be jealously watched and controlled; after peace had come, he should be quietly removed. Potier, Bishop of Beauvais, whom Cardinal de Retz calls 'the idiot of idiots,' was put forward as leader; pardons and amnesties were showered

on all, deposed officers restored; nothing could exceed the airs of superiority and exultation with which these poor grandees, so long held down and kept out of offices and rewards, came back to Court, eager to enjoy all, to secure all, to rule all. The French people, ever good at a nickname, at once affixed to them the telling title of 'the Importants.' The merciless severity of Richelieu had taken from them all their true strength: they were destined to make a brief and ridiculous struggle: and then, like pallid ghosts of a power long dead, they flitted into the shades, when the young Monarch, like a rising sun, began to shoot his dazzling rays across the world¹.

Moreover, the course of the war, still raging on the borders of France, was fatal to the nobles. When Richelieu died, the Austro-Spanish power plucked up courage and took the offensive. On the Rhine, in the Netherlands, they pushed on, determined to penetrate into Champagne, to threaten Paris. The Governor of the Netherlands, Francis of Mello, besieged Rocroy, a town not far from the frontiers of Flanders and Liège, formerly fortified by Francis I and by Henry II. Had he won it, he might have joined hands with the Imperialists, who were pressing hard on Guébriant and the old 'Weimarian' army on the Rhine, and Champagne would have been defenceless.

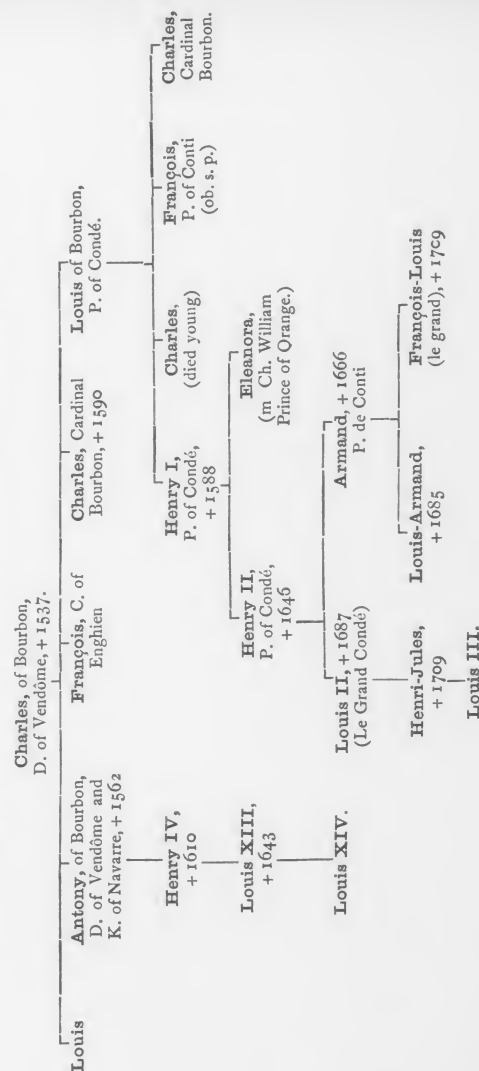
The army hastily sent up to relieve Rocroy was commanded by the youthful Duke of Enghien, afterwards 'the Great Condé'. He was but twenty-two, and had with him as monitor in war the aged and timid Marshal L'Hôpital. But Enghien had the daring of a boy and the eye of a conqueror: he was one of those whom inexperience helps to great victories. Fearlessly he advanced his men through a dangerous

¹ Louis XIV delighted to pose himself as Apollo, sun-god; the sun was his special cognisance. See De la Hode, *Histoire de la vie et du règne de Louis XIV*, enrichée de Médailles, ii. p. 252, iii. p. 10, 11; and the famous 'Nec Pluribus Impar.' ib. p. 87, with many others. The well-known medal of William III. with Joshua bidding the sun stand still, is figured in Chevalier's *Histoire de Guillaume III*, p. 112.

² Eldest son of the then Prince of Condé. See Pedigree on opposite page.

TABLE I.—THE HOUSE OF CONDÉ.

(See, for the earlier Pedigree, the Table of Henry IVth's Descent, Vol. II. p. 396.)



defile, where they might easily have been overwhelmed; fearlessly he deployed under the eyes of the Spanish army, who there stood in their slow solid way, waiting to be attacked. L'Hôpital held the right wing of the enemy in check while Enghien routed their left, and then, with his light-moving cavalry, got round to their right wing, and, relieving L'Hôpital, who was hard pressed, routed that also. Still there remained a solid centre, or reserve of Spanish infantry, the invincible soldiers who for so long had triumphed on every battle-field. Against these the impetuous Enghien hurled himself, and a battle of heroes raged. Thrice the strong infantry of Spain dashed back the waves of fierce attack: at the fourth rush of the gallant French they broke and gave: the great rock which had braved so many storms tottered and fell; the waves of the victorious attack came boiling and surging over the ruin. Then fell for ever the invincible Spanish infantry, the terror of the world. More than a hundred years before, French courage had destroyed the belief in the unconquerable Swiss: now Enghien had done the same thing with the Spaniards. Rocroy restored the threatened preponderance of the French in the war, while it consolidated the regency of Anne of Austria at Paris (18 May, 1643).

Enghien, after Rocroy, took Thionville; and, as a broad hint to observant Europe, Mazarin caused a medal to be struck, presenting in the ancient manner Hope with a figure of Victory in her right hand, and around it the threatening legend, 'Prima Finium Propagatio,' the child-King's first conquest. Then Enghien was able to send much-needed help to Guébriant, now in great straits in Alsace. The House of Condé was friendly to Mazarin, and Rocroy secured his triumph over the 'Importants.' At Paris it was as if Richelieu had come to life again¹; the Importants had threatened the Court with the old

¹ 'Demandez-le à tous les Importants,
Ils vous diront d'un moult piteux langage—
Il n'est pas mort.'

From a song of this time, quoted by Guizot, *Histoire de France*, iv. p. 197.

revolts and troubles; but Mazarin and the Queen-Regent struck one blow in the old style, and the whole party was broken up at once; the Duke of Beaufort was imprisoned at Vincennes; Vendôme, Mercœur, Guise, and the Duchess of Chevreuse were exiled. Mazarin became First Minister, and remained all-powerful for four years, prosperous at home, and successful in bringing the great war to a triumphant close at Münster. Mazarin not merely enjoyed the confidence of Anne of Austria, he won her love; there is no reason to doubt that they were actually married¹.

In this year, 1643, Guébriant was killed, and Rantzau, his successor, taken prisoner; the attempts of the French beyond the Rhine all failed. Turenne, now made a Marshal of France, was next named to the command: and, with Enghien at his side, he restored the balance of the war. For Marshal Turenne² was the first soldier of his age in point of skill and science of war: he was the greatest tactician of Europe, while the young Duke of Enghien³ was reckless of his soldiers' blood, and had that impetuous valour and that genius of battle, which often snatch victory where wiser and more cautious spirits would have failed, or would have refused to fight. In the end the steadier qualities of Turenne prevailed: when the two came into collision in the war of the Fronde, Condé was decisively over-mastered; and the successes of this great master of the

¹ See the subject treated in Mignet, *Négociations relatives à la succession d'Espagne*, I. xlvii. note 1. Mazarin, though a Cardinal, could lawfully marry, as he was only in Deacon's orders. Giulio Mazarini was a Sicilian, born in 1602. He, like his master, was first a soldier (in the Spanish service). He did not come into France till 1635. La Vallée, iii. p. 169, note 2.

² Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Viscount of Turenne, younger son of the Duke of Bouillon, one of the best and most valued generals of Henry IV, and of one of the daughters of William of Orange, was born at Sedan in 1611, and brought up like his father, as a Calvinist. He served five years under his famous uncles Maurice and Henry of Nassau, then was called to fight for his country in Lorraine and Italy, and in 1645 superseded Rantzau on the Rhine. He yielded to his patriotic sentiments, and to the arguments of Bossuet, and in 1668 abjured the Huguenot faith.

³ The Great Condé, Louis (see Table I, p. 67), was known as Duke of Enghien till 1646, in which year his father died. He was born in 1621 at Paris.

art of war hastened the conclusion of the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659, even as he largely contributed to that of the Peace of Westphalia earlier in 1648.

The struggle was, as before, for the Rhine communications; Breisach and Freiburg in the Breisgau were in French hands at the end of 1643, but the ill-success of Rantzau had endangered all; the French army was obliged to recross the Rhine, and Mercy besieged and took Freiburg: Alsace was threatened.

In the summer of 1644 Turenne and Enghien, after three days' murderous fighting, drove Mercy out of an almost impregnable position in front of Freiburg; it was the most terrible slaughter of all the war, nor was the advantage in the fighting all on one side. But Mercy's supplies were menaced: and the Imperialists fell back, with loss of baggage and artillery, escaping through the Black Forest into the Danube Valley, while the French generals occupied the whole Rhineland: all the lower Palatinate was theirs; Freiburg alone held for the Imperialists.

At the same time the Swedes under Torstensen overran all Northern Germany, and with amazing speed had coerced Denmark as well as Bohemia; early in 1645 Torstensen defeated the Austrians at Jankow, and threatened Vienna: he sent to the French and their German allies, urging them to push down the Danube Valley, while Ragotski, Prince of Transylvania, would approach from the side of Hungary, and he himself from the Moravian passes. Thus from West, East, and North at once, the heart of the Austrian power should be menaced.

Turenne obeyed the call and penetrated into Swabia, carrying all before him: but he moved northwards not eastwards, and reached the Main not the Danube: Mercy caught him there and defeated his discontented troops, mostly German mercenaries, at Mergentheim (May 1645). Turenne, however, retreated safely into Hesse, and being there joined by Enghien, the combined forces returned into Swabia, and fought a second battle of Nördlingen; it was another example of Enghien's daring and reckless warfare. Mercy was killed early in the day, and to that mishap, together with the discipline and valour

of the veterans of the 'Weimarian' army, the victory of the French that day was entirely due. One can feel nothing but anger at victories won by sheer bloodshed and reckless dash, when one knows that the wiser strategy of Turenne, here and at Freiburg, might have secured all without the terrible losses of such hard-fought fields. Splendid as was the battle of Nördlingen, no fruit was to be reaped from it. The French had suffered so much that the Imperialists actually recovered the ascendent. Torstensen had to retreat out of Austria: the French were driven back to the Rhine.

The attempt to crush the Imperial power at its heart had thus failed: and another method of overcoming it must be tried. The French judged it well to attack Bavaria, hoping thereby to compel the Elector Maximilian to separate his interests,—which in truth were very distinct,—from those of the House of Austria. The Catholic League now falls to pieces: the great coalition of Spain, Austria, and Bavaria draws to an end. Maximilian cared nothing as to the fate of Alsace, and was more willing that it should be in the hands of Catholic France than in those of the Protestant Princes. They were much more his foes than Mazarin could be: from France, with which he had been in communication in the earlier years of the war¹, he might get the Upper Palatinate; he might also obtain some guarantee for the permanence of his Electorate². The French, seeing this, felt certain that by a vigorous effort they might wrench him away from the side of the Emperor. The interest, therefore, of the campaign of 1646 lies in Bavaria: and fortunately for France, the Duke of Enghien was no longer in command there, having been sent to reduce the Belgian provinces. Turenne would certainly not fight such dangerous and almost fatal battles as Rocroy, Freiburg, and Nördlingen. By a brilliant and

¹ See above, p. 11.

² It must be remembered that the Electorate of Bavaria was quite new, having been created in arbitrary fashion by the Emperor Ferdinand II in 1623; and it was clear that whenever the Peace of Europe was restored, the question of the permanence of this Electorate would have to be considered and settled.

successful stroke of strategy, after joining the Swedes under Wrangel, he out-manœuvred the Germans, and marched straight into Bavaria, which had hitherto felt little of the evils of the war. The whole valley of the Danube was radiant with the blessings of peace; the French and Swedes, eager to teach the Elector his lesson thoroughly, ravaged the whole country, and added it to the ghastly list of districts ruined by this terrible war. All Bavaria fell into their hands: they even threatened Maximilian in Munich. The Elector at last signed, in May 1647, a separate truce with his invaders, and detached himself from the Imperialists. Though the chief efforts of France in this campaign had been made in Flanders and elsewhere, the genius of Turenne, with a small army of unpromising troops, mostly adventurers, had really made the first step towards the victorious close of the war. The defection of the Elector of Bavaria, the separate truces made also by the Electors of Cologne and Mainz, showed the Emperor that resistance was becoming impossible. Though the Elector of Bavaria broke his truce with France as soon as he could, it brought no good fortune to the Imperialist side: Bavaria was again ravaged, and its resistance crushed at Zusmarshausen on May 17, 1648, the last battle of the war in Germany.

The war, from the French side, was now chiefly directed against Spain, not against Germany: in Italy, in Flanders, and in Catalonia, it was clear that the only struggle now remaining lay between the two Latin Crowns. One more battle illustrates the brilliant career of the great Condé, and contributes to the settlement of the Peace. He was pitted against the Archduke Leopold, who with eighteen thousand Spaniards had taken Courtrai and was besieging Lens. There, on the 9th of August, 1648, Condé came to a death-struggle with him, and after another great battle utterly destroyed his army, capturing all its artillery, standards, and munitions. The Spaniards lost nearly half their number: unlike Condé's previous battles, it cost the French but little. So completely was the balance of strength turned in favour of France and

Sweden, that farther delay was felt to mean nothing but farther loss; what if Condé entered Brussels, and Turenne Vienna, as seemed only too likely? the negotiations of Münster and Osnabrück came to an end at last.

For years there had been talk and trafficking about peace: though no party till now had been strong enough to bring things to a point: each power wished to throw one more cast of the dice: each captain shrank at the thought of losing his life's business of war and rapine: the pride of some, the high claims of others, the equal exhaustion of all, made peace a thing impossible. As long back as 1632, Wallenstein had tried to dictate terms of peace; he had failed: the Peace of Prague in 1635 between the Emperor and the Elector of Saxony had but tended to lengthen out the war and to throw the decision into the hands of the foreigner.

There had been an attempt at negotiations for peace in 1639 at Cologne, and ambassadors named. Nothing came of it, things not being ready for serious treatment. The first real stage in the business was got over at Hamburg, where, on Christmas Day 1641, after long and weary dealings, a 'preliminary-tractate' was signed between the Emperor and the Swedes and Danes, France acceding to it at once. By this document all prior questions were dealt with, if not settled. The two seats of the Congress, Osnabrück and Münster, were named: it was settled that these towns should be neutralised; and that the two congresses should be regarded as one: the roads between them were declared open, so that safe and free communication might be kept up. Next, at Osnabrück the Emperor should negotiate with Sweden and the Protestant Princes; at Münster with France, Spain, and the Catholic Princes. Thus Catholic and Protestant interests were to be kept apart: but, above all, the French and Swedish 'satisfactions' would have to be treated independently.

With the lengthy course of the negotiations we have fortunately little to do: not till July 1643 did the Imperial Envoy receive his instructions to deal with France. Much

time was spent in fencing over preliminary matters, questions of etiquette, precedence, titles; France for a long time was in no hurry to proceed; first she waited for the fall of Thionville; then to see what would happen on the Rhine, and so on.

In August 1643 Salvius the Swedish Envoy wrote a most friendly letter to Mazarin: France and Sweden, said he, must hold together; they must watch with the utmost vigilance the Emperor's attempts on Germany: Swedish and French interests coincided in resistance, while their respective 'satisfactions' lay far apart, and could not clash; it was obvious that they must hold together. Yet, though the Emperor and the Swedes pressed on the congress, France still held back. War, for the time, suited Mazarin better than peace: war employed the formidable young Prince of the Blood, Enghien, while it also made the eventual profit of France more and more secure. Still, for appearance's sake, some French and Spanish envoys, by the end of 1643, had arrived at Münster, and the Swedes at Osnabrück; the chief French minister D'Avaux, however, did not appear till March 1644. Much time went in ceremonial disputes: the unlucky Imperial ambassadors were at their wits' ends to invent expedients by which questions of dignity and etiquette might be settled: wrangling next went on over the question of full-powers; France and Sweden aggravating the perplexities. In this year (A.D. 1644) the Dutch began to show feeling against the French: they discerned already that the Netherlands in the hands of France would be far more formidable to them, than if left to the Spaniards: 'All the world,' said they, 'knows well enough how that the French seek to become masters of all Europe, as is seen from Cassan's treatise . . . we have seen on their cannon the words 'Ratio Ultima Regum'.' Spain also, the other enemy of France, uses similar language: the sketch of the French character which appears in their documents of 1643 is very curious: 'if they (the French) get wind

¹ Meiern, *Acta Pacis Westphalicae*, i. p. 243, in the reply of the Dutch to the French ambassadors, § 23, June 1644.

of Austria's downheartedness, it will soon be seen how insolent they are: if the others stick to their points, France will play in a lower key.—Every one knows the French way, so insolent and arrogant to those who knock under; stand up to them and 'let them see the white of your eye,' they will soon grow quieter and cooler:—France is really weak, 'of men and money exhausted and emptied;' 'great and critical changes impend there, the Queen Mother may die, the little King himself may die, he is but a feeble child, and has had many bad illnesses; the French generals make huge demands, the Huguenots are restless:—wait then;—be in no hurry to make peace'.

At the end of 1644 proposals, as a kind of prolusion to see how ideas went, were exchanged; though the actual congress was not opened till 10 April, 1645. In May of that year we find the Swedes objecting to a proposal to defer the whole religious question for a twelvemonth, leaving it to be settled at a special 'convent' at Frankfort. This, they held, had been the cause of the war: and when the Imperialists replied that by refusing this 'the war would meanwhile be ever on their necks,' it was remarked that 'this was the very thing which, in their hearts, Sweden and France desired'.

In June 1645, on Trinity Sunday, the main Proposition for Peace was first formally set forth: it resolves itself into this—The Peace shall (1) guarantee the independence of every European state, large or small: (2) it shall determine and secure the position of Protestantism in Germany, solving the long-vexed questions as to toleration and church-property: (3) it shall remodel the constitution and determine the authority of the Empire; and (4) finally, it shall give such 'satisfaction' to Sweden and France, as their efforts and successes enable them to wring from the torn and exhausted frame of Germany. With most of these matters we have nothing to do: the 'satisfaction' to France, and the general effect of the Peace on the career and prospects of France alone concern us.

¹ Meiern, *Acta Pacis Westphalicae*, i. p. 69.

² *Ibid.* i. p. 414.

The States represented in Westphalia could not but be jealous of each other; and all of them together were specially jealous of France: her interference seemed to be most selfish, and her interests and aims clashed with those of the others, whereas her partner Sweden, aiming solely at a firm footing on the south shores of the Baltic, came into collision only with Poland and North Germany.

Thus, then, when the powers learnt what large demands were made at Paris and Stockholm, and that the Emperor was not averse to granting them,—he being only desirous of saving what he could out of the wreck,—a great storm of opposition broke out on all hands¹; the powers endeavoured to prove to themselves and to the world that there was no need to pay so high a price for peace. The great increase of the strength of France, chiefly arising from the genius of those two young masters of war, Enghien and Turenne, was as yet undiscerned by them; Forstner, in 1646, describes the state of France, as she then appeared to a German: 'France, like a fickle sea, ever eddying with internal movements, is casting up troubles which far exceed all that have gone before; the people are exasperated by exactions, the nobles by continual losses, the clergy by unwonted taxation and war waged by the state against the Pope, the Parliaments by the diminution or abolition of their liberties; the country is full of parties and factions; had these but a head² war would break out at once; a child-King and an Austrian Queen who has no authority; the Cardinal (Mazarin) a foreigner, whom the French hated, has but precarious sway, and his rule will last only so long as he can satisfy the profusion, the avarice, or the ambition, as the case may be, of the Princes; the strength of the country diminishes daily; Bernhard's army, its only stay and nucleus, is perishing utterly, while the French soldiery, unused to arms, is not hardy enough to withstand the snows of Germany, or

¹ Forstner, *Epistolae negotium Pacis Osnabrugo-Monasteriensis concernentes* (A.D. 1646), p. 5.

² Such as Condé would no doubt become, he thought.

to endure the task and toils of war¹. So the French claims were resisted and fought over for more than three years after their statement in 1645: the most notable proof of the fear and dislike felt for France appears in the unwonted spectacle of a treaty of peace between Spain and her rebellious subjects the United Provinces. On the 30th of January, 1648, these two powers solemnly and finally brought their long struggle to an end. Thereby the Dutch began their second period of resistance to foreign domination, and set themselves, for the first time, in opposition to the growing power of France. It is said that the little Louis XIV was taught by this defection of Holland to regard the Provinces as his natural and permanent foes, and treasured up in his unforgetting unforgiving heart a determination to punish them with extinction, whenever opportunity might serve.

The main treaties were signed much later in the year; that of Osnabrück, between the Emperor and the Swedes, is dated 27 July/6 August 1648²; that between the Emperor and France at Münster bears date of October 24, 1648³, at which time it was also agreed that the treaties of Münster and Osnabrück should be counted as one, and should form the basis of the Peace of Europe. Thenceforth they are known by the common name of the Peace of Westphalia.

What did France eventually gain? Her contention with Spain continued unsettled; for the court of Spain, having detached the Dutch from the French side, thought itself strong enough, in the face of the exhaustion and internal troubles of France, to continue the war independently. Otherwise, the French monarchy gained largely by the treaties: not so much in territory as in consideration, and in the destruction of the central authority in Germany. But for the timely change in Holland, and the later Revolution in England, there would have been nothing to restrain the advance of a French domination in Europe.

¹ Forstner, *Epistolae*, p. 5. ² Meiern, *Acta Pacis*, &c., tom. vi. p. 128.

³ *Ibid.* Register, p. lxxvii.

The following are the points in the treaty which concerned France: (1) The circle of Burgundy (that is, the Spanish Netherlands) was to remain a member of the Empire, after the close of the Franco-Spanish war, the Emperor and the Empire binding themselves not to interfere in that struggle. (2) The 'Lorraine controversy' was simply deferred. (3) The Elector of Trèves was reinstated in his dignities, which he had lost as a friend to France; and the strongholds of Ehrenbreitstein and Hammerstein were restored to him. (4) An eighth Electorate was erected for the Palatine House, and the Lower Palatinate given back to its old rulers. (5) The House of Hesse Cassel, the firm friend of France, was restored. (6) The Swiss were declared clear of all Imperial jurisdiction. All these conditions precede the cessions to France, which formed the centre and heart of the treaty¹. (1) The three bishopricks, Metz, Verdun, and Toul, with their districts, including Moyenvic, passed formally from the overlordship of the Emperor to that of the King of France². They had, in fact, been subject to the French crown since 1552. (2) Pinerolo also was definitely put under the French overlordship³. (3) Breisach and the Austrian possessions in Alsace passed to France—that is, the Landgraviate of Upper and Lower Alsace, the Sundgau, the Provincial Prefecture over the ten Imperial cities, viz. Hagenua, Colmar, Schlettstadt, Weissemburg, Landau, Oberenheim, Rosheim, Münster (in S. Gregory's Valley), Kaisersberg, and Turingheim; all with their rights and dependencies⁴. (4) France obtained the right to garrison Philipsburg⁵: moreover a certain number of fortresses on the Rhine—Benfeld, Rheinau, Hohenbar, Neuburg on the Rhine, and Elsass-Zabern⁶—were to be dismantled, and from Basel to Philipsburg no fortresses or works might be built on the right⁷ bank of the river. As France had the two keys of the Rhine, above and below

¹ Meiern, Register, p. lxxvi. §§ 69 sqq.

² Ibid. § 72.

³ Ibid. § 73.

⁴ Ibid. § 76.

⁵ Ibid. § 81.

⁶ The Instrumentum Pacis Cæsareo-Gallicum says 'in citeriori ripa'—and the document is issued by the Emperor. Meiern, Register, § 82.

Strasburg, Breisach and Philipsburg, as well as her own line of defence along the Vosges, this stipulation amounted to a promise on the part of Germany to leave the whole Rhine valley at the mercy of the French. On the other hand France gave up the four forest-towns, Rheinfeld, Seckingen, Lauffenburg, Waldshut, all on the Rhine above Basel and below Constance; also Hauenstein, the Black Forest, and the Upper and Lower Breisgau with all its towns, and the whole Orttau: the navigation of the Rhine should be free from all hindrance whatever.

Thus in the end the actual territorial increase of France was the Austrian Alsace, and no more. The real advantage, however, was very great: the power of Germany was fatally broken; she did not recover her true position till the days of Frederick the Great, more than a century later, when the victory of Rosbach in 1757 shook the domination of French politics, ideas and tastes from off the neck of the Germans. The Rhine, with all its Teutonic memories and traditions was no longer a German river; at its mouths the Dutch were free, and the navigation of the stream no longer in German hands; the prosperity of the great Rhine-cities languished and decayed: higher up, the river was bridled by Philipsburg and Breisach, and the French lilies waved down its left bank for the whole length of Alsace¹: even at its source the river was no longer German; for the Peace of Westphalia declared the legal independence, not only of the United Provinces, but of Switzerland herself.

The result, so far as communications were concerned, was greatly in favour of France: while Austria could no longer stretch out her hand to help Spain in the Netherlands, France on the contrary had won a new roadway into Holland, which escaped all risk of complications with the Belgian provinces; for the great Church Electorates of the Rhine were completely

¹ Excepting at Strasburg, and in such places as belonged to lords who were the immediate vassals of the Empire. See Map, opposite p. 136.

in her hands, and, as has truly been said¹, 'the petty members of the Empire in Western Germany would have preferred throwing themselves into the arms of France,' rather than be dependent on the Imperial will. The Empire itself was paralysed; the House of Austria, so far as the Imperial dignity is concerned, was rendered completely impotent.

¹ W. Menzel, *Gesch. Deutschland*, cap. ccxi (II. p. 395, English translation). See also the composition of the League of the Rhine in 1658, below, p. 134.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FRONDE. A.D. 1648-1653.

THE Peace of Westphalia was for France the starting-point of a new career in foreign relations, although she was not able to take advantage of it till she had brought her long-standing quarrel with Spain to a satisfactory close at the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659.

And this struggle was in its turn deferred by a wave of reaction against royalty, which swept over Europe and threatened almost every throne. The absolute power of the Papacy had been greatly limited, until, in the days of Alexander VII, the Pontiff took but little part in the administration of the State¹: Spain, the chosen home of absolutism, was tottering under the blows inflicted by the eighty years' war; the independence of the Dutch, combined with the revolt in Catalonia, having brought her very low: the House of Austria, which would have been autocratic also, had it been victorious in the long war, was curbed and weakened almost to death: the smaller states of Germany came out of the war more independent and less powerful: in Sweden Queen Christina, wayward, clever, unprincipled, was gradually finding her position untenable, and, abandoning all true care of her realm, was setting Europe afire with the reports of the frivolity and scandals of her court²: from the United Provinces royalty had been absolutely banished: in England Parliament was steadily overcoming the Stuarts. Lastly, in France the nobles and the

¹ L. von Ranke, *Päpste*, Bk. viii. § 6.

² See Whitlocke. She abdicated in 1654.

Parliament of Paris, stirred by the exciting news from across the Channel, feeling Mazarin's hand far lighter than that of Richelieu, and much strengthened by the return of the great captains from the war, broke out suddenly into active revolt against the royal power. Their cry was the old cry of the war of 'the Public Weal,' joined with a new language re-echoed from England: the crown's power should be restrained; constitutional and individual rights established, and a parliamentary government introduced:—with these cries the war of the Fronde begins.

A wit of the Parliament, one Bachaumont, has the credit of having invented this nickname; he told the lawyers of that august body, that 'they were like schoolboys playing in the town ditches with their slings, who run away directly the watchman appears, and begin again when his back is turned'.¹ The name took the fancy of the town; Retz at once adopted it, and it formed, as was the case with the scornful acceptance by the Dutch nobles of the opprobrious name of the 'Geusen,' a kind of party sign, which the 'Old Fronde' found very useful at the outset.

But where in France could the elements of true constitutional life be found? The whole life of this new movement lay in Paris. The 'Old Fronde,' as it was presently² called, to distinguish it from the later movement of the nobles, was divided into two parts; first, that of legal and parliamentary

¹ *Fronde*, a sling, from Lat. *funda*, by epenthetic insertion of *r* (see Brachet, Historical French Grammar, p. 80). The origin of the nickname is found in De Retz, *Mémoires*, tom. ii. p. 54 (ed. 1777): 'Bachaumont s'avisa de dire un jour, en badinant, que le parlement faisoit comme les écoliers qui *frondent* dans les fossés de Paris, qui se séparent dès qu'ils voyent le lieutenant civil, et qui se rassemblent quand il ne paroît plus. Cette comparaison fut trouvée assez plaisante.' Retz says that he himself took up the pleasantry, and that same evening had a great quantity of hat-strings made to resemble slings, and distributed them through the town: 'the effect was incredible: everything was "à la mode de la fronde," bread-rolls, hats, gloves, kerchiefs, fans, trimmings.' He considers that it was a most lucky hit, and helped much to sustain the party. Nothing could better have shown the frivolity of the whole affair.

² In 1650.

resistance, headed by the Coadjutor Retz; and secondly, that of civic disturbance, burghers and mob led by the 'idol of the markets,' the Duke of Beaufort. The 'New Fronde,' the party of princes and nobles, headed by the Prince of Condé, and supported by the most brilliant ladies and gentlemen of the time, gave a striking and baneful character to the struggle, and marred the constitutional hopes and prospects of the more sober supporters of the movement.

The Parliament of Paris was in truth but little fitted for the part it wished to play: it was first dazzled by the memory of its resistance to Richelieu, and then, by false analogy of name, deemed itself the counterpart of the English Houses of Parliament; whereas it was but a central law court, home of official not of constitutional life. The movement of the Parliament was one of state-officials, not of the nation: 'the younger men,' says von Ranke, 'fresh from their books, called it a Roman Senate'; and that was as misleading an analogy as the other. In early days the 'Parliament' which moved with the King had been a true council of peers and lords, lay and spiritual, not very closely organised, and with indefinite duties; yet having decidedly deliberative functions: St. Louis gave emphasis to the magisterial and judicial work of the body; Philip the Fair planted it permanently in Paris in 1302, while other and lesser Parliaments or Law Courts were established at the capitals of different provinces: Charles V placed it in the old Palace of S. Louis. At first, like the original Council, it was composed of clergy as well as lay folk; but as early as 1319, Philip the Long decreed that prelates might sit therein no longer; and that even the Abbot of S. Denis, if he became a prelate, should cease to keep his seat. The Parliament was thus absolutely cut off from the King's Great Council, which became the Court of Appeal from the Parliament as a law-court, and occupied the position held in this respect by the English House of Lords.

In the minority of Charles VIII, when the Parliament might have interfered in constitutional matters with weight and dignity,

it refused to do so, and stood aside, limiting its own action to matters of law: it actually declined, at the time of the States-General of 1484, to deal with questions of finance; nor did it even demand to be in any way represented. It was left for the Father of his country to place a final barrier between the noblesse and the lawyers. The bailiffs and provosts had been mostly noble, and acted as the successors of the ancient counts and viscounts, who had large legal powers and duties; and the four great Bailiffs of S. Louis were the Judges of the Realm: but Louis XII forbade any to sit as judges (or to enter the Parliament) who were not 'literate and graduate'; and as the noblesse were above knowing anything about letters or degrees, this absolutely excluded them. From that moment all fell into the hands of lawyers, who, in theory the lieutenants of noble officers, became in reality the judges and law-authorities of the kingdom¹. Francis I wished that his Council and the Parliament should form one body, and be the first of the sovereign courts; this however came to nothing. No constitutional or lawgiving character attaches to them: they had no relations with or roots in the country; at best they were a learned and solemn body, of whom the Parisians were proud, and who, by the accident of their duties as registrars of the royal edicts, became the defenders of the liberties of the Gallican Church; then, when Paris became the heart of the League-movement, the Parliament found legal and constitutional reasons for resisting royalty; it was especially violent against Henry IV. It was a body with narrow prejudices: it raised its voice in condemnation of every salutary novelty: it loved all vested interests; in behalf of the scribes it objected vehemently to the printing press in the fifteenth century; it resisted the establishment of the French Academy; it pronounced in favour of Aristotle against modern chemistry; and was little fitted to take higher flights or to stand forth as the champion of the liberties of France². It may perhaps be said

¹ See Voltaire's *Histoire du Parlement de Paris*, c. xxvii.

² Ducange gives us the early uses of the word *Parliamentum*: (1) *Collo-*

that the Parliament of Paris had at this time advanced opinions, for France, as to its own legislative and constitutional status; the prominent part played by the great lawyers in the Rebellion troubles in England doubtless encouraged their French brethren to stand forward. But they had ideas without the slightest power of giving effect to them; it was an intellect without a body: nor did France, as it soon appeared, care to give form and substance to the resistance of the lawyer-class.

It was not that there was a lack of feeling in the country; for the people were far from indifferent to their own grievances; they had not, nor had ever enjoyed, any recognised way of expressing their wants, save by the 'cahiers' of the Third Estate, whenever the States General might meet; and even these, useful as they are as evidence of the real condition of France, had never proved of any true efficacy, nor had brought relief. And so the French people were, like brute beasts, suffering and dumb; the whole breadth of the land 'travailing and groaning together.' Richelieu's administration had been hard enough; that of the Italian Mazarin was far worse. The foreigner was a selfish intriguer, as so many Italians at the French Court had been before him; he could scarcely speak the French language correctly¹, and cared nothing for the welfare of the people whom he ruled, and on whom he was fattening and flourishing. The condition of the finances was worse than ever: the yearly levies heavier and heavier; and the

quium, quod vulgo dicitur Parliamentum, a parley, usually in a monastic parlour. (2) 'Solemne aliquod colloquium,' as between grandees, such as S. Louis and the Pope; or at public meetings. So Villehardouin has 's'assemblerant à Parliament, et fu li Parliament à cheval emmi le champ'; or Villani, 'a Parlamente nella piazza vecchia.' (3) Then, civic assemblies for public business, as at Toulouse, Puy, Narbonne; a southern usage. (4) Also of Universities. (5) Then, the assembly of all nobles of the realm, this use being the leading one in England, but also in France; thus Louis VII held at Vézelay a 'Magnum Parliamentum' of archbishops, bishops, abbots, and a large part of the barons of France; no commons were present. (6) Lastly, comes the sense of a local law-court, for which alone the word is used in France in more modern times.

¹ For an instance among others see *Mémoires du C. de Retz*, i. p. 111.

people ever poorer. The practical business of loans and taxes had fallen into the hands of certain 'publicans,' who were bankers or 'partisans,' the latter name standing for those who provided the King with ready money, and undertook to collect the taxes in return for their own benefit¹. On this they grew very rich, while the state withered away. All finance fell into confusion; the public service gained nothing; corruption ruled supreme. The head of the financial business of France was also an Italian, Emeri, a creature and close friend of Mazarin, a man of evil repute, violent and harsh, faithless, completely selfish, and 'the most corrupt soul of his age,' as Retz says². He was not content only to oppress the helpless country-districts, but must need attack Paris herself: he endeavoured to exact fines from the builders and owners of houses in the suburbs; and in 1647 laid a duty on the necessities of life. 'One might write a history of the resistance which this impost has excited in every country in Europe³'; from this came the burlesque war of the Fronde, as much as the heroic revolt of the Dutch. Twice the Parliament resisted the Court with success: the house-fines were abandoned; the tax on food was not levied: Emeri was disgraced and exiled. Great was the indignation at the Court: Mazarin had first shown weakness, and now he showed its after-stroke, irritation. To minds so hot, as all were in Paris, not much is needed to kindle a flame: the news of Condé's great victory at Lens⁴, received with high exultation at Court, made Anne of Austria, who now showed much the same qualities as were displayed a century and a half later by Marie Antoinette, eager to inflict a sharp blow on the independence of the Parliament of Paris, and through it on the capital itself.

This brought the Court at once into collision with the popular coadjutor of the Archbishop of Paris, Paul of Gondî⁵,

¹ L. von Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, iii. p. 43.

² *Mémoires du C. de Retz*, i. p. 137.

³ L. von Ranke, *Franz. Gesch.* iii. p. 45.

⁴ See above, p. 92.

⁵ Appointed A.D. 1643. The Bishoprick of Paris (raised to archi-

himself afterwards Cardinal and Archbishop: we know him best by the name of the family barony, Retz. He had no advantage of personal appearance, being but an ill-looking man¹. He was an eloquent and persuasive preacher; a man who had been wild and dissolute in earlier days, but had somewhat reformed himself, and was anxious to reform his clergy; he retained still the excitability of an open and lively nature, loving tumults and civic troubles: like a true Italian, the town was all to him, the country nothing—only, in his case, the town was Paris: he was active, ready for intrigue, ambitious, openhanded; his desire to lead had been fired, as has often been the case with generous natures, by reading Plutarch's Lives. We have a trace of it in one of his sayings: he was deep in debt, and when some one remonstrated he replied, 'Caesar owed six times as much as I,' and only thought how far he was below his model. He was neither greedy for money, as most public men then were, nor was he false: he was of ready wit, impulsive, honest, vain and kindly, as vain men so often are; need we add that the populace adored him. There was in him no trace of true political sagacity, no broader views as to the duties and destinies of France, or as to the welfare of the people: he was in fact only fitted to be a great party-leader. He had none of the unconsciousness of nobler natures, who trusting sometimes to their star, more often to their faith in themselves and in God's supreme guidance, are content to move forwards resolutely, if in the dark, towards great ends. In his Memoirs he lets us see this, by contrast with his grand

episcopal dignity at this time) had become almost a kind of property in the Gondî family. Three of them in succession held it. The founder of their fortunes in France was Antony of Gondî, who came with Catherine dei Medici into France; his son Albert, a man of courtly manners and vices, married Catherine of Clermont, who brought him the barony of Retz; he was the head of a new branch of the family, and was made Marshal of France in 1573. One of his brothers, Peter, was Bishop of Paris; one of his nephews, Henry, was also Bishop, then Archbishop; and he again was succeeded by his nephew Paul, the famous coadjutor.

¹ *Mémoires du C. de Retz*, iii. p. 39, where he says of himself, 'Madame de Carignan disoit un jour devant la reine que j'étois fort laid; et c'étoit peut-être l'unique fois de la vie où elle n'avoit point menti.'

contemporary Cromwell. Bellièvre told him that Cromwell had one day said to him, 'No man ever climbs so high as when he knows not whither he is going.' 'You know,' replied De Retz, 'that I hold Cromwell in horror: but great as they may call him, I despise him for such a maxim: it is the sentiment of a fool.' Cromwell afterwards took the opportunity of saying, with noble scorn, to the French Ambassador in reply, 'I only know of one man in the world who despises me; and that is the Cardinal de Retz¹.' He would willingly have led the Court; but Mazarin was there, and there was no room for both²: he would not have objected to set himself at the head of the nobles; but there were far greater men among them, who would never give place to him; wherefore he was fain to become a great demagogue, and to wield the power he loved over the Paris mob. Thus he talks of it, at the beginning of the troubles: 'Every one followed me; and I needed them too; for I found a whole mob of tag-rag and bobtail before me, all armed. I flattered them, caressed them, conjured, menaced them; and finally persuaded them³.'

On S. Louis' day, 1648, the Coadjutor preached before the young King and Anne of Austria, and 'explaining the will of S. Louis to the King, had commended to him the care of his great towns⁴,' in the full belief that the Court was determined to follow wise and friendly courses towards the capital; the next day he was rudely awakened from his dream: after the *Te Deum* for the victory at Lens, the Queen Mother's officers had arrested the 'bon-homme Broussel,' as Retz calls him with a touch of scorn, the commonplace, honest, and well-loved counsellor of the Parliament, who had led the legal opposition to the government. Straightway all Paris was in a ferment; barricades were thrown up; it was thought that the town would be sacked.

¹ *Mémoires*, iii. p. 46.

² One may read a character of Mazarin drawn by his foe in the *Mémoires du C. de Retz*, i. p. 133.

³ *Mémoires*, i. p. 177.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 163, 164.

De Retz, throwing himself into the midst, succeeded in appeasing the citizens; though not before he had run much risk even of life: a musket-shot had broken the arm of a gentleman close by; one of the pages who carried his train was wounded, and De Retz himself knocked down by a stone; a citizen pointed a gun at him, but the ready coadjutor looked coolly at him, and said, 'Unhappy lad, if only your poor father could see you!' which so took the man aback, that he dropped his gun, and recognising who it was, shouted out his name; whereat the crowd, which had become more than menacing, came cheering round him. He bravely persevered and carried the matter through, by promising to get Broussel released. The people were much excited by the news from Naples; had not Thomas Aniello, 'Masaniello' as they called him there, overthrown the accursed tax-gatherers? If the Parliament was roused by the English Houses and their struggle, the brief triumph of the Neapolitan fisherman was equally potent with the Parisian mob: for a moment the Court was in real peril. Anne of Austria, proud and contemptuous towards the people, was totally unable to realise the true position of affairs. It was with the greatest difficulty that De Retz obtained the release of Broussel. Quiet was restored: but both people and Parliament were suspicious, and ready for resistance or outbreak. The Parliament felt more and more certain that it was a Roman Senate and an English House of Commons all in one.

The Queen Regent and Mazarin naturally deemed themselves unsafe in Paris; they escaped to Ruel (September 1648). Then the Parliament took the lead; and Condé himself, hating Mazarin, went over to them; Anne of Austria was obliged to come to terms, which for the moment looked as if constitutional life were about to begin in reality. The Parliament demanded, among other things, a kind of Habeas Corpus Act¹; this, however, the Court refused, saying 'that the royal authority could not endure such a limitation'; so completely had autocratic

¹ *Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz*, i. p. 223.

ideas prevailed. The Court acceded to the demand that it should return to Paris, though Mazarin was not dismissed.

On the very day on which the King came back (24 Oct. 1648) the Peace of Westphalia was concluded: Mazarin could now attend solely to home-politics, and attempt to carry out the violent and despotic ideas of Anne of Austria. He gathered troops, secured Condé and Gaston and other chief men, and early in 1649 the Court again slipped out of Paris, escaping to S. Germain, as a kind of adventure, an excitement and a defeat for the capital. The whole city was roused to frenzy; large sums were voted, militia enrolled, the clergy, led by De Retz, joined the Parliament: and finally Paris began that fatal policy of alliance with the discontented nobles and princes, which brought the whole movement into derision. Paris was speedily filled with a brilliant crowd: the Duchess of Longueville¹, who, as De Retz says, by preferring passion to policy fell from the high position of a heroine and leader of a great party to the level of a mere adventuress², was their leading spirit; under her influence her brother Conti, her husband the Duke, and the Duke of La Rochefoucauld, and others, notably the Duke of Beaufort, grandson of Henry IV, the darling of the mob, 'the king of the markets,' all hastened to Paris, and signed an Act of Union with the citizens. The fickle Parisians were easily dazzled by the splendour and beauty of these high lords and dames, and thought that they had in this alliance a great force of fighting-power, and natural leaders. The princes condescended to drill the civic militia; the court-ladies deigned to invite the burghers to their assemblies: the Parliament made amazing efforts: the local Parliaments in all parts of France declared at once for their legal brethren of Paris: revolts broke out in more than one province. For a moment it looked as if the Royalists would be overmatched; as if the life's-work of Richelieu were to be reversed; as if lords and lawyers would make two chambers

¹ Condé's sister. See Table I, p. 87.

² Mémoires du C. de Retz, i. p. 299.

of Parliament in the English sense, and dictate terms to the Crown. Yet in truth the addition of seeming strength was but weakness; instead of a resolute stand for laws and liberties, the civil war became a last selfish struggle of the nobles against the central power.

Condé was now heartily with the Court, and before his war-like genius even the heroism of the citizens at Charenton, who perished to a man, was in vain; all the places round Paris were in the hands of the Royalists after a few days. The very points which, in the War of the Public Weal, the nobles had held against Louis XI and the capital, were now occupied by the King, against capital and insurgent nobles. The details of this so-called War of the Fronde are unworthy of notice:—the whole thing was a burlesque; the great lords and ladies made a jest of everything; there was no seriousness on their side; high fêtes, banquets, love affairs, intrigues, ruled all things. Even when defeated they could only laugh: a flood of epigrams, pamphlets, caricatures appeared; these gross 'Mazarinades,' which reflect the temper of the time but too clearly, were directed against the Court, and especially against 'Dame Anne' and her lover the Cardinal: the Parisians were never weary of opprobrious epithets and nicknames; if a carter lashed his horse he called it 'a cursed Mazarin'; the very word became a kind of imprecation¹. It was not even the literature of hatred; it was the scum of a dissolute age which is not enough in earnest even to hate; the noble women were distinguished above all for their daring dissoluteness².

The eyes of the citizens were at last opened to this heartless selfishness of their new allies: they saw with dismay that their efforts were all coming to nothing; that their prosperity was at an end, and that their contributions had been eaten up by their magnificent friends. They discerned that these nobles had their price, and that the moment Paris ceased to pay them, the Court

¹ Mémoires de Guy Joli, tom. i. p. 69.

² Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV*, chap. iv. (pp. 40, 41, ed. Louandre, 1869), has collected many of these jests and nicknames.

would buy them up. It is easy to see how completely Richelieu had done his work: no real strength or nobleness lay behind this frivolous bravery and gallantry: the great Cardinal had destroyed all that was strong, and had debauched the rest, by leaving to them position without power. These are the people who afterwards formed the pattern for the Court of Charles II; to them England owes the worst moral excesses and scandals of the Restoration.

The Parliament of Paris became more than uneasy; on the other side, the Court, in spite of Condé's successes, grew daily more alarmed: the Spaniards, rejoicing at this quarrel, which so well occupied France at home, recognised the Parliament as a constitutional power, and offered to support it with a strong force on the Flemish frontier. It was heard that the Duchess of Longueville had won over Turenne, and that that consummate captain was marching on Paris from the east with the old veterans of Duke Bernard's army—one golden bough of war and rapine having been torn away from them by the Peace of Westphalia, they rejoiced to find another springing up before their eyes at Paris. The news from England, that Charles I had perished on the scaffold, startled both parties for a moment into seriousness: the Parliament of Paris was specially desirous of peace; anything would be better than this miserable subjection to noble frivolity and selfishness; and the Court abated its high language. The happiness of France has been that, in her worst times, when her natural chiefs abandon or betray her, she has had, usually among the ranks of the official world, some upright and noble citizen ready to place himself in the breach and to save her from herself. Such was Matthieu Molé, the President of the Parliament, a man of the utmost firmness, 'the most fearless of his age,' entirely loyal to his duty, respectful towards authority. He came of a legal family¹, and was the Selden of

¹ His father, Edouard Molé, a Parisian, was son of a counsellor of Parliament and himself a counsellor; he had afforded priceless help to Henry IV in 1593, by determining the Parliament to declare against female succession, whereby he secured the throne to the Bourbons.

the time: he was not afraid once more to put his foot within the threshold of the Court: as before he had gone to demand the release of Broussel, so now he went to Ruel to mediate for peace. His efforts were successful: the first draft of the Peace of Ruel was signed in March 1649.

The nobles, the Parliament, and Paris were all dissatisfied; and with some reason, for the treaty annulled the independent acts of the Parliament, promised the disbanding of its army, and forbade it to sit in future. Molé was ill-received on his return; his life was threatened. The treaty was not ratified, and fresh negotiations began: the fear of Turenne was stronger than before; it was seen that the Archduke Leopold, who had already entered Champagne, could at any time form a junction with the nobles in Paris: the Court offered better terms; the old demands of the lords were repeated—as if it was still Louis XI on the throne—each claiming a great lordship and an independent position. The Court meanwhile bought off Turenne's veterans: instead of marching on Paris, they turned back, and their great captain had to escape into Germany. The nobles threatened to make a fresh revolution, and to eject the Parliament, which honestly wished for peace: then the lawyers found means to make terms with the Queen Mother, and the second Treaty of Ruel was signed. This closes the period of the Old Fronde.

The nobles, though they took what was offered them, and accepted the peace, had no thoughts of keeping it. 'The Monarchy is too old,' said they, 'it is time it were done with': and this, irony of history! with Louis XIV already on the throne. The old miserable intrigues and follies still went on: one side was as bad as the other. Condé, with all the vanity and impulsiveness of his personal character, and with the class-pride of a French noble, would not act under Mazarin, and withdrew from Court. Round him gathered the froth of the noblesse, the 'petit-maîtres,' as they were now first called. The lines of party-struggle seem to have changed. The Parliament had less to fear from the Court than from the nobles: the

nobles were not only selfish and frivolous, but actually unpatriotic; the lawyers saw with apprehension the approach of the Spaniards, who entered Rheims: it was known that the chiefs of the New Fronde were intriguing with the Spanish Court.

The sobriety of the lawyers and even their sense of propriety were shocked by the reckless brilliancy of the leading ladies of the party. 'Women played throughout this time the most splendid part, which brought out all their clever wits; theirs was a life of adventure and romance, crowded with pleasures and perils; they took the lead in love affairs or warlike expeditions alike, in fêtes and conspiracies; never had they enjoyed so much influence in the State . . . these Duchesses, beautiful, witty, dissolute, when they chose to play a part in politics brought into public affairs their sordid passions, their narrow views, their frivolous ideas, and sacrificed to their vanity their honour, their own peace of mind, and that of their houses¹.'

Now Condé seemed likely to tower over them all; and all hated him in return. He had mortally offended the Queen Regent; the great nobles in Paris liked him little better; the Parliament and the Coadjutor once more began to deal with the Court. Anne of Austria was ready for any steps so long as she could avenge herself on Condé: she was reconciled with the citizens, and knowing that the nobles would not resist, and that the Old Fronde would rejoice at the removal of its formidable friends, she arrested Condé, Conti, and Longueville; they were safely imprisoned in Vincennes.

With this stroke the year 1650 had begun. As the Queen had foreseen, the Old Fronde rejoiced, the Duke of Beaufort returned to Court, and the blow for the moment seemed likely to put an end to the troubles. But Condé was strong in the provinces; in Normandy, Guyenne, and Burgundy, the nobles revolted; the Duchess of Longueville escaped, and after a series

¹ La Vallée, *Histoire des Français*, iii. p. 195.

of romantic adventures reached Holland; then, joining Turenne at Stenay, she persuaded him to declare against the Court.

The provincial revolts were put down: that of Guyenne, the most serious, with some difficulty; Turenne, in concert with the Spaniards, and at the head of their troops, had marched from the north as far as to Rethel¹, whence he pushed on a flying body of cavalry to seize Vincennes and to release the Princes. In much alarm Mazarin forthwith sent them down to Havre: the royal army, commanded by Du Plessis Praslin, defeated Turenne and recovered Rethel: by the end of 1650 the New Fronde was completely overthrown.

A fresh combination of the two Frondes followed: Anne of Gonzaga, the ablest woman of the day, and as eminent in political intrigue as the Duchess of Longueville was in political love-affairs, brought them once more together. This again paralysed the Court: the Duke of Orleans was won over to the opposition; Mazarin's life was in danger; the Queen Mother found herself besieged in Richelieu's Palais Cardinal, now and henceforth called the Palais Royal. She decided on another flight from Paris; Mazarin went first and made for Havre; but the Parisians were too vigilant; they insisted on seeing their little King, and held the Queen a strict prisoner.

Mazarin, ever willing to yield before a storm, rather than to face it after the manner of Richelieu, now determined, as he was the chief element of unpopularity, and as no hope of agreement existed whilst he remained at Court, to withdraw altogether for a time: he went to Brühl, not far from Cologne, and there watched the progress of affairs. Before taking this step, both to allay the irritation of parties, and also thinking that the more heads of party were free, the more dissensions must arise,—he went down to Havre, and threw open the prison

¹ Rethel on the Aisne had a chequered history in these years. Turenne took it (in the interests of the New Fronde and Spain) in 1650; it was retaken by the royal troops the same year: Condé (again in the Spanish interest) took it again in 1652; Turenne (this time on the King's side) retook it from the Spaniards in 1655. Mazarin bought the Duchy of Rethel, and left it to La Meilleraie, husband of Hortense Mancini, his niece, who became Duke of Rethel-Mazarin.

doors, releasing the Princes, who returned at once in triumph to Paris.

Condé made temperate counsels impossible by his harsh and haughty bearing¹; though he allied himself with Matthieu Molé, an act which ought to have guaranteed some moderation, he quarrelled with every one round him. The Old Fronde turned towards Anne of Austria; De Retz was sent for; and while Mazarin from Brühl advised his royal wife² and mistress to win the Coadjutor at any price, De Retz himself declared that, so long as his irreconcilable foe Mazarin was not recalled, he was quite willing to range up on the Queen's side³. His price was a Cardinal's hat, and the hope of succeeding to the influence and favour which Mazarin enjoyed with the Queen: he had no suspicion whatever as to their relations, and walked, as his vanity often led him to walk, in a fool's paradise. She promised that Mazarin should never come back; and the reconciliation took place in August 1651. Condé, too weak to face this new alliance, withdrew, and raised the standard of revolt in Guyenne. The Queen Mother was so enraged against him that she openly said, 'He must fall, or I;' and it looked as if the Court was never in such peril: in the south Guyenne was in full outbreak, Condé was preparing to march on Paris; in the north Turenne with the Spaniards were to invade Champagne in concert with him, and to penetrate to the capital.

Who could count on any combination? The princes of the north, the Duke of Bouillon and Turenne his brother, were won over to the Court, and at once paralysed the Spaniards in the Netherlands; Turenne, instead of helping the Frondeurs, took the command of the royal troops against them. The Queen Mother had proclaimed the young King's majority, and

¹ Mémoires du C. de Retz, iii. p. 5: 'La reine outrée de la continuation de la conduite de M. le prince, qui marchoit dans Paris avec une suite plus grande et plus magnifique que celle du roi et celle de Monsieur . . . presque au désespoir, résolut de jouer à quitte ou à double.'

² See above, p. 89.

³ Mémoires, iii. p. 8: 'En tout ce qui ne regardoit pas le retour du Cardinal, je la servois non seulement avec fidélité, mais avec ardeur.' See also her promise, *ibid.* p. 10.

had taken him with her to Poitiers, 'to show him to the Fronde. Once clear of Paris, she thought she might recall her mainstay, Mazarin: he came back in triumph, met by the young King in person, and welcomed with all the warmth of her impetuous nature by his royal wife.

In this campaign begins the brilliant career of 'Mademoiselle,' Gaston's daughter. She, the most high-spirited and generous of the Frondeurs, threw herself into Orleans, thus barring the return of the Court towards Paris; Anne of Austria had to march farther east, and to cross the Loire at Gien. There Condé pressed the Court-party hard; and the King might have been made prisoner with his following, had not Turenne, with a mere handful of men, held the Frondeurs in check, till the royal party got away safely towards Paris. Turenne had saved the Monarchy. Both armies moved for the capital: Condé besought the municipal authorities to receive him; the Parliament however and the magistrates remembered that he was in league with Spain, and refused; nevertheless, the crowd was with him and very violent against the 'Mazarins,' as the royalists were called.

Things now looked ill for the Frondeurs: Harcourt with a loyal force had put down the insurrection in Guyenne; the Spaniards had been driven out of Champagne; Turenne had inflicted a sharp blow on Condé's army at Étampes. He then marched eastwards to observe the Duke of Lorraine, who with a strong force of adventurers had come down into France, while Mazarin succeeded in dissipating them, as once before he had bought off the veterans of Bernard of Weimar. Meanwhile Condé, taking advantage of Turenne's absence, marched up to S. Cloud, hoping to get into Paris; the citizens still steadfastly closed their gates. Desiring to take up the old favourite position above the town at Charenton, Condé now crossed below Paris, and marched round the northern suburbs, past S. Denis. There Turenne, who showed as much promptitude and dash as his great rival could have displayed, fell swiftly on the rear of the Frondeurs (2 July 1652); Condé rallied

them, and got his whole force together over against the Porte Saint Antoine, behind an earthwork running down to the Seine. There the battle raged vehemently; the royalists stormed the earthwork, and in a hand to hand fight in the faubourg gradually pressed Condé back towards the walls of Paris. Had the magistrates stood firm, his career would have been ended on that day. But within the walls was the courageous Mademoiselle; she placed herself at the head of the populace, overbore all opposition, and threw open the Saint Antoine gate. She then hastened to the Bastille, which commands that gate, and herself directed the discharge of the heavy guns on the royal troops. Under cover of this unexpected fire, the broken remnants of Condé's force at last found refuge within the walls.

Paris underwent one of her paroxysms of feeling: the 'party of order' at the Hotel de Ville were attacked by a furious mob, urged on by Condé and his brother Conti; a savage massacre of some fifty of the most worthy and moderate citizens stained the momentary triumph of the Princes¹; a new government was proclaimed, and all Paris was in full revolt against the Court. But it had no solidity, and could not maintain itself: the better citizens still negotiated with the royalists; the Parliament was transferred to Pontoise, under the presidency of Molé; a new revolution took place in the capital; De Retz, who had stood entirely aloof from Condé, was the Monk of the time, and, carrying with him the good wishes of all moderate citizens, went in solemn state to Pontoise to beg the King to come back.

In order to facilitate peace, Mazarin once more withdrew, this time to Sedan: the Parisians, finding their detested enemy gone from Court, at once accepted an amnesty, in spite of all Condé's efforts. Outgeneraled by Turenne, and seeing all turn against him, and the royalists growing daily firmer and

¹ It should be recorded to the credit of Mademoiselle that she did her utmost to save their lives.

stronger, he at last gave way, and, rather than humble himself before the Court, withdrew into Champagne and joined the Spaniards.

This was the signal for the breaking up of the whole resistance to the Crown: the Parisian government fell to pieces of itself; Gaston of Orleans had to withdraw to Blois, and troubles us no more with his inconsequent ambitions; the King with a small army at his back entered Paris in October. Though an amnesty had been promised and granted, there were so many exceptions that all who had taken a prominent part in the late troubles were excluded from it; all the chief members of the New Fronde were exiled; Condé, as a traitor, was condemned to death; De Retz, still formidable from his influence over the people, was seized and imprisoned at Vincennes; his career was over. For a while he wandered about Europe; then, in 1664, on resigning the Archbishopric of Paris, he was made Abbot of S. Denis; there he lived quietly, cured of politics; paid off his enormous debts¹, and spent much of his time in the composition of those Memoirs, which give us in their irregular flow, their lively sallies, their genial vanity, a true and vivid picture of their self-drawn hero.

The voluntary exile of Mazarin had been the condition of the reconciliation between Paris and her King: yet it was not long before Louis XIV sent for him from Sedan. The Cardinal at once returned, escorted by Turenne, and greeted with the loud acclamations of those very citizens who, a few months before, had heaped on his name every insult which scorn and hatred could supply. The young King received him as a son welcomes his father; the Parliament which but now had condemned him, lavished compliments on him and cringed for his notice. A little later (1654), when the same body showed something of its older spirit and resisted the great weight of taxation caused by the Spanish war, the young King, we are told, came in from Vincennes, and appeared in the Chamber

¹ Which amounted to over £160,000 of our money.

of the Parliament¹, where with a few haughty words he forbade the meetings of that august body, and seemed to close for ever its political career.

¹ The picturesque details, the boots, the spurs, the riding whip, are all apocryphal.

CHAPTER VIII.

WAR WITH SPAIN: MAZARIN'S DEATH.

A.D. 1654-1661.

WHEN the war of the Fronde came to an end in 1653, and Louis XIV found himself absolute master of France, he was lord of a disordered kingdom; taxation was oppressive and ill-managed; society lay in a stupor, feeling that all government was paralysed, and that in this state the country must yet grapple with a foreign foe, whose weakness had not yet been detected. For Spain was, if possible, in a worse state of confusion than France herself; and Condé, her new and brilliant general, no match for the steady genius of Turenne. It has been well said of these two masters in war, that as Condé grew older he lost his early fire and military insight without becoming wiser or more prudent, while each campaign made Turenne more daring as well as more skilful. The careers of the two great soldiers form a striking contrast: it is genius without industry pitted against high talent combined with infinite painstaking, and coupled with a desire for the scientific treatment of the art of war. Turenne was in fact a worthy pupil in strategy of three of the greatest teachers of that age; of Gustavus Adolphus, whose military principles he almost seems to have inherited, and of his two noble uncles of the House of Orange-Nassau. The brilliant Condé was sure to fail when pitted against Turenne. This partly disposes of

Voltaire's remark, so dear to French military feeling,—that so long as Turenne commanded Spaniards, Condé with his French army defeated him: but when they changed sides, and Turenne commanded Frenchmen, then he in turn defeated Condé¹. The truth is that Condé led Frenchmen when he was young and at his best, and Spaniards when he was older; by which time the more mature powers of Turenne had fully ripened. Something is doubtless also due to the decaying state of the Spanish power at this time, and to the growing confidence and warlike fitness of the French soldier: but the characters of the two generals, and the fact that Condé, when he commanded Spaniards, was in a totally false position, are quite sufficient to account for his failure when pitted against his rival.

All disputed questions on the Rhine and over the Alps having been peacefully settled by the treaties of 1648, only three portions of the French frontier were now open to attacks of war: first, the north, from the sea near Dunkirk to the Luxemburg country, where the Spanish Netherlands touch French soil; secondly, just beyond that district to the east, in the still-debated Lorraine district; and thirdly, on the Pyrenean frontier, more particularly at the eastern end, where Roussillon borders on Catalonia. In these parts we shall find the dim and languid war still smouldering on.

It was in November 1652 that Condé had made his actual alliance with Philip IV of Spain; and the Duke of Lorraine had also joined them. The question that now arose was, whether this great Prince of the Blood would be strong enough to break into France, and to overcome the absolute authority of the Crown. That authority had fallen into the hands of a boy, of an unwise and passionate woman, and a supple Cardinal, whose foreign policy had splendidly carried out the views of his great master Richelieu, but who, in home affairs, had nothing of the strong hand and indomitable spirit of the autocratic minister. The

¹ Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV*, chap. vi. (ed. Louandre) p. 61.

six years from 1653 to 1659 proved decisively that the strength was not in Condé, nor in the Spanish monarchy at his back.

The struggle was to be fought out in the north. There the enemy's frontier lay near the heart of the French kingdom; there Spaniards and refugee-Frenchmen could most easily co-operate (thanks to their possession of Rethel¹) with the Duke of Lorraine. The natural direction which an invasion from Brussels takes is that through Arras and Amiens: over and over again had the Burgundian or the Spanish banners gleamed under the walls or on the towers of these cities. Now however Champagne by Rethel, rather than Picardy by Amiens, formed the roadway of attack.

Three plans of defence were suggested against Condé when he first marched into France: the first, to put no army in the field, but to fortify and garrison every possible point, and so, like Charles V in the English wars, to wear him out; these however were the tactics of a long-past age: the second, to occupy Compiègne in great force, and watch his advance, ready at any moment to take him in flank or to cut him off; this was venturesome, and left Paris wellnigh undefended: and lastly, and this was Turenne's advice, to set in the field a fair force of troops to dog Condé's footsteps, to move on side by side with him, seizing strong points, always ready to vex and harass his advance, but never fighting a battle. This course, specially suited to Turenne's gifts, was adopted and proved successful.

The result of the campaign was that Condé had no chance of distinguishing himself, and though he took Rocroy, which he had relieved so splendidly in 1643, he wore out all his time and strength in the siege of that town, and achieved no more. On the other hand the Royal troops took Rethel in the north and Bordeaux, thus pacifying Guyenne, in the south.

The next year (A.D. 1654) was equally disappointing to Spanish hopes. Neither could Condé feel content with the soldiers he commanded, nor they with his imperious boastful

¹ See above, p. 115.

ways. No fruitful combinations with him seemed possible. It was agreed that the Archduke Leopold and he should this year enter Artois: the citizens of Arras were known to be favourable to the Spanish cause, and it was hoped the town might speedily be reduced. But Louis XIV, who was making his first essay in arms at the siege of Stenay, which lies on the Meuse not far from Sedan, close to the troublesome country of the Dukes of Bouillon, and not far from the frontiers of Lorraine, sent Turenne to annoy the Spaniards at Arras; and with consummate skill he held them in check, till Stenay had fallen. He then attacked and defeated them thoroughly: they owed their escape from utter destruction solely to Condé's vigour and genius. The two sieges had been a kind of trial of strength: that the French took their town, while the Spaniards not only failed to capture theirs, but suffered besides a crushing defeat, was a decided triumph for Louis XIV and Turenne. The King from this moment onwards showed a great predilection for siege-warfare.

The war in the north made but little progress in 1655 and 1656; in the former year it went somewhat in favour of the French, in the latter of the Spaniards, who by their relief of the siege of Valenciennes, and by the skilful isolation and defeat of La Ferté's army, rendered all Turenne's plans for the campaign abortive: the French had to fall back. This considerable check made matters very critical for Mazarin. For affairs in the interior were far from quiet; the movement of the Fronde, though checked, was not extinct: throughout France, the noblesse, instead of branding Condé as a traitor in arms against his country, watched his movements with deep interest, ready on the first promising opportunity to rise against the Crown: the southern Provinces were on the verge of revolt; there were actual peasant-risings in one or two districts: the Parliaments, if silenced, were offended and unconvinced: and lastly, the Church, especially in the persons of the parochial clergy, was deeply irritated; her rights had been attacked; she showed no little inclination to embrace the views of the more independent

Jansenists. These elements of disturbance did not break out into open hostility against the Court, because they had little coherence, and because Condé's successes on the frontier were never decisive enough to enable him to come to Paris, and assume the leadership of the New Fronde; while Cardinal De Retz was a powerless exile at Rome, so that the old Fronde also had no head.

These years, however, are interesting as presenting to us the early struggles of the Jansenist opinions in France. The Jesuits, after their wont, had attached themselves closely to the Court-party. The high moral standing of their body, their great intelligence, the political and social flexibility of their system, the remarkable development of their theology into a modified Pelagianism, by which, in the world-old strife between Freewill and Necessity, they chose the side which allowed most play to their energies and to their unequalled skill in dealing with the moral nature and conscience of men—all these things gave them weight in the political movements of the age, and made them the natural instruments of the new despotism of France. They could acquiesce in any form of government; but absolutism suited them best. Their whole training, the rigid subordination of their body, their perfect spy system, their doctrine of implicit obedience, all tended to this; and their moral theory also helped: they believed that they would best secure the purity of their spiritual patients by weakening their moral character, by teaching them to depend on their confessors, by 'conquest and domination of souls.' They loudly proclaimed hope for all who would obey and had a goodwill. No wonder if we find them,—whatever their professions of neutrality may be,—in Rome, at Paris, in Paraguay, wherever their principles had full play, ranged on the side of autocratic power. Against their theology the old Augustinian, we may even say the Pauline, views as to the grace of God, and the inability of human nature to attain to perfection, rose up again in strength among the Jansenists, as they were styled at this time. To a certain point this movement corresponded to that of Luther;

though it differed in this, that the Jansenists had little of that independence of thought which led Luther from S. Augustin to the Bible, from the authority of Councils to that of God himself. This was the essential difference between the Utrecht reformer¹ and the Wittemberg professor. The Augustinus of Jansen has made its mark on theological controversy; but it has in it no originality, and is not a book which, like a trumpet-call, draws the hearts of men together, ready to do or die. The Jansenists were, in fact, the Old Catholics of that age; they aimed at a restoration of the theology of the fourth century, and resisted the Papal claims and dogma of infallibility, falling back on the authority of Councils². Their views brought them into direct collision with the dominant theology and the Papal Court: their political tendencies made them offensive to the new royalty of France. Their stern and strict views as to the fall of man and the recovery through God's free gift, vouchsafed to the elect alone, rendered them a spiritual aristocracy; they deemed themselves the noblesse of Christ; their confidence of the divine favour gave them a certain sense of independence, and self-assertion naturally followed. As in England, so also in France, the high view of Election seemed to fall in naturally with the feelings of the aristocracy: the great nobles of Elizabeth's Court had been Calvinistic; those of the Fronde showed a tendency, if nothing more, towards Jansenism.

The Court must surely oppose such a Church-party as this: the more so, as at first it warmly espoused the cause of Cardinal De Retz³, and afterwards showed a wish, when it had found fa-

¹ Cornelius Jansen, a Dutchman, Bishop of Ypres, born 1585, died of the plague 1630. His *Mars Gallicus*, an attack on Richelieu's policy, appeared in 1635; his *Augustinus*, on which his fame rests, and round which the controversies of the age turned, was posthumous, not appearing till 1640.

² The five Propositions drawn out of the *Augustinus* were condemned by Innocent X in 1653, and the Papacy naturally resisted them through all the reign of Louis XIV till, in 1713, Clement XI, by the Bull '*Unigenitus*,' brought the long quarrel to an end in France. The establishment of the Jansenist Archbishopric of Utrecht under Dutch protection kept the school alive elsewhere.

³ *Mémoires de Guy Joli*, ii. p. 6 (ed. 1777): '*... que le C. de Retz étoit un homme engagé avec les Jansénistes.*' Cp. also pp. 10 and 38.

vour with many French prelates, to establish the Gallican Church on a more independent basis than it had hitherto enjoyed. To English ideas a Church with firmly consolidated liberties, opposed to Ultramontanism, leaning for support on the Crown, and in return giving to the Monarchy the great help of its influence, its instincts of order, and of obedience to the powers that be, would have seemed a thing specially needful for the young King, round whose throne were so many disturbing interests. But, unfortunately, the French Crown could see in this party only one more source of dangerous resistance: true to the policy of Richelieu, the Court waged deadly war against an institution which might have tempered the evils of absolutism, and have kept alive some germs of constitutional life. The Jansenists were unlucky in the outset. Their sympathies with Cardinal De Retz at once threw them into opposition: and in France to be in opposition is to revolt or to perish, or both.

Politically insignificant and a failure, they have left in two respects a name in France. Their ascetic purity, the delicacy and noble simplicity of their cloister-life at Port Royal¹, had, one need scarcely say, little hold on the general course of French religious and social opinion, and died away, like the passing fragrance of violets on the wind.

Their lasting fame depends on their alliance with the noblest literary efforts of France. We have already pointed out the withering effect of Richelieu's rule on literature²: Mazarin's ministry was yet more disastrous in this way³: all the best writers went into opposition, and being mixed up with the violent political agitations then seething, both gained and lost by the stimulus and the dissipation of the time. Two great names stand out pre-eminent: men in no sense elements of that brilliant cycle of writers who illustrate the age of Louis XIV, but whom that age took to itself⁴, just as a great wit gets the credit

¹ For this beautiful episode in French Church History see Saint-Beuve's *Histoire de Port Royal*.

² Above, pp. 50, 82.

³ Geruzez, *Histoire de la littérature française*, ii. pp. 129, 130.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 189.

of all the keen sayings of his day: these were Corneille and Pascal; Corneille the modern Æschylus of the French drama, Pascal the speculative Plato of its theology. As at a later time Voltaire was stung to vehement and brilliant effort by the generous impulses which made him defend the poor sufferers from intolerance, so in these days the genius of Pascal defending the oppressed ladies of Port Royal produced the marvellous Provincial Letters, from which the Jesuits, for all their great triumphs, never recovered. The Fronde literature is also made illustrious by the piquant pen of Madame de Sévigné, who was a cousin of Cardinal De Retz, and loved the Port Royalists. It was natural that the ready wits and pens of the time should produce memoirs of those stirring days: Madame de Sévigné's Letters are in fact memoirs in fragments¹; Cardinal De Retz, shallow as he was and 'leader of a cabal rather than of a party,' was unrivalled in the ease and vividness of his character-drawing, in his bright quickly-touched scenes, in his quick and witty reflexions: the Duchess of Nemours, Madame de Motteville, even 'Mademoiselle'² herself, have all left us remarkable sketches of the time: there was also another of those brilliant ladies, who have left the impress of their wit, adventure, and daring on the scene, Madame de La Fayette, who has not only left us Memoirs but who may be regarded as the parent of the modern novel, in her 'Zaïde' and her 'Princesse de Clèves.' At the beginning of the century Cervantes had mercilessly destroyed the old Romance³, Madame de La Fayette shewed how the void could be filled up, and how imagination, ever craving for its peculiar nutriment, might be fed from fresh and more natural pastures. The first half of the seventeenth century was the golden time of portraits; all these memoir writers were portrait-painters: these too are the days of Vandyke and

¹ Her earliest letters belong to this period; her latest were written not far from the end of the century; she died in 1696.

² 'Mademoiselle' is the name given to the daughter of Gaston of Orleans, the King's uncle.

³ Cervantes published Don Quixote in 1602.

Cornelius Janssens. One name remains: weary of the bootless strife, dejected at the utter overthrow of the proud-spirited noblesse, saddened by the failure of his trust in man and woman in a frivolous and heartless age, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld drew out a mournful memorial of himself in his Maxims and Thoughts. With Pascal as its theological and philosophical leader; with Corneille as its high-souled poet, Madame de Sévigné as its wit, and La Rochefoucauld as its moralist, the Fronde, unhappy, even contemptible, in its political career, claims and deserves the high respect of posterity. Sad irony of fate! These writers, who all felt the heavy hand of the Court and were all in opposition to it, have been made, like noble captives, to swell the triumph of the splendid King, and have thrown the glamour of their genius over the literary poverty of his reign.

The time of languid and balanced warfare was now coming to an end. Mazarin, weak in the conduct of war and of home-politics, was unrivalled in the management of foreign affairs, and at this time won two great triumphs of diplomatic skill. Two dangers from abroad now threatened France: one from England, the other from Germany; both storms the astute Cardinal not only weathered, but found them helpful in urging on his country towards the goal he sought.

In England there was at last a strong government. Cromwell could interfere in Continental politics, and put an end to the isolation and impotence to which the first and second Stuart and the Great Rebellion had condemned the country. England had been absolutely unrepresented, in spite of the great interest she had in the Palatinate question, at the Westphalian Congresses¹. Even Queen Elizabeth, wary and fearing Spain, had not ventured on a bold foreign policy: Henry VIII had only in appearance, and much to his own disadvantage, abandoned the isolated position taken up by his prudent father:

¹ England, Russia, and Poland had no plenipotentiaries or agents at either Münster or Osnabrück. See Meiern, *Acta Pacis Westph. I.* Beylage zur Vorrede, pp. 1, sqq.

of all the keen sayings of his day: these were Corneille and Pascal; Corneille the modern *Æschylus* of the French drama, Pascal the speculative Plato of its theology. As at a later time Voltaire was stung to vehement and brilliant effort by the generous impulses which made him defend the poor sufferers from intolerance, so in these days the genius of Pascal defending the oppressed ladies of Port Royal produced the marvellous Provincial Letters, from which the Jesuits, for all their great triumphs, never recovered. The Fronde literature is also made illustrious by the piquant pen of Madame de Sévigné, who was a cousin of Cardinal De Retz, and loved the Port Royalists. It was natural that the ready wits and pens of the time should produce memoirs of those stirring days: Madame de Sévigné's Letters are in fact memoirs in fragments¹; Cardinal De Retz, shallow as he was and 'leader of a cabal rather than of a party,' was unrivalled in the ease and vividness of his character-drawing, in his bright quickly-touched scenes, in his quick and witty reflexions: the Duchess of Nemours, Madame de Motteville, even 'Mademoiselle'² herself, have all left us remarkable sketches of the time: there was also another of those brilliant ladies, who have left the impress of their wit, adventure, and daring on the scene, Madame de La Fayette, who has not only left us Memoirs but who may be regarded as the parent of the modern novel, in her 'Zaïde' and her 'Princesse de Clèves.' At the beginning of the century Cervantes had mercilessly destroyed the old Romance³, Madame de La Fayette shewed how the void could be filled up, and how imagination, ever craving for its peculiar nutriment, might be fed from fresh and more natural pastures. The first half of the seventeenth century was the golden time of portraits; all these memoir writers were portrait-painters: these too are the days of Vandyke and

¹ Her earliest letters belong to this period; her latest were written not far from the end of the century; she died in 1696.

² 'Mademoiselle' is the name given to the daughter of Gaston of Orleans, the King's uncle.

³ Cervantes published Don Quixote in 1602.

Cornelius Janssens. One name remains: weary of the bootless strife, dejected at the utter overthrow of the proud-spirited noblesse, saddened by the failure of his trust in man and woman in a frivolous and heartless age, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld drew out a mournful memorial of himself in his Maxims and Thoughts. With Pascal as its theological and philosophical leader; with Corneille as its high-souled poet, Madame de Sévigné as its wit, and La Rochefoucauld as its moralist, the Fronde, unhappy, even contemptible, in its political career, claims and deserves the high respect of posterity. Sad irony of fate! These writers, who all felt the heavy hand of the Court and were all in opposition to it, have been made, like noble captives, to swell the triumph of the splendid King, and have thrown the glamour of their genius over the literary poverty of his reign.

The time of languid and balanced warfare was now coming to an end. Mazarin, weak in the conduct of war and of home-politics, was unrivalled in the management of foreign affairs, and at this time won two great triumphs of diplomatic skill. Two dangers from abroad now threatened France: one from England, the other from Germany; both storms the astute Cardinal not only weathered, but found them helpful in urging on his country towards the goal he sought.

In England there was at last a strong government. Cromwell could interfere in Continental politics, and put an end to the isolation and impotence to which the first and second Stuart and the Great Rebellion had condemned the country. England had been absolutely unrepresented, in spite of the great interest she had in the Palatinate question, at the Westphalian Congresses¹. Even Queen Elizabeth, wary and fearing Spain, had not ventured on a bold foreign policy: Henry VIII had only in appearance, and much to his own disadvantage, abandoned the isolated position taken up by his prudent father:

¹ England, Russia, and Poland had no plenipotentiaries or agents at either Münster or Osnabrück. See Meier, *Acta Pacis Westph. I.* Beylage zur Vorrede, pp. 1, sqq.

now however Cromwell could dictate terms to Europe; and the fate of nations depended on his joining France or Spain. He did not choose his side without much consideration and cautious negotiation: with the game completely in his hands, he was not likely to be rash or weak of judgment. Don Louis de Haro for Spain; an agent of Condé for the New Fronde, and, as he asserted falsely, for the Huguenots; and, lastly, Mazarin's envoy;—these all pressed Cromwell hard; and he dealt with them with coolness, skill, and success. Yet his treaties with France have been sharply censured as a grave political blunder, and as helping on that European domination which England had, a little later, to resist at such a cost. Bolingbroke¹ charges Cromwell with either shortsightedness or corrupt and personal aims: he credits him with a plan 'that has disturbed the peace of the world almost fourscore years.' But how easy it is 'to be wise after the event,' to look back on those fourscore years, instead of forward to them! It is not hard to see how the Lord Protector was led to join the French, and how unjust are Bolingbroke's strictures².

Cromwell had been proclaimed Lord Protector in December, 1653, and at once turned his attention to foreign affairs. The year 1654 is notable for the treaties he made: first, one with Holland, closing the bitter naval war; then, one of commerce and navigation with Sweden; then, one of like kind with Portugal; fourthly, with Denmark: the rapid rise and high pretensions of the Commonwealth are marked by the way in which the Act of Navigation³ comes into operation after the Dutch war had ended. Relieved from all anxieties elsewhere, Cromwell was now able to consider his position relatively to the French and Spanish war.

Spain offered him no small personal bribes: she would guarantee the Protectorate to him, and get it changed into a Kingship:

¹ Letters on History, vii.

² Hume, History of England, ch. lxi. (v. p. 359, ed. 1848) re-echoes Bolingbroke's complaint, and thinks that Cromwell neither 'understood nor regarded the interests of his country.'

³ Passed in 1651.

she would join him in helping Condé and the oppressed Huguenots. But Cromwell was above looking at matters from a personal point of view. Two main interests have in all modern times swayed the fortunes of England,—her religious sympathies, and her commercial needs: and at no moment of her career were these more powerful than in the years of the Protectorate. Now these were exactly the points on which England might ally herself with France, but could not possibly act with Spain. When Cromwell demanded from the ambassador of Philip IV that England should have, first, free commerce with the West Indies, and, secondly, an absolute exemption in those parts from the surveillance of the Inquisition, the envoy replied in the well-known words 'that his Master would as willingly lose his two eyes as grant these two points.' How then could Cromwell deal farther with him? Commercial exclusiveness and religious intolerance were the only basis on which Spain would treat: and these were just the two matters on which the whole-some flow of English opinion was quite determined to have no uncertainties: freedom of religion and freedom of commerce were deemed the life-blood of England's welfare. Cromwell therefore turned at once to France. He had had no good opinion of Condé's position, regarding him as weak, perhaps even as sold to Mazarin himself: as to the Huguenot discontents, a trusty envoy, whom Cromwell sent to enquire into their temper, soon found that they had no wish to raise again the standard of civil war. Mazarin had treated them prudently; and under shelter of the Edict of Nantes they were safe, prosperous, and content. Again; when the Protector interfered on behalf of the Vaudois, in 1655, he found Mazarin willing to meet his wishes; his conduct was very different from that of the Duke of Savoy: Milton's grand sonnet¹, written in this year, smites with its noble verse the 'bloody Piedmontese,' and 'th' Italian fields where still doth sway the triple tyrant,' but he adds not a breath of censure on France, although the royal

¹ 'On the late massacre in Piedmont.'

troops had taken part in the massacres. Moreover, had not France, in the late war, been the champion of the German Protestants? Had she not secured their position against the intolerant South? In fact, as Cromwell himself tells us, an alliance with Spain would have seemed to him and to England at that time a 'leading back into Egypt,' an abandonment of all 'the honest interests of the Protestant world.' He deemed Spain at all times the natural foe of freedom and England, and rejoiced to come to blows with her¹. It was no small matter, too, that an alliance with France would remove Charles II from the neighbouring coasts. And why should Cromwell have feared the preponderance of France at this time? The war was languid in the extreme; everything indicated a state of complete exhaustion; was not England growing in influence and power with tenfold rapidity? can we imagine that Cromwell purposed to destroy the elements of the balance in Europe? His untimely death arrested all his plans: and we may be sure that had he lived posterity would never have condemned his policy. A treaty of peace and commerce between France and England was therefore signed in October, 1655; there were in it no stipulations pointing towards a military alliance: Mazarin hesitated to grant the conditions on which Cromwell offered active help. Dunkirk for England, a new Calais for the new conditions of England's commercial and maritime dominion, was a price he shrank from paying. The French Government negotiated with Spain, and waited to see what time might bring forth. But time was now against the weakened combatants: their weapons almost dropped from their hands; yet they had not strength to make peace. Meanwhile, the consideration of England rose to its highest point; her power was feared by all Europe²; under the Protector's male and resolute leading, she had be-

¹ See Cromwell's Speech to Parliament, 17 Sept. 1656; Carlyle's *Letters and Speeches*, iii. pp. 166, 167 (ed. 1857).

² See the *Lettere inedite di Messer Giovanni Sagredo* (Venetia, 1839), p. 29. (Quoted by Guizot, *Hist. de-la Republique d'Angleterre et de Cromwell*, ii. p. 239).

come the queen of the seas, and her voice was heard with respect at every Court: the brief five years of Cromwell's absolute rule made England what she had never been even in the days of Elizabeth, what she had not been since Henry V,—the leading power of the world¹. It needed another Revolution, and a William III at the head of affairs, to restore her again to a like position. France felt this, and dreaded the inevitable alliance. But Spain was desperate and would hear of no terms: and at least a second treaty, this time offensive and defensive, was signed at Paris in March 1657. This document was destined to have solid results. It stipulated that Cromwell should land six thousand English soldiers in Flanders, and keep a fleet on the coast: their first task was to reduce, in combination with the French army, Dunkirk, Mardyck and Gravelines, the last to be placed in the hands of the French King, and the other two in those of the Protector, for England.

This treaty² made the rest of the campaign of 1657 decisive. The six thousand Puritan soldiers, the best fighting-stuff in Europe, were irresistible when handled by Turenne. Mardyck and other small places fell. The French hesitated that year to venture on the serious task of besieging Dunkirk; and waited till 1658, when Cromwell sent them two more stout regiments of a thousand men apiece. Dunkirk was then straitly invested; and the Court came up as far as to Calais to watch affairs. The Spaniards at Brussels, under Don Juan of Austria, became alarmed, and brought up hastily such force as could be gathered: in spite of Condé's repeated warnings, he having grown more cautious by this time, they waited neither for their guns, nor for a great portion of their cavalry; they let Turenne catch them in

¹ Mazarin saw how powerful England was as a Commonwealth, and how that form of government in able hands had in it elements of strength which the Monarchy could never develop. '*La république angloise*,' he says (*Lettres du C. Mazarin*, p. 147), '*s'établissant, seroit une puissance à redouter pour tous ses voisins, puisque, sans exagération, cette puissance seroit cent fois plus considérable que n'étoit celle des rois d'Angleterre*.'

² Dumont, *Corps diplomatique*, VI. Partie ii. p. 224. Dumont also prints an apocryphal treaty in the same vol., p. 178. The Treaty is given in Guizot's *Cromwell*, ii. p. 597.

his grip, victims of their own pride and ignorance. 'Did you ever see a battle?' said Condé to the young Duke of Gloucester¹ just before the allies came up. And when he answered No, he added grimly, 'Then you are going to see one lost to-day.' And so it was: the struggle lasted four hours; the English regiments displayed conspicuous valour and steadiness; and before day closed the Spaniards were utterly routed and gone, leaving four thousand prisoners behind them. Ten days later Dunkirk capitulated: Louis XIV entered the town the next morning, and loyally handed it over to his English allies. The act was not lost on France, where it caused no little murmuring, the French clergy being specially indignant that a Catholic town should fall into Puritan hands. The allies swept all before them: Gravelines was taken, Furnes, Oudenarde, Ypres fell: the Spaniards trembled in Brussels. Splendid embassies bore witness to the cordiality and triumphs of Louis XIV and his 'brother,' the Protector.

Had exhausted Spain been strong enough to renew this hopeless war, she must have succumbed before another blow now inflicted on her by Mazarin's diplomatic skill. In April 1657 Ferdinand III had died; his son Leopold had never been elected King of the Romans. Mazarin,—one can imagine it not done very seriously,—sent Lionne to the Electoral Diet to advance the claims of Louis XIV to the Imperial diadem, and under cover of that candidature to hinder, if possible, the election of Leopold. His first object was not attained, Leopold becoming Emperor; but it was under conditions which were a distinct triumph for France. The new Emperor undertook to make no war, within or without the empire, to the detriment of France; and specially to send no help to the Spaniards. And besides this, Lionne succeeded in building up a League of the Rhine (August 1658) for the preservation of the Westphalian Peace. Bavaria, the Rhine-Electors, the House of Brunswick, the King of Sweden, ranged themselves on the side of the

¹ Younger son of Charles I.

French monarch, who seemed by this act to stand out as the Protector of Germany. He cut the Netherlands off from Spain, and secured his own roadway, when he needed it, into Holland.

The Spaniards could struggle no longer: they sued for peace. Things were prepared for it on every hand: Spain was desperate; matters far from settled or safe in France; in England the Protector's death had come very opportunely for Mazarin; the strong man was no longer there to hold the balance between the European powers.

Questions as to a Spanish marriage and the Spanish succession had been before men since 1648; the Spaniards had disliked the match, thinking that in the end it must subject them to France. But things were changed; Philip IV now had an heir, so that the nations might hope to remain under two distinct crowns; moreover, the needs of Spain were far greater than in 1648, while the demands of France were less. So negotiation between Mazarin and Louis de Haro on the little Isle of Pheasants in the Bidassoa, under the very shadow of the Pyrenees, went on prosperously; even the proposal that Louis XIV should espouse the Infanta of Spain, Maria Theresa, was at last agreed to at Madrid¹. The only remaining difficulty arose from an unexpected quarter. The Cardinal had in all seven nieces, the most striking women of the time: one of these fair maidens, Maria Mancini, had so captivated the young King, that he was wildly in love with her, and would hear of no other wife. It is said that Mazarin awhile encouraged the royal passion: but even if so, ere long more prudent counsels conquered so perilous an ambition; and he set himself to turn Louis from his project, and with no small difficulty succeeded. The King at last abandoned his youthful and pure passion, and

¹ If any one would study a specimen of Mazarin's diplomacy, his heartless disregard of those he used and threw away, and his belief that the Spanish marriage 'quelque rénonciation qu'on lui fit faire' would surely unite the two kingdoms, he should read the account of the negotiations in Mignet, i. pp. 32 sqq.

signed the Treaty of the Pyrenees, condemning himself to a marriage of state, which exalted high the dignity of the French Crown, only to plunge it in the end into the troubles and disasters of the Succession War.

The treaty of peace begins with articles on trade and navigation: then follow cessions, restitutions, and exchanges of territories.

1. On the Northern frontier Spain ceded all she had in Artois, with exception of Aire and S. Omer; in Flanders itself France got Gravelines and its outer defences. In Hainault she became mistress of the important towns, Landrecies, Quesnoy, and Avesnes, and also strengthened her position by some exchanges: in Luxemburg she retained Thionville, Montmédy, and several lesser places; so that over her whole northern border France advanced her frontier along a line answering to her old limits, and thereby got into her hands a number of all-important points, fortified places, keys of access or defence. In return she restored to Spain several of her latest conquests in Flanders; Ypres, Oudenarde, Dixmüden, Furnes, and other cities.

In Condé's country France recovered Rocroy, Le Câtelet and Linchamp, occupied by the Prince's soldiers; and so secured the safety and defences of Champagne and Paris.

2. More to the East, the Duke of Lorraine, having submitted with such good grace as might be, was reinstated in his Duchy; a step which, as Mazarin well knew, did not tend to strengthen the French border on that side. But France received her price here also, the Duchy of Bar, the County of Clermont on the edge of Champagne, Stenay, Dun, Jametz, Moyenvic, became hers. The fortifications of Nancy were to be rased for ever; the Duke of Lorraine bound himself to peace, and agreed to give France free passage to the Bishopricks and Alsace. This was the more necessary, because Franche-Comté, the other highway into Alsace, was left to the Spaniards, and such places in it as were in the King's hands were restored to them.

Far out in Germany Louis XIV replaced Jülich in the hands





of the Duke of Neuburg; and that element of controversy, the germ or pretext of these long wars, was extinct for ever.

On the Savoyard border France retained Pinerolo, with all the means and temptations of offence which it involved: she restored to the Duke her other conquests within his territories, and to the Spaniards whatever she held in Lombardy; she also honourably obtained an amnesty for those subjects of Spain, Neapolitans or Catalans, who had sided with France.

Lastly, the Pyrenees became the final, as it was the natural, boundary between the two Latin kingdoms: if one may allude to an apocryphal saying¹, while Louis XIV as a boy created the great mountain-frontier, as an old man he swept it away. Roussillon and Conflans became French: all French conquests to the south of the Pyrenees were restored to Spain.

The Spanish King renounced all claims on Alsace or Breisach: on the other hand the submission of the great Condé was accepted; he was restored to all his domains; his son, the young Duke of Enghien, being made Grand Master of France, and he himself appointed Governor of Burgundy and Bresse: his friends and followers were included in the amnesty.

Some lesser stipulations, with a view to the peace of Europe, for the settlement of the differences between Spain and Portugal, between the Dukes of Savoy and Mantua, between the Catholic and the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland, and an agreement to help forward peace between the Northern Courts, worthily close this great document, this weighty appendix to the Treaties of Westphalia.

A separate act, as was fitting, regulated all questions bearing on the great marriage. It contains a solemn renunciation, intended to bar for ever the union of the two Crowns under one sceptre, or the absorption into France of Flanders, Burgundy, or Charolais. It was a renunciation which, as Mazarin foresaw long before, would never hold firm against the temptations and exigencies of time².

¹ Il n'y a plus de Pyrénées (A.D. 1700).

² See Voltaire, *Siècle*, p. 75 (ed. Louandre).

The King's marriage with the Infanta Maria Theresa of Spain did not take place till the next year, by which time Mazarin's work in life seemed wellnigh over; racked with gout, he had little enjoyment of his triumphs. Yet he lived to see one more result of his labours, the Peace of Oliva, which was made after the unexpected death of Charles Gustavus of Sweden, the brave and adventurous forerunner of Charles XII; it was agreed to and signed under the mediation of France: it confirmed the entire independence of Prussia, making her, under the solid and vigorous rule of the Great Elector, a substantive power in Northern Europe.

Thus Mazarin had been successful in all his foreign policy, partly by his own consummate skill in diplomacy, partly by the genius of his agents, especially of Lionne. He had closed the 'Thirty Years' War by the Peace of Westphalia: he had allied himself with England under Cromwell, and was prepared to ally himself also with the new order of things in that country: he had triumphantly carried through the war with Spain, and had won for France more by the Peace of the Pyrenees than she had gained at Münster; he had seen his King wedded to the Infanta, with most brilliant prospects and possibilities before him; and now in this northern peace he made France the arbiter even in most distant struggles. Well might he have said 'the whole world is at peace; and France is satisfied.' Inferior to Richelieu in grandeur of character, in singleness of aim, in heroic power of struggling against opposition, he was far more successful in the results of his policy, reaping where Richelieu had sown. He was far from being a 'Sicilian Pantaloon,' as Guy Patin scornfully called him: the skill and success of his foreign policy redeems him from the discredit of his weaker moral nature, and from the effects of his damaging proximity to Richelieu. If his great master was the more vehemently hated, Mazarin was the more vehemently abused: from nine to ten thousand political pamphlets, more or less scurrilous, written by a swarm of small writers, chief of whom was Scarron, the lord of burlesque, and husband of that placid

Françoise d'Aubigny, of whom we shall hear more, bear witness to the violence of party-feeling in France¹.

Mazarin was flexible and patient; 'time and I' was his favourite phrase and motto: as La Rochefoucauld acutely says of him in comparison with Richelieu, 'Mazarin had bold heart and weaker mind; Richelieu a daring mind, and timid heart!' Richelieu was too sagacious and fortunate ever to fall; had he fallen, he would never have risen again; Mazarin, twice fallen and exiled, speedily climbed again with a cheerful and dauntless spirit. Where Richelieu crushed and destroyed the nobles, Mazarin made them his observant friends: for he held the purse-strings and the appointments to lucrative offices in his own hands; it is wonderful to mark how docile they grew. It may be true, as he himself said, that 'if he had not a French tongue, at any rate he had a French heart;' for he certainly raised the land of his adoption to a great height of power and glory: this however holds good only of his foreign policy and dealings. For France at home Mazarin had no feeling; not one element of good government is seen in the whole time of his administration; the whole internal organisation of France was left unattended; 'it is indubitable,' writes Colbert, who knew the state of France at this time if any man did, 'that if Cardinal Mazarin understood foreign affairs, he was utterly ignorant of home government².' He had done his work, and was already beginning to be an embarrassment to Louis XIV, when death removed him from the King's right hand. He had grossly, though perhaps not purposely, neglected the early education of the Monarch, and seemed to find satisfaction in prolonging his state of tutelage. That, however, was coming to an end of itself: the failure of Mazarin's health made the transition easy. When, after the close of the tedious negotiations of the Isle of Pheasants, the Cardinal came slowly back to Paris, successful, but worn out, it was seen that he

¹ Mazarin's librarian, Naudé, made a careful collection of all the Mazarinades.

² Colbert, Testament politique, p. 12.

could not last long: the gout proved almost fatal to him in the autumn of 1660. Thenceforward he passed his time in giving the young King sage lessons of conduct and government, all tending towards that autocracy which Louis so successfully carried out. He taught him that a first minister was bad, a favourite worse; he advised him to hold the reins himself, and have none but heads of departments under him; he told him with Italian finesse that treaties are only made to be evaded: he showed him the deplorable state of finance, and the importance of that branch of government.

Then he betook himself to the arrangement of his own affairs: his physicians giving him, early in 1661, no hopes of recovery. His gigantic fortune gave him much anxiety: he first placed all his wealth in the King's hand; and Louis, by an act of magnanimous generosity, returned the splendid gift to its dying master. Then Mazarin deemed he might will away this colossal property, the spoils of France, gathered with the eagerness of a miser and the meanness of a petty trader: he had wrung it from the peasant, or won it at play, for he played high and was lucky; it embraced also the profits of contracts, and even the spoils of piracy, for he made his gains out of war or peace, from traffic clean or unclean. His nieces, two Martinozzi¹, and five Mancini², who had made splendid alliances, worthy of their wealth and beauty, were his heiresses: he founded the Collège des quatre Nations, for the education of noble children from the provinces attached to France by the Treaties of Münster and the Pyrenees; to this college he bequeathed his splendid library, the spoils of Richelieu's earlier legacy. The bulk of his property he left to his niece Hortensia,

¹ Married to the Duke of Modena and Armand Prince of Conti.

² There were five Mancini nieces:—

- (1) Laura, m. the Duke of Mercœur, and had died in 1657.
- (2) Olympia, m. Eugene Maurice of Savoy, Count of Soissons, the mother of Prince Eugene.
- (3) Maria, m. Lorenzo di Colonna.
- (4) Hortensia, m. the Duke of La Meilleraie.
- (5) Maria Anna, m. the Duke of Bouillon.

who had married the Duke of la Meilleraie; he, to perpetuate the Cardinal's name, became Duke of Mazarin. What was this amazing fortune? Voltaire tells us it was 'two hundred millions as we count them now¹;' Fouquet valued it at from forty to fifty millions, in his day—a much smaller sum, perhaps worth one hundred millions in Voltaire's time. If, as Martin thinks, its value now would be fivefold, we find that he left behind him what is equivalent to two hundred and fifty million of francs, or about ten millions of pounds of our day. No wonder he was himself appalled! that he seemed afraid to face this treasure, that he desired there should be no inventory of it made!

These things arranged, the Cardinal resigned himself to die 'with a serenity more philosophic than Christian;' and passed away on the 8th of March, 1661.

The age of great ministers is ended: Louis XIV steps proudly on the scene; a new and splendid act of the drama begins. France, under his grandiose rule, will rise to that height of dignity which has, from that time to this, dazzled the eyes of the French nation, so readily carried away by military glory abroad and magnificence in government at home. We have now to sketch the absolute monarchy in its highest prosperity; to draw its triumphs, its baneful brilliancy, which scathed those who resisted it, and consumed those who were its subjects: it led France on to that melancholy time of impotence and misery, which preceded, as a long and monotonous prelude, the outburst of the nation at the Revolution.

¹ Siècle de Louis XIV, ch. vi. p. 79.

BOOK V.

THE BOURBON MONARCHY AT ITS HEIGHT. A.D. 1661-1715.

CHAPTER I.

LOUIS XIV RULES. A.D. 1661-1668.

LOUIS XIV reigned from 1643 to 1715. When his father died, his uncle Charles I was yet on the throne of England, though he was fast descending the slippery and fatal incline, which led him, six years later, to the scaffold: when Louis placed the reins of power in the feeble hands of his great-grandson, the Hanoverian George was ruling at S. James'. Thus the two Revolutions, which have left their indelible mark on English history, and the establishment of the German monarchy, fall within the limits of this long and wonderful reign of two-and-seventy years. The struggles of England moulded and secured her modern constitutional life: the splendid era of Louis XIV fully developed that proud conception of national unity under an autocratic prince for which France had long been preparing. That Louis might reign supreme, his ancestors had steadily contended against feudal independence, had crushed local liberties, had held down civic life, had destroyed all that could have formed the wholesome basis of a constitutional and national existence. Their

reward was the 'great age,' the apotheosis of the great Monarch, as we read it in Voltaire's romance.

When Mazarin died in 1661 Louis had already been seated for eighteen years on the throne. His great minister had done all for him: 'the King interfered in nothing; the Cardinal did not wait on him, but he, several times a day, visited the minister, making court to him like a simple courtier. Mazarin would receive him unceremoniously, scarcely rising from his seat when the King entered, and never escorting him even to the door of his room when he went out¹. Louis felt toward him an almost filial sense of respect and affection; he had been accustomed to lean on him, to see him holding in fact the position of a wise step-father, and had both implicitly obeyed the Cardinal's orders, and had drunk in greedily the Cardinal's maxims for his future guidance. When he seemed to be madly in love with Maria Mancini, Mazarin's niece, he had borne with all the Cardinal's chiding and advice without resistance; he had even let him withdraw the favoured beauty, and with strange docility had allowed him to substitute in her place that fair blue-eyed little lady, the Infanta, a Flemish rather than a Spanish beauty, of whose sweet character Louis soon tired, and whom he treated with scandalous neglect². The young monarch was at any rate placid and heartless. His earlier days had been passed in obscurity; even at the famous scene with the Parliament of Paris he was a mere agent, doing as he was bidden: his heavy phlegmatic face and grave manner struck men, seeming to indicate laziness and self-will, rather than any deeper qualities. He had been fond of pleasure, was quiet, docile, and naturally timid³; his mental powers seemed to be of a low order⁴, and nothing had been done for his education: at a later time he spoke with bitterness

¹ Mémoires de Montglat (Petitot, II. li. p. 111).

² Mémoires de Mad. de Motteville (Michaud, II. x. p. 529).

³ Œuvres de Louis XIV, Considérations sur Louis XIV, i. p. 97.

⁴ 'Au dessous du médiocre,' says Saint-Simon; but he is a prejudiced witness. Mémoires du Duc de Saint-Simon, viii. p. 76 (ed. Hachette, 1872).

of his deficiencies, and says that he once even tried to commit suicide¹, in despair at his own shortcomings. La Porte, his valet, tells us in his Memoirs that the boy King could learn nothing: his preceptor Péréfixe, the historian of Henry IV, was deeply distressed at his stupidity: his mother spoilt him and kept him from his book. He knew no Latin, and could scarcely read and write; he never absorbed a single scrap of the exact sciences²; though full of religious feeling and prejudices, he had, as was said at the time, 'the faith of a charcoal-burner³,' so ignorant was he of the veriest rudiments of Christianity.

When they sent him to the army, he showed no boldness nor sign of genius for war: he had neither the youthful fire of his grandfather, nor the rash courage of his father. He seemed content to amuse himself with dances, with gambling, in which every one played high, and with little love-affairs: he was content that his mother and Mazarin should rule supreme over him. But that mother had vigour and character, and inspired him towards the end of this clouded period of his reign with ideas of his own duty and dignity, urging him boldly to occupy the royal place: nor did the Cardinal always neglect the teaching of the boy; at the very end of his life he was very anxious to instil into his uncultivated and tenacious mind those rules of kingcraft, that 'métier de Roi', to which Louis so often alludes: Mazarin left behind him maxims and instructions in this great art, which the young King sedulously learned, and even copied out fair: it is not improbable that they reappear in those Memoirs of Louis which still remain in the monarch's own handwriting, and from which we get so much of our belief as to his kingly

¹ Saint-Simon, viii. p. 83.

² 'Non è coltivato da alcuna scienza,' Sagredo, quoted by Ranke, Franz. Gesch., iii. p. 195, note.

³ 'La foi d'un charbonnier.'

⁴ Mazarin exhorted him 'à lire et à apprendre son grand métier de Roy,' Mad. de Motteville (Michaud, II. x. p. 480). He tells us how much he thought of it in a MS. printed in his works (ed. 1806), ii. p. 455.

qualities. Whatever others thought, Mazarin understood the young man's nature: 'he will set off late, but will go farther than others,' he said of him, when some one deplored the King's idleness: and the famous saying, 'he has in him the stuff of four Kings, and of a worthy man besides,' expresses the Cardinal's insight:—a great King first, and afterwards a man¹. He besought him, no less significantly, to 'cultivate his strong natural talent for dissimulation.' Le Tellier also, who had made the King's character a special study, had already noticed 'the basis of severity and seriousness with which he knew how to strengthen the natural kindness of his character².'

France could not see him as he appeared to them: the people rejoiced at the Minister's death, because they thought Louis would be a kindly, well-beloved Prince; the Court looked forward to a brilliant age of fêtes and splendours; the country reckoned on peace and prosperity under the young Apollo's fostering beams. Little did they foresee the strength and heat of 'one coming forth as a giant to run his course;' and great was the universal amazement when, the day after Mazarin's death, Louis XIV presided in person over his Council, and addressed to the Chancellor Seguier the memorable words, 'Hitherto I have been right willing to let my affairs be managed by the Cardinal: it is time I should now take them into my own hands. . . . The scene changes: I shall apply different principles in the government of my State, the management of my finances, and foreign negotiations, from those of the late Cardinal³.' From that moment he took, gravely and determinately, the burden of his 'trade of kingship'

¹ Mémoires de Choisy (Petitot, II. lxiii. p. 192).

² Mad. de Motteville, Mémoires, A. 1661 (Michaud, II. x. p. 522).

³ Mémoires de Louis XIV, Cimber et Danjou, II. viii. p. 336, note. These Memoirs of Louis XIV were written about the year 1670 or 1671. Speaking in them of 1661 he writes, 'C'est ici la dixième année que je marche, comme il me semble, assez constamment dans la même route, ne relâchant rien de mon application.' Mémoires historiques (Œuvres, ed. 1806, I. p. 37). They were first published by M. de Gain-Montagnac in his edition of the works of Louis XIV, 1806.

of his deficiencies, and says that he once even tried to commit suicide¹, in despair at his own shortcomings. La Porte, his valet, tells us in his Memoirs that the boy King could learn nothing: his preceptor Péréfixe, the historian of Henry IV, was deeply distressed at his stupidity: his mother spoilt him and kept him from his book. He knew no Latin, and could scarcely read and write; he never absorbed a single scrap of the exact sciences²; though full of religious feeling and prejudices, he had, as was said at the time, 'the faith of a charcoal-burner³,' so ignorant was he of the veriest rudiments of Christianity.

When they sent him to the army, he showed no boldness nor sign of genius for war: he had neither the youthful fire of his grandfather, nor the rash courage of his father. He seemed content to amuse himself with dances, with gambling, in which every one played high, and with little love-affairs: he was content that his mother and Mazarin should rule supreme over him. But that mother had vigour and character, and inspired him towards the end of this clouded period of his reign with ideas of his own duty and dignity, urging him boldly to occupy the royal place: nor did the Cardinal always neglect the teaching of the boy; at the very end of his life he was very anxious to instil into his uncultivated and tenacious mind those rules of kingcraft, that '*métier de Roi*,' to which Louis so often alludes: Mazarin left behind him maxims and instructions in this great art, which the young King sedulously learned, and even copied out fair: it is not improbable that they reappear in those Memoirs of Louis which still remain in the monarch's own handwriting, and from which we get so much of our belief as to his kingly

¹ Saint-Simon, viii. p. 83.

² 'Non è coltivato da alcuna scienza,' Sagredo, quoted by Ranke, Franz. Gesch., iii. p. 195, note.

³ 'La foi d'un charbonnier.'

⁴ Mazarin exhorted him 'à lire et à apprendre son grand métier de Roy,' Mad. de Motteville (Michaud, II. x. p. 480). He tells us how much he thought of it in a MS. printed in his works (ed. 1806), ii. p. 455.

qualities. Whatever others thought, Mazarin understood the young man's nature: 'he will set off late, but will go farther than others,' he said of him, when some one deplored the King's idleness: and the famous saying, 'he has in him the stuff of four Kings, and of a worthy man besides,' expresses the Cardinal's insight:—a great King first, and afterwards a man¹. He besought him, no less significantly, to 'cultivate his strong natural talent for dissimulation.' Le Tellier also, who had made the King's character a special study, had already noticed 'the basis of severity and seriousness with which he knew how to strengthen the natural kindliness of his character².'

France could not see him as he appeared to them: the people rejoiced at the Minister's death, because they thought Louis would be a kindly, well-beloved Prince; the Court looked forward to a brilliant age of fêtes and splendours; the country reckoned on peace and prosperity under the young Apollo's fostering beams. Little did they foresee the strength and heat of 'one coming forth as a giant to run his course;' and great was the universal amazement when, the day after Mazarin's death, Louis XIV presided in person over his Council, and addressed to the Chancellor Seguier the memorable words, 'Hitherto I have been right willing to let my affairs be managed by the Cardinal: it is time I should now take them into my own hands. . . . The scene changes: I shall apply different principles in the government of my State, the management of my finances, and foreign negotiations, from those of the late Cardinal³.' From that moment he took, gravely and determinately, the burden of his 'trade of kingship'

¹ Mémoires de Choisy (Petitot, II. lxiii. p. 192).

² Mad. de Motteville, Mémoires, A. 1661 (Michaud, II. x. p. 522).

³ Mémoires de Louis XIV, Cimber et Danjou, II. viii. p. 336, note. These Memoirs of Louis XIV were written about the year 1670 or 1671. Speaking in them of 1661 he writes, 'C'est ici la dixième année que je marche, comme il me semble, assez constamment dans la même route, ne relâchant rien de mon application.' Mémoires historiques (Œuvres, ed. 1806, I. p. 37). They were first published by M. de Gain-Montagnac in his edition of the works of Louis XIV, 1806.

on his shoulders, and bore it without flinching for four and fifty years. He declared with almost passionate emphasis against ever having a first Minister: all should centre in himself; to him foreign envoys should address themselves directly; when one of them spoke to him of his Ministers, the King corrected him with the words, 'you mean our agents¹:' the clergy, nobles, men of business, bureaucracy, must look to him directly for their orders: he was in all things the very opposite of those feudal gentry, whom Commynes described so well by telling us that, if ever any spoke to one of them on business, their only answer was a languid 'Parlez à mes gens,'—'don't trouble me, speak to my people about it².' Without his assent the Chancellor's seal should never be affixed to any deed or document; his people should have direct access to him; every Saturday was set apart³ to hear their 'placets' or petitions. Mazarin was the last great Cardinal-Minister: the churchmen who are prominent under Louis XV belong to a different order of things; no one can compare Dubois or Fleury with George of Amboise, Richelieu, or Mazarin. It was Mazarin himself who taught Louis to make this point clear: he had warned him never to allow power or influence to either a churchman or a soldier, for he dreaded the ambition of De Retz and the power of the brilliant Condé. Nearly forty years after this time, when Louis gave a paper of instructions to his grandson Philip, on his accession to the Spanish throne, he says, 'I end with one of the most important pieces of advice that I can give you. Never let yourself be ruled; be ever master; never have a favourite or a first minister⁴.' And one day, discoursing on popular government, he did not hesitate to say, that any element of

¹ 'Vous voulez dire nos gens d'affaires.' Les Portraits de la cour, Cimber et Danjou, II. viii. p. 371.

² Commynes, I. x. (Dupont, I. p. 86.)

³ This devotion to his people's complaints did not last. He grew very difficult of access after a time. Mémoires de Saint-Simon, viii. pp. 87, 88 (ed. Hachette, 1872).

⁴ Œuvres (ed. 1806), ii. p. 460.

the kind was 'worse than a first minister.' Hitherto King and Minister had been two distinct powers in the State of France; henceforth they should be one: there should be no question of 'Le roy et celui qui règne¹.'

To make sure of this, Louis saw clearly that he must have agents, not ministers; chief-clerks, heads of departments, not independent statesmen, at his side; that he must divide and equalise the functions of these men of business, not allowing any one of them to become too prominent. Colbert, who had been Mazarin's servant, and who was to be seen coming to the palace with a neat satchel of black velvet under his arm, like the smallest of bagmen², was the man after the King's own heart.

And this, in its turn, imposed on Louis a devotion to the business of government, and much hard dry work. As, however, he had a soul for routine, he did not flinch: he said he 'did not like those do-nothing Kings who were led by the nose³.' At first the courtiers laughed, and thought these new interests would soon pall; these grand resolutions, they said, might last three months: they soon found it was no laughing matter; year after year went by, and no great change ensued. It is true, his ardour relaxed in some points; and those who saw under the surface could see that though there was no first minister, there was always some one, some Colbert, or Louvois, or Maintenon, who really guided the King's movements, and to a large extent ruled for him.

The minister under Louis XIV was, as has well been said, like the high priest in an idol's temple⁴; and, as often happened, to the idol was given great worship, the central position in the temple, the theory of power unlimited; while the high priest enjoyed the real authority over the crowd of

¹ Justus Lipsius Balzac, Aristippe 144, quoted by von Ranke, Französische Geschichte.

² Mad. de Motteville (Michaud, II. x. p. 525). The King used to call him his 'petit commis.'

³ Mad. de Motteville (Michaud, II. x. p. 506).

⁴ Stephen, Lectures on the History of France, ii. p. 223.

prostrate worshippers. Yet, in the main, he carried out his own plan; and thereon really rests the fabric of his renown. He gave from two to three hours twice a day¹ to public business, working diligently and unweariedly through it, sustained by a high sense of duty, not diverted by any amusement or pursuit, however dear to him. In his *Memoirs*² he exults with much self-gratulation over his success: he conquers his timidity, is no longer afraid to speak in Council, sees with keen pleasure that people begin to believe in him, and recognise his perseverance, that foreign envoys more and more come straight to him. He is sustained by that self-consciousness which forms so striking an element in his character. A strain of intense self-satisfaction gleams through all his somewhat commonplace *Memoirs*: he is half-frightened at men's praises; fears they may be mere adulation, yet hopes and suspects they are true; and is determined at any rate to merit them³. Whoever else may have doubted for him, he had in him at least one element of greatness and success;—he believed firmly, almost fanatically, in himself.

What then was there in this handsome young prince, with his heavy serious face, his reticent proud manner, his fine carriage, 'every inch a King,' his graceful figure in the dance or on horseback, to arrest the attention of the world and give a name to an age?

He had all the qualities which strike the eye: and was, as Bolingbroke acutely remarked⁴, 'if not the greatest King, the best actor of majesty at least that ever filled a throne;' as a King should be, he was courteous, dignified, calm and 'debonair,' firm in act and speech, and constant: he had a great sense of duty and propriety; and said himself that a King should act according to the dictates of good sense; he cultivated that habitual discretion and seriousness of manner which often

¹ He worked about five hours a day, not eight, as his admirers have declared.

² *Mémoires historiques*, Œuvres de Louis XIV (ed. 1806), i. pp. 20, 21.

³ Œuvres, i. pp. 38, 39.

⁴ *Letters on History*, vii. (p. 68, ed. 1870).

cloaks ignorance or want of capacity¹. 'He spoke little, that little however was to the point; was reserved, was thought rather stingy, did not often laugh².' These characteristics were backed by one marked quality, strength of will, which could be obstinacy: and were all made subservient to one persistent passion, the inordinate desire of reputation and glory³. Perhaps he drew his greatest strength from his firm belief in the 'divinity that doth hedge a King': it seemed to him that Kings have a special inspiration; it is no question of a Divine right, as in agitated England, where the monarch had to seek a new basis for his autocratic ideas, but a full assurance of power and Divine presence: Louis feels himself to be God's Lieutenant, answerable to Him alone: the rest of mankind have only blindly to obey⁴: he must rule, and has a special and enabling gift.

He aimed at imitating his grandfather Henry IV⁵; yet indeed he was very different from him, and in many respects a very inferior man. It is true that he never subordinated his duties to his pleasures, as Henry often did; but then Henry had a warm heart, and Louis a cold one⁶: in all other points the contrast is unfavourable. He had none of his genius, nor of his marked and racy personality; great as a King, Henry was yet more striking as a man: his good sayings ring with life and originality. Louis, as a man, was pompous and commonplace: his Letters, and there is no better test, strike us as dull and heavy; the epigrams attributed to him were made for him; as other princes have had their speeches worked up for them, so Louis owes much to Voltaire and other

¹ *Considérations sur Louis XIV*, Œuvres (ed. 1806), i. p. 89.

² *Portraits de la Cour*, Cimber et Danjou, II. viii. p. 371.

³ 'Un seul et même désir de gloire.' *Mém. historiques*, Œuvres (ed. 1806), i. p. 8.

⁴ 'Que quiconque est né sujet obéisse sans discernment.' *Mémoires historiques*, Œuvres (ed. 1806), ii. p. 336.

⁵ 'Je me propose pour principal modèle de ma conduite et de mes actions celle de ce grand prince.' *Lettre à L'Estrade*, A. 1661. Œuv. (ed. 1806), V. p. 46.

⁶ As S. Simon says (*Mémoires*, viii. 211): 'Ce cœur qui n'aima personne et qui fut aussi si peu aimé.'

courtiers, contemporary or not. Henry was a soldier among soldiers, brave, gay, dashing: Louis never shone in war, men even doubted his personal courage; it certainly never led him into rash adventures. In no branch of his life's work does he show one spark of originality; even Voltaire confesses that there was 'more uprightness and dignity than spring' ¹ in him: he had no boldness and no enthusiasm: 'he made war without being a warrior, decreed many laws, but had not the slightest idea of legislation;' he busied himself with administration, but had no real organising gifts ². He had that sure mark which distinguishes the second-rate man from the great man: he loved details for their own sake, and shrank instinctively from all that was noble and strong. 'He soon came to suspect and then even to hate intelligence, nobility of sentiment, self-respect, a lofty spirit, a well-educated person: the older he grew the more confirmed was he in this aversion' ³.

His conscience was almost morbid, sure sign of a weakness of character: it showed itself in his anxiety to have a 'Council of Conscience' to decide on all questions of public casuistry; an institution to which we probably owe most of the dubious acts of his reign. It shows itself also in his great anxiety as to public opinion; he was singularly afraid of what men would say respecting his acts, and his reputation caused him daily uneasiness; it led him into a brilliant rather than a wise policy: it gives to his Memoirs a tone of petty vanity, which contrasts strikingly with the splendour of his career. No wonder flattery ⁴, especially the flattery of action ⁵, was dear to him: it was by understanding this characteristic of the King that Le Tellier held his place, and succeeded in making the fortune of his more famous son Louvois. Saint-Simon, in his sardonic

¹ 'Plus de justesse et de dignité que de saillie.'

² *Considérations sur Louis XIV.* Œuvres (ed. 1806), i. p. 182.

³ *Mémoires du Duc de Saint-Simon* (ed. Hachette, 1872), viii. p. 77.

⁴ 'Il aimoit les louanges,' says even Voltaire, *Siecle de Louis XIV* (ed. Louandre), p. 382.

⁵ See the anecdote of La Feuillade in the *Considérations sur Louis XIV.* Œuvres (ed. 1806), i. pp. 205, 206, and Voltaire, *Siecle de Louis XIV* (ed. Louandre), p. 384, and note 1.

humour, does not hesitate to say that 'without the fear of the devil, which God left in him even in his worst times, he would have ordered men to worship him—and they would have done it' ¹. No wonder that they said he went about as 'if he were worthy to be Emperor of all the earth,' and added that 'if the nations did but know him, they would be enamoured of his incomparable worth, and submit to the gentlest and best-regulated empire in the world' ². He is like his own Versailles, that 'favourite without merit,' as it was wittily called; grand, sumptuous, splendid, yet heavy and rather commonplace: nature is sternly subordinated to rule; art in its decadence has spent on it the treasures of a nation; it is grand, but stupid.

Such then was Louis XIV when he began to reign indeed. His first step, after laying down the principles on which he meant to govern, was to divide the administration, and place it in the hands of three 'agents,' 'not that they should govern, but should serve the King' ³. Lionne ⁴, who had learnt diplomacy under his uncle Servien, 'the exterminating angel' ⁵ of the Peace of Westphalia, had, very rightly, the charge of Foreign Affairs: Le Tellier ⁶, another of Mazarin's protégés, a severe and fanatical official, good at putting down civil troubles, and afterwards a chief agent in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, was named Secretary of War; though he was not thought strong enough for the place, he had at his right hand his able and dangerous son, the harsh Louvois: Fouquet, a man of civic origin who pretended to be noble, an ambitious Breton, the brilliant friend of all men of letters, dishonest, extravagant, immoral, and cultivated, was allowed to continue in his place as Intendant of finance. Behind, and out of sight

¹ *Mémoires du Duc de Saint-Simon* (ed. Hachette, 1872), viii. p. 89.

² *Portraits de la Cour*, in Cimber et Danjou, *Archives Curieuses*, II viii. pp. 373, 374.

³ Madame de Motteville (Michard, II, x. p. 502).

⁴ A Dauphiny gentleman, born 1611.

⁵ As the nuncio Chigi called him.

⁶ Of legal origin, born 1603.

the dying Cardinal had placed his trusty dependent Colbert, having warned the King that Fouquet was dangerous, and to be watched by the vigilant eye of the most keen-sighted and upright of servants. Louis knew that Fouquet was more than suspected of robbing the state, that his private affairs were in hopeless confusion, 'that he did not know to within a few millions of livres how much he owed'; he was aware that such a man might wish to be a Catiline, that he had great ambition, and aimed at the forbidden place of First Minister. Almost every one about the Court, men and women alike, were in his pay, or bound to him by literary and other sympathies; he was playing with the Jansenist movement, and encouraging the resistance of Cardinal Retz: Anne of Austria did not hesitate to say that 'though he was a great thief, Fouquet would end by being master of the others'.¹ Still, the King, as he says in his Memoirs, could not do without him, and hoped that he might mend his ways; and moreover, there was Colbert in the background², with his little half-closed cunning eyes, his bushy black eyebrows, and reserved bearing, a confidential clerk rather than a minister. The Chancellor, Seguier, aged and trusted, retained the seals; there were no important changes; except that some great personages were excluded from the Council: such were Marshal Villeroy³, who had been the young King's governor, and of whom Louis was thought to be very fond, and the Queen Mother herself, who loudly accused her son of ingratitude, and, sneering at his ambition and assumed incapacity, said that the lad 'wanted to play the capable man'.⁴

This was a moment of absolute calm in Europe, and of exhaustion and weary stillness at home. The struggles against

¹ Mémoires de Madame de Motteville, p. 502.

² Mémoires de Louis XIV, Cimber et Danjou, Archives Curieuses, II. viii. pp. 342, 343.

³ A little later he was called into the King's new 'Conseil royal.'

⁴ Mémoires de Louis XIV, in Cimber and Danjou, Archives Curieuses, II. viii. p. 338, note, and Choisy, Mémoires (Petitot II. lxi. p. 222): 'Je m'en doutois bien qu'il seroit ingrat, et voudroit faire le capable.'

monarchy seemed to be over. Abroad, royalty had recovered its place: England was mad with joy at the Restoration; in the north of Europe Frederick III had just established an absolute throne at Copenhagen¹; though the death of Charles Gustavus had arrested for a moment the same movement in Sweden, his son eventually carried out his plans; Holland was in the hands of the Burgher or Louwenstein party, headed by the De Witts, which was also the French party. Even in 1661 Louis shews an instinctive aversion for the young William Prince of Orange, now but eleven years old: he suspects Charles II of a design to overthrow the Burghers and to restore the Land-party with the little 'Lord of Breda' at its head²: the new peace with Spain had not included Portugal, and the two Peninsular powers were occupied with their home-troubles; the Empire was under a prince, Leopold I, whose hands were tied by the threatening movements of the Turks and the Hungarians, and, still more, by the state of Germany and the hostile attitude of the League of the Rhine³. No power was dangerous to France; Europe was moving along the very lines which had been clearly marked out by Richelieu and Mazarin as the direction of the true interest of their country.

At home there were a few causes for anxiety, in the attitude of the Church, the spread of Jansenism, the ambitions of the exiled Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal De Retz: to him and to the Jansenist movement Louis showed implacable hostility; his instincts saw in their dreams of a national Church, Catholic but free from Ultramontane power, not a strong bulwark of his throne, but an aristocratic organisation, which would surely

¹ By the Act of Sovereignty, 1660.

² Lettres de Louis XIV, Œuvres (ed. 1806), v. p. 31, in a letter to D'Estades his ambassador in England.

³ See above, p. 134. This League, formed by Mazarin in 1658 (for this very purpose, to secure French interests, an entrance into the heart of Germany, and a flank attack, if need were, on Holland), was composed of the three ecclesiastical Electors and the Bishop of Münster, the Duke of Neuburg, the King of Sweden (for Bremen and Verden), the Duke of Brunswick, and the Landgrave of Hesse. It was therefore a Low German and anti-imperial Union.

before long come into collision with his authority. France and her monarch had resolutely turned their back on all forms of constitutional life; it is clear that a strong national Church would not be allowed to exist.

Ignorant as he was, and not at all cruel by nature, Louis from the beginning dealt harshly with both Jansenists and Huguenots: their independent temper was hateful to him; he calls the former a 'spirit of innovation';¹ the latter were at once sharply taught that the Edict of Nantes was to be interpreted by the strictest letter of the law.² The King is also deeply concerned for the poor Catholics of Dunkirk³, exposed to sore temptation; he sends them copious alms, 'for fear lest their misery should tempt them to follow the religion of the English,' as he styles it. It is curious to read in his letters how on another side he pleads for 'liberty of conscience' for the Catholics in Denmark and at Hamburg⁴, and to remember what he thought of that same freedom a little later within his own realm.

Generally however France was as tranquil at home as in her distressed and impoverished state she could be: and it only needed a wise and prudent King, of simple habits and some true patriotism, to raise her to a state of well-being and prosperity which would have given her a permanent and splendid influence over the fortunes of the world. But Louis was altogether the wrong type of ruler for her: he neglected her best interests for the sake of startling and theatrical strokes; his ambition for his country was only a love of personal reputation and glory: he made France terrible and brilliant, so that all Europe watched and dreaded her as a consuming fire; and the end could not fail to be the exhaustion of her powers in struggles with the

¹ *Mémoires de Louis XIV*, Cimber et Danjou, II. viii. p. 364.

² *Ibid.* p. 363.

³ Dunkirk remained in English hands till Charles II sold it privately to Louis in 1662.

⁴ *Lettres de Louis XIV*, Œuvres (ed. 1806), v. pp. 41-43, in letters to the King of Denmark and the Senate of Hamburg, both of this year, 1661. 'De leur accorder dans vos états liberté de conscience.'

nations around, and at the last, an utter collapse in the reeking ashes of the reign of Louis XV.

The new order of things had gone on but a few months, when society was startled by tidings of the fall of the most prominent of the King's three agents, Nicolas Fouquet. Louis, aware of the state of the finances, and of the Intendant's dishonesty, had given him warning, by ordering him to send in balance-sheets from time to time. These documents were examined and analysed by Colbert, who pointed out to the King the systematic false entries, which, by diminishing the receipts and exaggerating the outgoings, enabled Fouquet to appropriate large sums of money. All this time, too, the ambitious Intendant was aiming at the seals, hoping to persuade the young King to dismiss the aged and upright Seguier, plying him with pleasures, fêtes, distractions, offering even to interfere in the royal love-affairs, until at last his assiduities annoyed Louis so much that he could bear it no longer, and set himself to get rid of Fouquet, as a dangerous and dishonest servant. It shows us one side of the King's character, his placid temper, bearing with no small provocation:—they used to say of him, that he reproved a man for his first offence, said nothing as to the second, and on the third mercilessly dismissed the culprit from his service. In this case there was a special reason for long-suffering: Louis was not quite master of the position; and perhaps exaggerated the power and influence of Fouquet, thinking him more formidable than he really was. At any rate, he plotted against the finance-minister with the secrecy and caution of a dark conspirator¹. He lavished attentions on him, appeared to enjoy the sumptuous fête prepared for him at Vaux, Fouquet's splendid seat, listened to his requests as to the seals, and seemed at least to give a favourable reply. For when Fouquet again begged for them, the King made one of the few jokes recorded of him,—and it is but a poor and heartless one,—for he told Fouquet to make himself happy, as he would certainly find the

¹ See the King's curious letter, with many details, addressed to the Queen Mother, 5 Sept. 1661. Œuvres (ed. 1806), v. p. 50.

seals in his house when he returned to Paris¹:—and so he did; for after his arrest he found that the King's officers had placed seals on all his doors and cabinets, according to the custom with state-prisoners; and those were the only seals he got. Fouquet had followed his master into Brittany, his own country; at Nantes he was warned so clearly as to his coming ruin that he thought of escaping to Belle-Isle, his estate, an island lying off the Breton coast: while he hesitated, the King struck the blow. He was arrested and shut up at Angers. Great was the amazement in Paris, at the Court, in the literary world, among the fine ladies with whom he was so great a favourite! So many were compromised in his papers, that no one felt safe; even Lionne thought that his own fall must follow. But no disturbance ensued: the people warmly applauded the King; the minister's trial, which followed in due course, excited immense interest; we can see in Madame de Sévigné's letters² how the polite world of the day took part with the fallen minister; they had admired and basked in his splendour, had tasted of his liberality, and were not squeamish over his vices. So fell Nicolas Fouquet, whose cognisance, the squirrel, with the motto 'Quo non ascendam,' seemed to have led him up to such giddy heights, only to plunge him to irremediable ruin. His life was spared, and the Commission which tried him only condemned him to exile. But to allow one who knew so many secrets of state and had such powerful friends to go into banishment whither he would, was not what the King intended: he showed great annoyance, and even said to his mistress, Mademoiselle de la Vallière, that 'had the Court condemned him to death he would have signed the warrant.' As it was, he took on himself to reverse the noblest of all attributes of royalty; and instead of showing mercy, increased the severity of the sentence, by ordering Fouquet to be imprisoned at Pinerolo, a far harder lot than free exile. There the wretched,

¹ Les Portraits de la Cour, in Cimber et Danjou, II. viii. p. 409.

² Lettres de Mad. de Sévigné (Hachette's Grands Écrivains de la France, Nos. 54, 56-66).

pleasure-loving man wore away the monotonous remnant of his weary life: there he died after nineteen years of captivity: it has even been thought by some that he was the Man in the Iron Mask, and that the report of his death in 1680 was false.

No two men could be more unlike than this gay brilliant Fouquet, cultivated and dissolute, clever, careless, and a thief, and the grave business-like Colbert, the man after the King's heart, rigid and unsocial, simple of habits, a burgher with no apparent ambition or wish to rise; a man scrupulously honest and exact. He is said to have been of Scottish origin and a protestant, his ancestors, clothweavers, having emigrated to Rheims; and the tone of his character fits well with the belief. Him Louis at once named Comptroller-general of Finance, and under his fostering care order and plenty reappeared in France. With him there was no day without its line; no year without some new institution, some fresh manufacture, some as yet untried industry: he established the Academy of Inscriptions in 1663, that of the Sciences in 1666, of Architecture in 1671; he took charge of the rewards and pensions to be granted to men of letters: it was his, quite against all more modern ideas of wise administration, to foster and subsidise production, literary or artistic, commercial or agricultural. France, which had never, even in Sully's days, seen so much care expended on her, smiled, and gratefully repaid his labours with abundant fruitfulness. His care, however mistaken in principle, was far better than the civil wars, the precarious feverish life, the ruinous regulations and crushing taxation of former days.

These years, down to the Devolution War, are among the most prosperous and happy that France has ever seen. The pride of the country in its young ruler was gratified by his haughty bearing towards the powers of Europe: his ambassador in London, D'Estrades, after a bloody fracas in the streets, succeeded in taking precedence of the Spanish envoy: even at Rome he wrung an admission of wrong-doing from the Papacy

itself; Chigi the Legate was sent to Paris to excuse the violence of the Papal officers. In these diplomatic triumphs the King satisfied his 'ardent wish to appear and show his power'¹, and to make men talk of him. Restless and eager to shine in the European arena, he broke with the old and well-known policy of France, by sending troops (in 1664) to succour the Emperor Leopold against the Turks; they contributed largely to the great victory of the Christians on the Raab; his fleets scoured the Mediterranean and checked the African pirates.

At home Louis professed to feel much for the burdens of his people. In describing the state of France in 1661² he had drawn all in the darkest colours, artist-like, that the deepest gloom might come just before the effulgent rising of the Sun-god. The sterile few were wealthy, the working many penniless: the peasantry in most miserable state, the cattle had disappeared from the fields, and cultivation languished; consequently the people were poor and corn was dear; the country ever on the verge of famine, with dangerous fluctuations of prices, and the fatal engine of prohibited exports in full play: taxation pressed very unequally and heavily, vexatious import duties on raw materials strangled manufactures; 'disorder reigned.' But now, happily rid of Fouquet, the King set himself to remedy matters, and did not spare himself: in one of his letters he records, with a kind of exultation, his growing intelligence in financial questions, and his new passion for that branch of his task. He established a new Royal Council, composed of Villeroy, Colbert, and two others; with them he 'laboured continually from that time in unravelling the terrible confusion in which Fouquet had entangled his affairs'³.

Here Colbert was the inspiring mind: though the King worked, and thought he understood all and did all, the systematic and organising genius of the new Intendant was the one guide, bringing order out of confusion, and speedily changing a deficit into a

¹ *Considérations sur Louis XIV*, Œuvres (ed. 1806), i. p. 118.

² *Mémoires historiques*, Œuvres (ed. 1806), pp. 9, sqq.

³ *Ib.* i. p. 108.

large surplus. When he began in 1661 the receipts were put at over eighty-four millions of livres, of which less than thirty-two millions reached the treasury, so great was the waste caused by the existing system; while the expenditure, little curbed or understood, had risen to fifty-four, leaving a frightful yearly deficit of nearly twenty-two millions: in 1667, just before the Devolution War actually began, the receipts at the treasury had risen to sixty-three millions, while the outgoings had fallen to thirty two and a half, leaving an enormous surplus, a great weapon of power for the King's ambitious hand. To arrive at this happy result, Colbert had arbitrarily fixed the rate of interest on loans at a maximum of the 'denier vingt,' the twentieth penny, or five per centum, while he persuaded Louis to abolish a vast army of needless officers and to sweep away the whole system of finance farming. One consequence was that while the burden of taxation on the people was at once relieved, more money than ever flowed into the royal treasury. But mere reorganisation of finance was not enough: Colbert was determined to augment the sources of national wealth. He therefore hastened on the making of good highways; projected the great Languedoc Canal; declared Dunkirk and Marseilles free ports; and set himself to nurse the puny industries of the country; his 'royal manufactures' centralised and directed labour; though unfavourable, and even ruinous to private enterprise, in the main they developed some power of work in the nation. The final result, however, was that France has ever since leant on Government support instead of on the spontaneous energies of the people. Each year from 1663 to 1672 was marked by the establishment of some new manufacture¹. Tapestries, carpets, silks, mosaics, inlaid cabinet and artistic work, lace, gold and silver cloth, pottery, steel, and so on,—these were the objects to which the attention of France was called. All these are the industries of luxury, bolstered up by monopolies and bounties and false demand. The King

¹ Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV* (ed. Louandre), p. 391.

spent yearly about eight hundred thousand livres on these 'articles of taste.' They gave the industry of the French nation a distinct bias and a special excellence; they were perhaps not altogether ill-chosen for the time, and in a time of absolute stagnation any movement is good. But the whole system was flagrantly opposed to all good economic principles, and could never permanently increase the wealth of France. Meanwhile it largely contributed to her splendour and reputation.

Commerce was not neglected: four companies were set afoot: a privileged East India Company sprang into being in 1664, and a West India Company almost at the same moment. These great associations, in spite of the immense help given them by Government, never really flourished. Nor did Colbert care much for the true fountain of the wealth of France, her teeming soil: he did little for agriculture, where sagacious laws and well-applied help might have worked miracles: agricultural prosperity and prices were sacrificed to the interests of manufactures, as those interests were then wrongly understood.

The same spirit of protection was directed towards letters also;—letters which, even more than commerce or manufactures, suffer from the baneful influences of patronage. In the previous period the greatest men in the literary annals of France had been in opposition, some even in voluntary banishment: now however official help was provided; and we can see the effects of it in that gradual dying down of the fires of genius, which goes on as the long reign continues. At the outset the splendid creations of Corneille were still shining on the stage¹, and the greatest comedian and satirist of that or of any age, Molière, had already written some of his finest works²: Racine was just

¹ Corneille produced his finest works in Richelieu's time, but his *Otho* (1664) and *Agésilas* (1666) and some other pieces belong to the time of which we are now speaking.

² *Les Précieuses Ridicules* (1659), followed by a troop of others. The *Tartuffe* appeared in 1667.

beginning to feel his wings¹, and had not yet fallen under those influences which created the second or theological epoch of his writings. Boileau's satires had already appeared: he was not yet made Historiographer to the King.

With these, and a crowd of lesser writers, this splendid period of the reign was illustrated and ennobled: the King could not but wish to take in hand so important a branch of his 'métier du roy' as the direction and management of literature. We have his list of Pensions, drawn up in 1663, containing not merely the sums granted in each case, but the grounds on which the amount has been allotted: the list is therefore a proof of the value attached to the authors of the day: nothing could possibly show so clearly the dangers of a splendid patronage. The largest pensions go to the King's historians, Mezerai and Godefroï: for above all it was needful to secure the judgment of posterity. Then follows as next in importance, as if to cover the whole with ridicule, the name of Chapelain, the third-rate author whom Colbert employed to make out the list, with the singular notice, that he is 'the greatest French poet that hath ever been, and of the soundest judgment.' When we add that Molière and Racine come near the bottom of the list, and that Boileau does not appear at all, we get a fair idea of the value of this first systematic attempt at patronage².

In other ways the King and his minister were not idle: now began that taste for sumptuous buildings, which marks the age: palaces are adorned or built on every side, and at a ruinous cost; the Louvre, S. Germain, Versailles, the Trianon, all bear witness to this characteristic. Perrault was the chief architect, and Bernini was brought from Rome to help: their works have little nobility of style, and are full of affectations; it was art in the splendour of decadence.

The army was reorganised by Le Tellier and his son Louvois: these were the days of Martinet, who has left his name as a

¹ *Andromaque* (1667) and the *Plaideurs* (1668).

² *Œuvres de Louis XIV* (ed. 1806), i. pp. 223-225.

bye-word; regimentals were introduced; the bayonet brought into general use; the artillery improved: disliking to have great officers round his throne, Louis now abolished the posts of Constable and Colonel-General of Infantry; commissions in the army became the refuge of the young noblesse. A reformation of the laws was also undertaken, under Seguier's eye: a civil code appeared in 1667; rivers and forests were next treated of; a commercial and a criminal code followed; the organising spirit seemed to have taken possession of all France. Yet the legislation of Louis XIV was as faulty as his financial economy; it aimed not at securing the true principles of liberty and justice, but at precision, public order, regularity, and certainty¹. Here, too, as in the regulations for commerce and industry, France seemed to be thankful for any attention and care, even if applied on wrong principles: though it is quite clear that the false statesmanship which marked Colbert's rule had in the end disastrous effects on his country, and strangled her energies where it ought to have given them room to grow. It is a dangerous thing to be always teaching a nation how it must be administered and regulated.

Lastly, Louis was unwearied in his watchfulness, lest any one should become powerful in France, or have even the shadow of independence. The noblesse, grouped round his person, were taught to sell their independence for the pomps and fêtes of the Court: in these they wore away their wealth, and grew yearly less able to assert themselves; they crowded into the army, and accepted with humble thankfulness the royal bounty. The 'verifications' of the Parliament of Paris—a kind of modified opposition, something between a protest and a veto, were put an end to; the power of that body was reduced, its chiefs removed. The clergy were taught that they had a master, and were kept in great subjection. The hereditary independence of the official classes was weakened; and the powers of the governors of frontier-fortresses withdrawn; so that they could no longer levy taxes in their districts or keep up half-inde-

¹ Guizot, *Civilisation en Europe*, 14^{me} leçon.

pendent forces. The large towns, Bordeaux and Marseilles, saw fortifications rise to curb their free spirit; all civic daring and turbulence was promptly checked; Montauban, Dieppe, La Rochelle, and certain Provençal cities felt the King's heavy hand. He acted on his principle that 'All authority must centre in the sovereign alone:' and that 'the least division of power is sure to cause terrible evils:' behaving as if the old days of the League were coming back: he seems, in these early years, to have had a nervous fear lest his country should break out against him.

These were also the days in which the Court attained a greater gaiety and brilliancy than ever before had been seen in France. The King's love of work in no way damped his love of pleasure. Never had there been such splendid fêtes, such beauty, such grace, such outward decorum; for as yet the vices of the age were kept in the background. Each night the Court stepped into some fairy-land; some new creation of fancy, some castle, or temple, or bower, arose as by magic; gardens bloomed and romantic cascades gave variety to the scene, where all but now had been prosaic fields or monotonous wood. Louis was the centre of all: mythological or classical shows displayed his fine figure and handsome face, as a hero or a god: he delighted to appear as an Apollo, God of the Sun, of culture, of the arts, dispensing vivifying smiles and warmth of life. The vaunting and menacing motto, '*Nec Pluribus Impar*,' first appeared at a great carrousel at the Tuileries: in that device the monarch-sun shines brightly on the earth, as if, like Alexander, he longed for other worlds that he might dazzle them with his light¹.

In the midst of these brilliant effects, France saw war break out between England and Holland (1664); and though the dominant party at Amsterdam, counting on the King's friendship, appealed to him for aid, he was for a time well-pleased to let the two queens of the sea weaken each other, while

¹ Louis took the sun as his device in 1656; the motto did not appear till 1662.

he nursed his fleet. It suited him to send much help, in flagrant violation of the Peace of the Pyrenees, to the Portuguese, in their struggle for independence: for while Portugal kept Spain busy, and England was wrestling with the Dutch, his hands were free for any contingency. He was, however, obliged to listen to his Dutch allies, and declared war against Charles II in 1665: he sent six thousand men to hold the warlike Bishop of Münster in check, and compelled him to make peace; his ships had some success at sea.

Greater things however impended: the King of Spain, Philip IV, died in 1665, and Louis no longer cared to have an English war on his hands. Charles II, well as he liked the war to continue, 'for it helped him to money from his people', could not hold out against the shameful disasters that befell his arms, and was compelled in July 1667 to sign the Treaty of Breda. For some months before that time Louis had been intriguing privately with him, and deluding his allies the Dutch²: it is to this time that we may refer the beginnings of that system of duplicity which marks the relations of the two Kings. Political fair dealing was certainly no element of the kingcraft of Louis: his reflexions on the best way of eluding the Peace of the Pyrenees in the matter of the war between Spain and Portugal, showed that his moral standard in such matters was flexible and low.

With the death of Philip IV in 1665, the Spanish succession question at once became urgent: how long would the sickly miserable child, his only male heir, live? So frail a cockboat on the sea of life might founder in a moment, and then who should succeed? Charles II however lingered on, more dead than alive, to the very end of the century, though he might have died at any moment: with him Spain herself was slowly perishing, in a long agony of forty years: the population, which under the Arabs had been reckoned at twenty millions, and is

¹ Lionne, in Mignet's *Négociations relative à la succession d'Espagne*.

² See a letter of his to Lionne, dated 18 Apr. 1667. *Œuvres* (ed. 1806), v. p. 405.

about fourteen at the present day, fell to six millions during this dreary reign. This was 'the pivot on which turned almost all the policy of Louis XIV; it occupied the diplomatists and the arms of France for fifty years and more; it formed the grandeur of the earlier days of his reign, and caused the misery of its end¹.' To this the King's attention was always turned: wars or treaties were alike regarded as subservient to this: the signature, for example, of the Treaty of Ryswick, which Voltaire attributes to the magnanimity of Louis, and to his pity for the wretched state of France, is now known to have been influenced solely by his anxieties over the Spanish question²: and the Peace of Breda was really dictated by the same needs.

The marriage of Louis XIV in 1660 to the Infanta of Spain had been accompanied by a formal and solemn renunciation of all her rights to the Spanish throne³; for in Spain there was no 'Salic Law' and if the little Charles died, she would be the rightful heir to the crown. Louis XIV agreed to the renunciation and signed the document, never intending to fulfil it or to keep his word. Mazarin said as much, and looked forward to the inevitable union of the two crowns. No sooner was Louis free to act, than he began his endeavours to shake himself free from his obligation: the Queen's dowry had never been paid by Spain; and this was at once made a pretext for its repudiation. The correspondence on the subject leaves no room for doubt, and shows us what were the King's claims. There are few documents extant so cynical as the despatch of Louis' agent, the Archbishop of Embrun⁴, in which he describes the feelings with which he celebrated Mass at Madrid; 'Yesterday,' he says, 'I was obliged to

¹ Mignet, *Négociations relative à la Succession d'Espagne*, i. p. lii. Cp. Bolingbroke, *Letters*, No. vii. (pp. 69, 70).

² This is shown in the *Correspondence inédite du Marquis de Harcourt*, edited by Hippeau.

³ Anne of Austria, when she married Louis XIII, had similarly renounced her rights.

⁴ Dated 26 Oct. 1661; Mignet, *Négociations*, i. p. 79.

celebrate . . . and made the usual public prayers for the King, for the health of the Prince, and all the royal family,' and then he adds the remark, so cold, and, considering the moment, so ghastly, 'not forgetting all the while to pray secretly, as I am bound, for the prosperity of your Majesty, and hoping for the moment' (that is, after the death of all those for whose health he had but just been praying openly), 'when it may be permitted me to pray here for your Majesty aloud.' The King's claims are also clearly set forth in a letter addressed to the same Archbishop four months later,—he will not help the Portuguese, or ask for more from Spain, if 'only she will cede him at once in full possession and sovereignty Franche-Comté, Luxemburg, Hainault, and the towns of Cambrai, Aire, and Saint-Omer'.¹

In truth he had aimed at more than this: if Philip IV and his puny son both died, he hoped for the whole heritage in spite of the renunciations; if Charles II succeeded to the throne, he would still have a part, and that part the Spanish Netherlands. And this was what had now happened: Philip was dead; Charles II succeeding him. At once Louis put in his claim for the Netherlands, basing it on the ancient feudal law of Devolution. A great outburst of diplomatic work followed: Lionne's voice was heard at every court; that minister, whom some have called with a certain truth the greatest of the ministers of Louis, bent all his energies to secure a part, if not the whole of the Spanish possessions for France. A paper war ensued, which was opened by a 'Treatise of the rights of the Queen',² a vigorous party-statement of the grounds on which the whole political fabric of the reign was to be built up. It was as vigorously answered from the other side, which indeed had the best of this war of words.

Louis claimed two things, for both of which the cancelling of the Queen's renunciation was necessary; though the two claims

¹ Mignet, *Négociations*, i. p. 109.

² 'Traité des droits de la Reine Tres-Chrétienne sur divers états de la monarchie d'Espagne.' Said to have been written by Duhan.

rested eventually on quite different grounds. The larger claim was for the succession to the whole Spanish dominion, which every one in Europe believed must very shortly become vacant. This however was not the question of the moment: the death of Philip IV had handed Spain and her great territories over to the weakly child Charles II, whose much-expected death was deferred for five and thirty years. The other question, on the other hand, was raised at once. Some one¹ had bethought himself of certain feudal customs applicable to the Netherland provinces, in accordance with which the succession to them under their usual counts and lords had formerly been regulated. These customs were, for Brabant, Antwerp, Malines, Limburg, Upper Gelderland, Namur, Aire and Saint-Omer in Artois², and Cambrai, what is called 'the Jus Devolutionis'; that is, these districts went to the children, male or female, of 'the first bed' to the exclusion of those of the second. Hainault was similarly claimed for the first family, on the ground of its special custom: it was held that feudally Franche-Comté ought to be divided into equal parts among all the children; and as there were three, the Queen of France claimed one-third: the Luxemburg custom differed again, in giving two shares to a son, and otherwise dividing the territory among the children; of Luxemburg, therefore, the Queen claimed a quarter, leaving two shares for her brother, and one for her sister³. Now⁴ (as Maria Theresa, the Queen of France, was the daughter of the first wife of Philip IV, Elizabeth of France, while the other children, Margaret Theresa and Charles II, sprang from his second wife, Maria Anna of Austria) the King of France, transferring customs of feudal lordship to the succession of royalty, declared that he would take possession of these districts in his wife's name. He did not forget, at the same time, to

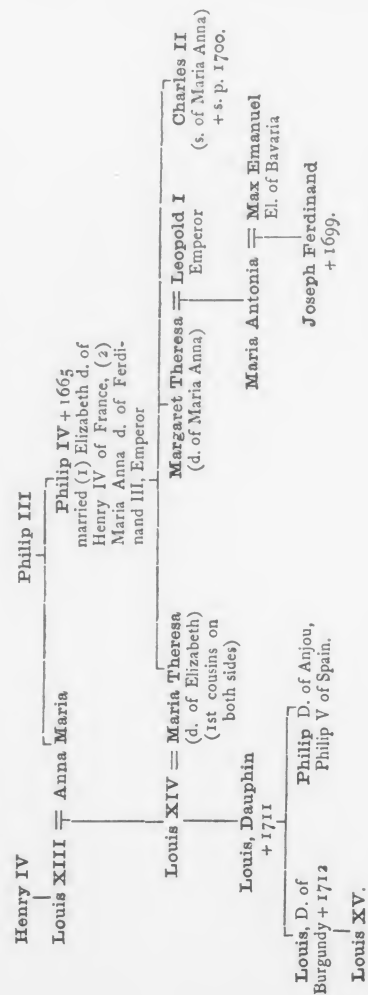
¹ It is said to have been Turenne's secretary, Duhan; if so, it is a sign that the counsels of the Marshal had much to do with the King's aggressive policy.

² Which were still in Spanish hands.

³ See Martin, *Histoire de France*, xiii. p. 315.

⁴ See Table over page.

TABLE II. THE SPANISH AND FRENCH RELATIONSHIP.



flourish before the eyes of Europe the favourite thesis of French monarchs,—that he was the descendant and heir of Frankish kings, and notably of Karl the Great: 'the kings of France were their natural lords before kings of Castile even existed at all'.¹ In notifying his action in the matter, Louis ostentatiously avoided all phrases which might be interpreted as meaning war; he spoke only of his 'journey' into the Spanish Netherlands, and assumed that Europe understood him to be acting as rightful and unopposed sovereign of those parts.

Then he went to Amiens (May, 1667), where the main part of his army was to assemble: its left-hand corps under d'Aumont was ordered to operate along the sea-coast; the central body, commanded by the King himself with his friend and counsellor Turenne, was to start from Amiens, and aimed first at Brussels; a third force under Duras, was collected at La Fère; and, still farther to the east, a fourth army under Créquy threatened Luxemburg. Condé, now governor of Burgundy, was presently to attack Franche-Comté.

The Devolution war, which now begins, may be summed up in a few words. There were two campaigns, the first in the Netherlands in 1667; the second in Franche-Comté in 1668. Not a single encounter deserving to be called a battle took place in either campaign of the war: the sieges, its chief characteristics, were short and easy: it came to a close when most persons thought it was just about to enter on a fresh and more serious phase.

Everything was favourable to France. The Spaniards could not easily get at their Netherland possessions, and had neither strength nor vigour at home: the fortified towns were ill-defended, if defended at all: from many of them, strong places enough, the garrisons were withdrawn, because they were too feeble to be left in danger: the population disliked the Spanish rule, and welcomed the French as deliverers. At first the young men of the army, including the King himself, clamoured for an immediate advance on Brussels; but the caution and

¹ *Traité des droits de la Reine.*

experience of Turenne obliged them to make the nearer districts safe. So the campaign of 1667 was simply a march from place to place, and the capture of town after town.

First Charleroi, which the Spaniards had abandoned, was seized: then, not Brussels, but Tournai fell; then Douai, Oudenarde, and Alost; Dendermonde, which made some resistance, was missed: the King shows himself¹ very sensitive over this little check. He passed on at once to attack Lille, which fell without any serious struggle, and the campaign was concluded by a brilliant exploit, in which Créquy and Bellefonds surprised the Spaniards, who had advanced to succour Lille: they, believing the whole French army to be on them, made little resistance, and fled with a loss, in killed, prisoners, and runaways, of perhaps a couple of thousand men. This ended the campaign: the rest of the year was spent on plans for 1668. There should be an army to penetrate into Catalonia; another under Condé to observe the Rhine; while the third and fourth armies were to operate in Flanders, under the King and Turenne.

Busy negotiations, of great importance, also went on: Lionne excited troubles in Poland, to keep Germany employed: Louis allied himself closely with Charles II of England, whose price he had now learnt: above all, he sketched out a Partition Treaty with the Emperor Leopold²—a negotiation carried on with such caution on both sides, that it remained an absolute secret for a century. It was, in fact, the hidden pivot on which the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle turned.

The one remarkable feat of the war was yet to be done; and that was the campaign of February 1668. Through the latter months of 1667 Condé had skilfully made his preparations. Franche Comté was almost entirely surrounded by French territory, except at its north-eastern corner where it touches on the Bishopric of Basel. It had been left to itself; hardly any Spanish troops were in it; the fortified places were old-fashioned

¹ *Mémoires historiques, Œuvres* (ed. 1806), ii. pp. 307-311.

² *Ibid.* pp. 371, 372. It was signed 19 Jan. 1668.

and had fallen into neglect; and the only defender the County could have was Switzerland; for the Cantons considered it, just as the Dutch regarded the Spanish Netherlands, a barrier between them and the powerful monarchy beyond. Condé's measures were so well taken, and his action so swift, that the Swiss had not time to gather themselves together; almost before they heard of the invasion, the whole campaign was over. On the 3rd of February Condé had crossed the frontier: the King hastened from Paris, and arrived in time to receive the oaths and submission of the chief places. In little more than a fortnight the whole province was secured; Dôle and Besançon were taken, all the lesser places threw open their gates. Louis gave to Condé the well-merited post of Governor of the two Burgundies, and returned in triumph to Paris.

There he learnt that a new grouping of the Powers of Europe was beginning;—a 'plot' he loftily calls it, as if all resistance to France were treason. Under the skilful management of Sir William Temple an agreement had been come to between England and Holland: even John de Witt himself no longer held to the French alliance, and the two sea-powers at last seemed to lay aside their ancient rivalry. Count Dohna, for Sweden, joined the league in the following May; these three powers made up the famous Triple Alliance of 1668. Spain and Portugal had also made peace (Feb. 1668). Thus the three chief Protestant powers, England, Holland, and Sweden, were now leagued—strange change for Europe!—to save the tottering Spanish monarchy.

The young Court round the King, and most of the officers of the army, were naturally eager that, after the brilliant stroke of Franche-Comté, France should seek new triumphs and dictate peace on her own terms at Brussels. The King however knew more than they knew; Turenne himself was not eager for war, and had already recommended negotiation; the agreement with

¹ *Mémoires hist. Œuvres*, ii. p. 361. Voltaire, following cue, is pleased to call this resistance to Louis an 'intrigue.' *Siècle*, p. 99 (ed. Louandre).

Leopold was conclusive, and peace was speedily made. The King's caution and timidity may have had some share in it; but the chief motive to peace was the knowledge that all had already been secured that could have been hoped for. Add to this the keen pleasure Louis felt in being able to pose himself before Europe as the most magnanimous and moderate of conquerors. So the negociation speedily ended in the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (2 May, 1668), by which Louis withdrew from Franche-Comté, contenting himself with dismantling its strong places, and securing the districts overrun and towns taken in the Netherlands. He kept all he had won on the Lys, the Scheldt, and the Sambre¹.

It is usual to say that Louis consented to peace through alarm at the Triple Alliance: that was not really a very serious danger. Charles II of England was his friend, and he feared nothing from that side: in Holland a great party was devoted to his interests: Sweden was his old ally. Though he no doubt wished for peace, that he might break up these new friendships, the true cause of peace was his knowledge that the Spanish succession was really arranged and that Charles II of Spain might die at any hour. Also, as he himself says more than once², what was conceded to him in the Netherlands carried with it, by implication, the abolition of the Queen's renunciation; and so far cleared the way for the eventual succession. In addition to this, again, it is probable that Louis was not anxious to add to the laurels won by Condé, or to seem, as in war he was but too likely to seem, a less brilliant personage than his subject: perhaps also some such feeling reconciled him to giving up Franche-Comté; it was as if he did not think so very much of that conquest; and as if he was rather glad that the Great Condé's government should not be really extended over both Burgundies.

Thus under the useful garb of moderation did ambition, and

¹ Bolingbroke calls the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle 'nothing more than a composition between the bully and the bullied.' Letter vii. p. 74.

² *Mémoires historiques*; *Œuvres*, ii. pp. 366-369.

that of no measured kind, veil itself, till the time for its fulfilment should be come. 'Beyond the recognised reasons for peace,' says Louis, 'there were others which depended solely from the secret views I at that time entertained¹.' The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was but an apparent retreat, in order that the King might presently make the bolder leap.

¹ *Mémoires historiques*; *Œuvres*, ii. p. 369.

CHAPTER II.

FROM AIX-LA-CHAPELLE TO NIMWEGEN; THE DUTCH WAR. A.D. 1668-1678.

THE Triple Alliance, though often rated too highly, especially by English writers, was still an important point in European history¹. The three powers, acting as armed mediators, pressed peace on Louis at S. Germain, while the congress at Aix-la-Chapelle did little more than nominally discuss the terms. The mediating powers accepted the past, and allowed France to carry off the chief spoils of her campaigns, hoping to curb and limit the ambition of Louis for the future. He, knowing how he stood, accepted all they gave, and laughed at them in his sleeve;—how could they tie him down for the future, when he had his partition-treaty with the Emperor already in his pocket? So he made peace; and set himself at once to dissolve the Alliance, which seemed so menacing.

With England he knew that he would have little trouble: all the while, whatever public opinion or Parliament might think, he was sure of Charles II and the 'Cabal'; and that was enough for him. Sweden had acceded to the alliance 'as a commercial speculation';—it would be quite easy to buy her off. With Holland however, the case was different; for twenty years past she had shown a distinct tendency towards opposition: no longer

¹ L. von Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, iii. p. 238.

did the burgher party rule supreme, or lean implicitly on France. There runs through the letters of Louis XIV a distinct tone of dislike towards the Dutch: they were tradesmen—a 'nation of shopkeepers,' yet outspoken and independent; their opinions, religious and political, were unbearable: the republican boldness of Van Beuningen, burgomaster of Amsterdam, the ambassador of the Provinces at S. Germain, bitterly offended the King; he determined that he would crush the Republic, and extend his kingdom to the Rhine. There is no need of the well-known tale of the medal of Joshua¹ to account for the vehement and angry spirit in which Louis now began to deal with the Dutch. They were distasteful to him for many reasons; their great trade overshadowed all the attempts of France, under Colbert's fostering hand, to create commercial prosperity for herself; their constitution, whichever party might prevail, was republican; their manners were sturdy and offensive to a monarch who lived for glory and flattery; their religion was in his eyes rank blasphemy. Holland was the home of many a literary exile, the land of free writing and vigorous journalism, while France admired the polite classicism of her brilliant, though, with exception of Molière, slightly wearisome stage. In a hundred ways the antagonism made itself felt; and the opposing elements during these years silently but surely gathered for an explosion. 'My fathers,' said Louis, 'built them up, but I will tear them down.'

In these words lies the reversal of the ancient policy of France, her well-known subordination of her religious opinions to her political needs. It was a fatal step, this attack on Holland: no longer did France care to hold the balance between the Confessions: on the contrary, while the Protestant

¹ There is a medal, probably struck in Germany, with Joshua staying the sun (in allusion to Louis' cognisance), and with the motto 'In conspectu meo stabat sol.' Van Beuningen declared solemnly that the tale that Joshua meant himself was 'une fiction toute pure inventée en France.' See Ranke, *Franz. Gesch.* iii. p. 285, and note. See also Martin, xiii. p. 344. Voltaire is wrong in saying (*Siècle*, ed. Louandre, p. 109), 'Cette médaille n'exista jamais.'

powers combined in 1668 to save Catholic Spain, the lesser German princes on the Rhine are now seen joining with Louis to crush Holland; and presently, we see the Great Alliance, in which the Emperor joins the Northern Princes and the Dutch in thrusting back the French domination. It has been truly said¹, that 'in Holland the old political system of France made shipwreck.'

If a man falls because he stands out against some dominant selfishness of his time, we honour him as a hero: but Louis overthrew the greatness of France because he abandoned her ancient principles, and made himself the exponent of her two worst passions—her passion for political and warlike triumphs, and her passion for uniformity. The old ideas of universal dominion, in politics and religion, reappear: Louis even negotiates for the Imperial crown: he defers his dazzling Oriental schemes till things nearer home shall be settled in his favour.

That he seriously entertained such far-reaching plans sufficiently foreboded ill; but the dangers were much increased by the rise of two men, at this time coming more prominently forward. Of these two the one was Louvois, Le Tellier's son, who knew the fatal art of flattery but too well: 'the most brutal of all agents'² to the rest of the world, the most insidious incense-bearer to his master. He it is who a little after this time taught Louis to believe that his great glory was to stand 'alone against all': he pushed the King into the Dutch war, refused all terms, drove Holland to desperation, ruined the friendly party in the Commonwealth, and secured the rise of William of Orange. And William of Orange was the other man whose rise was fatal to Louis. The two Princes were the direct opposites of each other in every way. Louis was already well-accustomed to his throne when William was born, eight days after his father's death in 1650. The burgher-party, the

¹ By Mignet, in his admirable volumes on the Spanish Succession, *Négociations, &c.*, I. pp. lxii, lxiii.

² Siri's remark, quoted in Mignet, I. lxii, note 1.

'rigid republicans,' as Voltaire styles them, had at that moment won the ascendancy over their antagonists; these were the aristocratic republicans, whose strength lay in the great towns of the Provinces, the Low German counterparts to the oligarchical Republic of Venice; they were the friends of France and hostile to their trading rival England. The rule of the States-General, with John de Witt, the Grand Pensionary, at their head, had taken the place of the rule of the Stattholders, an office hereditary in the family of William the Silent, the younger branch of the House of Orange-Nassau. The little babe of 1650 was the only head of the land-party, whom Voltaire calls the 'mitigated republicans'; it was a party far more democratic than the other, preferring before the narrow parliamentary government of the States-General the broader liberties to be enjoyed under a Prince or President of the House of Orange. This party disliked the French influences, and leant on England. To the friendly feeling of Charles II of England, to the marriage of William with the Princess Mary in 1677, and to the pressure exerted on the Dutch by the attacks of Louis XIV, are due in part the successful resistance to that imperious monarch, the English Revolution, and the establishment of the liberties of Europe in their modern form.

William of Orange 'was never a boy.' His childhood was passed in gloomy adversity: he grew up reserved, cautious, farseeing; his eyes, like those of the modern Australians of the bush, had the strained gaze of one who ever scans the perils and possibilities of a far-distant horizon. He was a faithful and tenacious friend, though cold and harsh of aspect and approach to the rest of the world: his larger views and masterful temper never allowed him, to his dying day, to be comfortable under the galling checks of parliamentary government in England: champion of freedom for the world, he scarcely could see that Parliament was an equally jealous defender of the liberties of his adopted country. He chafed under its restrictions, despised its fears, knowing himself to be true and honourable, and was amazed at its insular narrowness of view. Yet it was this stern

cold man, this 'magnanimous and unconquerable soul,' who was needed to redress the world's affairs. Through disappointment and defeat, with jealous States and suspicious Parliaments, with raw levies and scant supplies, William, out of his wonderful and heroic tenacity, gradually created such a resistance to the schemes of Louis as turned the whole current of the world's history. From the drowned marshes of the Batavian delta came forth that unextinguishable liberty which had so long defied the dominant Spanish power, and now taught Louis XIV the hollowness of his dreams of Empire.

Louis XIV set himself with all the determination of his character to isolate and then to crush the Dutch. 'All that the efforts of human ambition and prudence can prepare for the destruction of a nation he had done¹,' says Voltaire: and it should restore our belief in the prevailing power of justice to note that these great preparations ended, not in the overthrow of the little nation attacked, but in the weakening of France herself; they prepared the way for the calamities which mark the latter years of the great monarch's reign.

England had first to be secured: negotiations were gladly listened to by Charles II; who, as he said, was 'as ready to smite the Dutch as Louis himself;' in 1670 Louis made a grand triumphal progress through his newly acquired frontier towns in the North, taking with him in one carriage the 'two Queens,' the true Queen, and Madame de Montespan.

This journey of almost Oriental splendour was really but the cloak for the mission to England of the clever and attractive Henrietta Maria, Duchess of Orleans. She crossed to England, and there meeting her brother Charles, as though it were but a friendly visit, concluded the secret treaty of Dover, in which the English king undertook to abandon Holland, and to declare himself, at the right moment, a Catholic. The price was a large sum of ready money, the promise of the islands which commanded the mouths of the Scheldt and Meuse, and a

¹ *Siècle de Louis XIV* (ed. Louandre), p. 109.

brilliant new mistress, Mademoiselle de Querouaille, 'that famous beauty, but, in my opinion, of a childish, simple, and baby face¹,' whom the king speedily made Duchess of Portsmouth. Her influence would be needed in the coming storms to keep Charles firmly attached to the French interests², opposed as they were to the religion and instincts of the English people. This treaty of Dover (22 May, 1670)³, which could not be made known as it stood, for, as Charles said, 'he was the only man in England who approved of it,' was cloaked over with a public document, from which the first clause was omitted: the two kings laughed in their sleeves at Buckingham, who had been sent to negotiate it, and who went through the farce in ignorant gravity and good faith.

The Duchess of Orleans⁴, having done her task for Louis,

¹ Evelyn's Diary, 4 Nov. 1670.

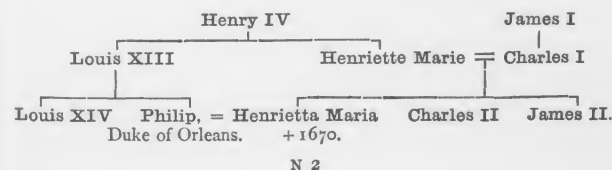
² 'Elle ne contribua peu à la parfaite intelligence qui fut toujours entre les deux rois.' *Mémoires de La Fare* (Michaud, III. viii. p. 290).

³ Its chief conditions were:—

- (1) Charles promises to declare himself Catholic as soon as it should be safe to do so.
- (2) Louis promises help in cash and arms if rebellion followed.
- (3) Louis will solemnly observe the terms of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.
- (4) Charles agrees to help Louis by land and sea, to secure the Spanish succession.
- (5) Both Kings will make war on the United Provinces, Louis by land, Charles by sea.
- (6) Subsidy of three million livres yearly to Charles.
- (7) At the Scheldt mouths, the Island of Walcheren, Sluys, and Cadsand, to be England's share of the spoils.
- (8) A Treaty of Commerce to follow.

The Treaty is given in Lingard, *History of England* (ed. 1855), ix. p. 91.

TABLE III.
THE STUART AND BOURBON RELATIONSHIP.



returned, somewhat heavy of heart, to France; for she had hoped to escape from her wretched husband the Duke; that, however, could not be. She went first to St. Germain to the Court; thence her husband took her to Saint Cloud: there she was suddenly taken very ill, drank a glass of chicory-water, and was immediately seized with violent pains; she died in the night, not without very grave suspicions of poison. She believed it herself; the vehement quarrels and intrigues in which she was enveloped gave a sufficient cause; the age was full of the terrors of poison; her symptoms were alarming and sudden. Yet her health was bad; she was said to have been far gone in consumption; the medical opinion of the day declared itself against the suspicion. The despair of her friends at her sudden death was very striking; one of her ladies forthwith became a nun; the literary world was full of wailing: after the loss of her, says La Fare, 'the Court was nothing but gambling, confusion, and rudeness'.¹ The King, fearful of the effect of the news on his fresh-made alliance, addressed a letter of condolence to Charles, in which he shows far more anxiety for the political consequences that may ensue than grief at her death². She lives in the literature of the age; at her bidding Corneille and Racine had written each a *Berenice*, portraying her in ancient garb; her death was the text for one of Bossuet's most splendid funeral orations.

This was the tragic incident of the new Anglo-French alliance: elsewhere Louis had few difficulties to encounter. Sweden was easily detached from Holland: the Emperor consented to stand aside; the members of the old league of the Rhine were friendly; that disreputable Bishop of Münster, Van Galen, the Duke of Brunswick, the Elector of Cologne, all siding warmly with Louis; the Elector granted Neuss and Kaiserwerth as depôts for the French army of the Rhine:

¹ *Mémoires* (Michaud, III. viii. 269).

² *Lettres particulières*, 30 June, 1670. *Œuvres* (ed. 1806), v. p. 469.

the Elector Palatine, whose daughter now became the Duke of Orleans' second wife¹, was secured: Mainz, Trèves, and Bavaria stood neutral. Only the Great Elector refused, now as ever, to fall in with French ambition: the Protestant side was his, and he clung to it tenaciously, not without practical views as to the growth of Brandenburg in the direction of Jülich and of Pommern. The Duke of Lorraine showed signs of a wish to go with Holland; but Créquy marched at Louis' orders to Nancy, and the Duke fled to Germany: Lorraine and Bar were at once occupied by French troops. Spain also refused to side with France, and secretly made what arrangements she could to help the other side.

So were things drawing near a catastrophe; though here and there one tried to avert it. The King had shown a liking for Oriental matters, and seemed inclined to be the Crusading hero of modern times. Leibnitz, now just rising to the height of his great reputation, laid before him a scheme for the conquest of Egypt, the seizure by France of the whole Mediterranean trade, the overthrow of the unbeliever, and ejection of Islam from Europe. The learned world rose with enthusiasm at the thought that the land of Sophocles, the Holy Land of their classical fervour, might be rescued from barbarism; more glorious, more easy, more permanent, said they, would this great crusade be than the mere extermination of sulky tradesmen in Dutch swamps. Had Lionne lived, he might perhaps have swayed the balance in this direction: but unluckily for France that great statesman died in 1671, and Colbert was left without support. The evil star of the brutal Louvois² was now full in the ascendant; and he had set his mind on the Dutch War. Colbert was for no fighting at all, and did not encourage even the Eastern

¹ She has left brilliant, but not very trustworthy, memoirs. She is the mother of the modern Orleans branch of the Bourbons.

² Hear the Palatine Princess on him: 'Il était horriblement méchant... il s'est fait haïr par tout le monde. Il croyait bien au diable, mais non pas au bon Dieu. Il croyait à tous les dévins; mais il ne faisait pas scrupule d'incendier, empoisonner, mentir, et tromper' (which reads like De Quincy's 'ending in downright incivility').

scheme; Louis himself listened more and more to his evil genius; and the Dutch War was finally determined on, though there was no pretext or excuse for it, as Voltaire himself says¹, comparing this mighty combination of power for the destruction of Holland with the League of sovereigns at Cambrai for the overthrow of Venice, 'because she was wealthy and proud'.

While all these matters were being arranged, France was in no happy humour at home: it was the age of astrologers and poisoners, if it was also the age of Bossuet and his conversion-triumphs²: a magician was sent to Charles II to advise and help him: in Paris a 'Chamber of Poisons' was set up, for these were the days of the Brinvilliers³; Louvois found the tribunal very handy as a private Vehmgericht, by the agency of which he rid himself of enemies, and satisfied his vengeance⁴. The death of the Duchess of Orleans struck terror into all hearts; every sudden illness was put down to poison; the narrowest religion, the grossest superstition, the most abject terrors, all flourished together.

We see from the letters of Louis how much he had at heart the extinction of Huguenot opinions: his plan was to wear them down, by sedulous conversions of some, purchase of others, by the gentle coercion a Court can exercise, by refusal of promotion or offices. These processes are to be noted in full action during these days: later on, when he is deluded into believing that only a scanty remnant of stiffnecked misbelievers remain, he will begin to persecute openly, and finally decide on the suicidal policy of driving them from France. Thus his conduct with respect to the Huguenots follows a definite and well-designed plan throughout: successful at first, it fails afterwards, because Louis miscalculated utterly the forces of resistance, and was indifferent as to the effects of their expulsion. The King in these days took many steps for the worse:

¹ *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, p. 108.

² He converted Turenne in 1668.

³ She fled from Paris in 1670.

⁴ *Mémoires de La Fare* (Michaud, III. viii. p. 291).

he knew nothing of the history of his country, was ignorant of even the names of great families; and now that the Duchess of Orleans was gone, there was no one to set him right: he began to make great blunders in dealing with the Court. Being moreover of a 'pedantic and austere humour', as La Fare says, he fell into obvious contradictions: he had mistresses, and moralised solemnly over the right behaviour towards them; he exacted the strictest external propriety, and added the sin of hypocrisy to the other vices he encouraged. His letters and writings of this time contain a strange mixture of religion and passion, of things sacred and trivial: these were the days in which he turned his back on sweet Mademoiselle de la Vallière, who humbly and thankfully glided off the great scene, retiring into the haven of a nunnery, and called to his side the haughty imperious Madame de Montespan. With these amusements, and his reckless passion for building, pulling down, and rebuilding, he filled up these years, in which, though 'there was peace, the people found no solace¹.' Louvois, too, was steadily rising all this while: he made the Dutch War of 1672 partly in order to depress his rival Colbert, who had to find the funds for it and for the King's pleasures. Colbert had a most ungrateful task, acquitted with his wonted probity, though he could not help showing an ill-humour and dissatisfaction which irritated and offended the King.

So war began. The English, who had charge of the naval operations, opened badly with an attack, without any declaration of war, on the Smyrna fleet: the attempt was in the main a failure, 'a breach of faith such as even Mahometans and pyrates would have been ashamed of,' 'as ridiculous as it was base,' says Bishop Burnet²: their fortunes in these years were not brilliant. For the land-war France had made immense preparations at huge cost: thirty ships of war were sent to join and to observe the English: the King marching northwards

¹ *Mémoires de La Fare* (Michaud, III. viii. p. 265).

² *Own Times*, i. p. 307 (ed. 1724).

had at his back over a hundred and twenty thousand men : a considerable force of German auxiliaries in French pay mustered on the Rhine. The chief command under Louis was divided between the Great Condé and Turenne : Vauban was there to direct the siege-works so dear to the King, and to secure the places when taken ; Louvois watched over everything ; poor Colbert had to find the money. Sure of an easy and brilliant triumph, Louis carried in his train a sedulous historian, Pélisson, a convert both from Protestantism and from the old party of Fouquet, in whose fall he had shared. His it would be to chronicle the King's acts, and to display them to the gaze of posterity. The great work was never written ; we possess nothing but some fragments of his 'History of Louis XIV down to the Peace of Nimwegen'. On the other hand, nothing could be more hopeless than the state of the United Provinces. For years the sea-party had ruled supreme : with help of Ruyter's genius, they might stay their enemies on the Channel ; but what glimmer of hope was there for them by land ? The party of William of Orange seemed only strong enough to divide the counsels of the Dutch ; there was but a miserable army of some twenty-five thousand raw and untrained soldiers ; the strong towns were neglected ; if once Louis set foot in the Provinces there appeared to be nothing to arrest his progress : he would decree at Amsterdam the extinction of the Republic. And this, it seemed clear, was his intention : embassy after embassy had come with offers of concession on concession ; the humblest proposals had been made to him ; hastily and haughtily he had repulsed them all. He had taken up the sword, the sword should be thrown into the balance, come what might.

The King and Turenne commanded the chief army, sixty thousand strong ; their gathering-place was Sedan : further on at Charleroi lay Condé with a vanguard of twenty-five thousand men : a division was pushed still farther forward and occupied the Bishoprick of Liège ; all the Meuse, down to the key-fortress of Maestricht, was in French hands : another strong force under

Luxemburg was directed to join the Germans under the two warlike prelates of Cologne and Münster ; to the King's left lay another division watching the Spaniards in Flanders.

As Louis did not wish to drive the Spaniards into war, and as, in fact, the nearest route was defended by strong fortresses and deep rivers, while the approach to Holland by the Meuse was commanded by Maestricht, he concerted with Turenne a plan for a great flank march by the Rhine. A considerable force was set to mask Maestricht ; then, confident in his overwhelming numbers, and aware of the weakness of the Prince of Orange, Louis did not hesitate to follow Turenne's advice. On the Rhine all was friendly ; the old historic barrier-town of Neuss was in his hands : his army descended both banks of the river. Meanwhile the States-General had ordered the young Prince of Orange to shelter his raw troops behind the Yssel, where the Dutch had a few ill-provided forts : they had not expected to be attacked from that side, and had put all their trust in Maestricht, and in the defences along that roadway into Holland.

Louis took them completely at unawares. He passed as a friend through Jülich into the territories of the Elector of Cologne : Condé on the right bank made front against any force the Great Elector might send, and joined the German allies who were under the Duke of Luxemburg and the Bishop of Münster. Meanwhile, the King's army, descending the left bank, took with ease the Dutch fortresses, then crossed the river at Wesel, and from the right shore threatened the line of the Yssel and the 'Betuwe,' the district between the Leck and Waal. By this move he escaped all the larger rivers lying between France and Holland : he was beyond the Meuse, the Waal, and, if he chose, the Leck : the only river of any size between him and Amsterdam was the Yssel. Turenne's plan was to take the Yssel line in the rear by crossing the Rhine into the Betuwe ; then to cross again at Arnheim, in the rear of the Prince of Orange, cutting him off from Amsterdam, and so having that city completely at his mercy. Following this plan,

the head of the army, directly it reached the point opposite the Tollhus¹, began to construct a bridge. The Rhine in this part, between the outfall from it of the Waal above and of the Yssel below, is shallow and sluggish: there were only some twenty feet of deep water in mid-channel. The Prince of Orange, whom the Duke of Luxemburg occupied on the Yssel, could only send a weak force to defend the Rhine: the French cavalry seeing them appear, boldly crossed the river, under Condé's vigorous leading, fording and swimming, with but little loss: the Dutch, after a slight skirmish, withdrew towards Nimwegen. The King, next day, crossed in a boat at his leisure: and the bridge being complete, the rest of the army easily entered the Betuwe. This is that famous 'passage of the Rhine' of 1672, which caused so immense a sensation at Paris, and made Louis a popular hero. No doubt the move was strategically all-important, laying Holland at the King's feet: had he moved vigorously forwards, the war would have been over in a few days. But the crossing of the Rhine at its shallowest part, with no serious opposition and with an overwhelming force, was in itself no great affair: 'the idle dwellers in Paris came to regard it as a prodigy: the common belief was that the whole army had swum the rapid Rhine, in face of an entrenched enemy, and in spite of the murderous artillery of an impregnable fortress called Tholus².' Boileau ended his *Épître au Roi* on the occasion with a stately line, 'In two years I await thee on Hellespont's shores³.' His whole account of the campaign and the passage of the Rhine is pompously absurd. Napoleon

¹ This 'Tholus,' as the French wrote it, was a slightly fortified custom-house on the left bank of the Rhine.

² Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, p. 114 (ed. Louandre).

³ 'Je t'attends dans deux ans aux bords de l'Hellespont.' Boileau, *Ep.* iv. l. 172. A lively satire of 1704 catches the trait:

'Un poëte véritable
Depuis trente ans se morfond,
Attendant sur l'Hellespont
Ce monarque redoutable.'

Nouveau Siècle de Louis XIV., p. 244.

The age did its best to temper despotism with epigrams.



spoke slightly of the affair, calling it 'an operation of the fourth class¹.'

Turenne at once pushed forward, and seized Arnheim: the Prince of Orange, seeing his danger, left garrisons in the strong places on the Yssel, and fell back to Utrecht. His position was most alarming; outmatched in numbers and quality of troops, he knew that also behind him at Amsterdam weak counsels prevailed, and that even many of his officers could not be trusted. They made no stand in the fortified towns, and some of the commandants were suspected of treachery. But now Louis came to his help: for while Turenne would have vigorously followed up the blow by a march on Utrecht and Amsterdam, the King turned aside to the right, and leisurely set himself to reduce the forts on the Yssel, which were now of no importance at all. His favourite warfare was that of town-taking: for this brought him rapid and sure triumphs, and demanded that kind of vigour he possessed; it involved few risks of danger to one who did not expose himself too much, and required no general grasp of strategy. Burnet speaking of this moment says boldly that 'his understanding and his courage were equally defective²:' and La Fare declares that with overwhelming forces the King missed the point of the campaign: that the least strategy would have reduced all Holland. At last the King moved on to Utrecht, which surrendered at once. Naarden, halfway between Utrecht and Amsterdam, was taken; and had fifty men been sent on to seize Muyden, which commands the chief sluices of that district, the war had been at an end. But Condé had been wounded in crossing the Rhine, and Turenne was told off to watch the Great Elector who was coming down with an army; so that Louis was entirely in Louvois' hands. He stayed at Utrecht, while Rochefort mismanaged the advance beyond.

The affairs of the Provinces seemed to be at their worst.

¹ Napoléon, *Mémoires*, v. p. 129.

² Burnet, *Own Times*, i. p. 322 (ed. 1724).

Of the seven, the King had completely occupied three, his allies had also paralysed the two eastern provinces; Holland was defenceless, Zeeland alone was untouched. The Dutch seemed fascinated; in Amsterdam the utmost dejection reigned; ships were laden with the civic wealth, and a calculation made as to the number required to transport all the chief citizens to Batavia: men talked of opening every sluice, and restoring Holland to the Ocean, and of then sailing away to transfer the Republic to happier shores. Not only was the French army expected daily to appear before the capital; but the Duke of York might at any moment defeat the dauntless Ruyter, and land English forces on the coast: lastly, the opinion steadily gained ground that the De Witts would let all perish rather than allow the Prince of Orange to rise. These views were strengthened by what leaked out respecting the offers made to the French King. The Grand Pensionary undertook to cede Maestricht and all the towns held by the Dutch outside the Seven Provinces, such as Breda, Herzogenbosch and Bergen-op-Zoom. Had Louis accepted these terms, he might have retained his reputation for moderation, while he would have had both the Spanish Netherlands in his grasp and the Seven Provinces themselves at his feet. Pomponne wished him to close with the offer: but Louvois, harsh as ever, and seeing which way his master's wishes ran, counselled him to refuse. He was determined to render the Dutch powerless for the future: and demanded, beside the cessions offered, a fine as payment of the cost of the campaign, the establishment of the Catholic faith, and a formal acknowledgment, made yearly by a humble embassy and a medal, of their submission to the Protectorate of France.

When these terms became known, dejection gave place to the courage of despair: the people of Amsterdam rose and compelled the Grand Pensionary to appoint William of Orange Stattholder; the States-General were obliged, much against their will, to cancel the Perpetual Edict, which had been passed to exclude for ever the House of Orange; and to recognise

the young Prince's authority. His first step was to open the Muyden sluices: the sea poured in, and Amsterdam, protected by the waters and a fleet of light vessels, was saved from the immediate peril. Another and a worse outburst of feeling took place in the capital: the mob fell on and massacred the two illustrious brothers, John and Cornelius de Witt, who had so long governed the Seven Provinces with dignity and success, but whose policy had at last brought them to their present strait. William's enemies have ever since accused him of having instigated this disturbance, and French historians have re-echoed the statement: yet the least knowledge of the Prince's character makes one feel the improbability of such a charge; we may safely believe Burnet, partisan though he was, when he says, 'he spoke of it always to me with the greatest horror possible.'

Though William of Orange, now William III of Holland, had no hand in this murder, he and his country owed everything to it. The Provinces seemed to enter on a new life: the Prince, helped by Fagel, sent envoys all over Europe to stir up opposition to France: he was not without hope, seeing his close relations with the English Court, that Charles might now be led to abandon the war, and to take up a line of policy more suitable for England, and more in harmony with the wishes of his people.

On the other hand, the King of France, weary of waiting, foreseeing little glory, and having great attractions at home, returned with the élite of his troops to Paris; there all met him with the utmost enthusiasm and delight. His entry was superb: he seemed to have touched the highest pinnacle of glory: his flattering subjects gave him the splendid title of 'the Great'.

¹ 'A solemn debate was held all about Paris, what title should be given him. *Le Grand* was thought too common. Some were for *Invincible*; others were for *Le Conquérant*. Some, in imitation of *Charlemagne*, for *Louis le Magne*: others were for *Maximus*. But *Très Grand* sounded not so well; no more did *Maxime*. So they settled on *Le Grand*. And all the ladies of Paris seemed to vie in flattery. It appeared that the King took

The remainder of the campaign in Holland and in Luxemburg was indecisive: time, however, was as life-blood to William of Orange; before the winter he had induced the Emperor Leopold to declare himself, and an army under that great captain Montecuculi came down to the Rhine; an alliance was struck between the Emperor and Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg; Brunswick and Hesse followed their lead; the Spanish Court plucked up courage and ordered the Governor of the Netherlands to take the offensive. The French army was much weakened by the garrisons thrown into some fifty strong places, against Turenne's advice. Turenne himself with fifteen thousand men made firm head all the winter, and in the teeth of Louvois' orders not only effectively hindered the Great Elector and Montecuculi from joining the Prince of Orange, but actually drove them far into Germany. In the spring of 1673 the Great Elector declared himself neutral, and the Imperialists were thrust back into Bohemia.

It was clear that if France would grapple safely with the Dutch she must first clear the line of the Meuse. Accordingly the campaign of 1673 centres on the siege of Maestricht, which was undertaken in great pomp by the King; with Vauban as his scientific adviser, and with his own spirit of hard work and vigilant persevering love of detail, he succeeded in reducing it after thirteen days' attack. The incidents of the siege confirmed the current opinion that Louis le Grand was not great by reason of his courage¹. Maestricht taken, the campaign was over for the King: he divided his troops, left some in garrisons, others he sent to reinforce Turenne on the Rhine, who was once more pitted against Montecuculi; and nothing more came of the great siege and capture of Maestricht.

At this time (Aug. 1673) a League was made at the Hague

pleasure in it.' Burnet, *Own Times*, i. p. 333. The title of 'Le Grand' was not, however, solemnly conferred on Louis till 1680.

¹ 'Vigilant, exact, et laborieux; mais les excessives précautions que le faux zèle de Louvois et de quelques autres leur fit prendre pour la sûreté de sa personne, et qu'il souffrit, ne firent pas un fort bon effet.' *Mémoires de La Fare* (Michaud, III. viii. p. 272).

between the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the United Provinces; the King of Denmark, the Elector of Saxony, and the Duke of Lorraine joining them. It is clear that Louis XIV had now entirely broken up the basis of European policy laid down in the Peace of Westphalia: the old antagonisms had given way before the terrible threat of French universal monarchy. Europe had found a new enemy in the King of France, and the venerable Empire and the most Catholic King had discerned their champion in the Stattholder of Holland, a young man of twenty-three years, the head of a Republic, and a Calvinist.

In the autumn of 1673 Turenne was on the Rhine with thirty thousand men, to watch Montecuculi coming up from Bohemia: the Duke of Orleans attacked the Spanish Netherlands with twenty thousand men; Condé on the lower Meuse was opposed to William of Orange. But Montecuculi brilliantly outmanoeuvred the great master of strategy; and the Stattholder having also slipped out of Condé's hands, the two armies, in spite of all the efforts of the French, formed a junction not far from Coblenz, and captured Bonn. It was said at the time that that town had been left defenceless by Louvois from jealousy in order that he might damage Turenne's reputation. All through these campaigns that great captain was ill-supported, received foolish orders from home, and was pitted against large armies. Yet his last campaigns are his most brilliant feats of strategy.

The fall of Bonn not only barred the French approach to Holland by the Rhine, but it compelled the ecclesiastical Electors to reconsider their position. Cologne made peace; Trèves and Mainz joined the coalition; even the fierce Bishop of Münster could do no more. The Great Elector prepared to break his neutrality: and at last, disgusted at the course of affairs, and angry with France, the English Parliament forced Charles II to make peace with the United Provinces (Feb. 1674), and to take up a neutral position. The only friend left to France was Sweden: the Swedes, jealous of Brandenburg,

longed for an opportunity of strengthening themselves in North Germany. France contracted her force in the north, retaining only Maestricht and Grave, and leaving in the minds of the Dutch an abiding horror, as of brutal and almost fiendish atrocities¹.

The allies formed two great armies: one under the Stattholder, threatening Hainault, and opposed by Condé; the other in Germany, gathering for an attack on Alsace; against this great force Turenne was sent. In the south, Schomberg successfully defended Roussillon against an impending Spanish attack. The war from being offensive became defensive; there was no longer any question of the destruction of Dutch freedom.

Instead, Louis decided on recapturing Franche-Comté: Turenne therefore attacked the Duke of Lorraine, and, defeating him by a skilful movement at Zeinheim early in the year 1674, effectually hindered him from interfering with the King's plans; the Swiss were amused with proposals of neutrality for the Burgundies; Louis even persuaded them to refuse a passage to the Imperial troops. Then he entered Franche-Comté and reduced it all in a six-weeks' campaign: he was before Besançon early in May, and returned to Fontainebleau before the end of June. Thus this ancient county, with its independent jurisdictions and Imperial Suzerainty, fell at last to the French kingdom, and merged its several life in that of the great monarchy. The Jura became the frontier of France, the famous 'Hole of Belfort,' the gap through which so many an army had poured into the midland province of France, was now completely in French hands: the possession of Franche-Comté seemed to secure the possession of Alsace and the Rhine frontier. It was obvious that Lorraine must be swallowed up ere long. Directly Franche-Comté was subdued, Turenne felt himself at liberty to turn his attention towards the storm

¹ See Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, pp. 122, 123 (ed. Louandre). See also Romain de Hooge's great engravings in his '*Advis fidelle aux véritables Hollandois touchant ce que s'est passé dans les villages de Bodegrove et Swammerdam et les cruautés que les François y ont exercés.*' 1673.

now gathering in Germany; large bodies of troops were converging on the Rhine, and it would be well if, by swift strategy, he could beat them in detail. He therefore crossed the Rhine at Philipsburg, caught the Imperial troops on the 16th of June at Sinzheim in the Palatinate and defeated them completely; nor did he rest till he had driven them out of that country and forced them to take refuge behind the Main. Then followed the first wasting of the Palatinate, the one dark blot on Turenne's memory. The strategical effect of the deed was proved in the next campaign: it was as important for the Germans to have the Palatinate intact as for the French to be masters of Alsace. The unfortunate and helpless Elector saw the burning towns from his high castle at Heidelberg: it availed him little to send a formal challenge to his great adversary; the ruthless destruction went on, till one of the fairest provinces of Germany was reduced to charred ruins and barren wastes. The ill-treatment of the inhabitants answered to the spoiling of their lands. Turenne spent all July devouring the part of the Palatinate which lies on the right bank of the Rhine, August he devoted to that on the left.

At the beginning of September the Germans at last crossed the Rhine at Mainz, and even Paris was seriously alarmed: it was thought that their great force would overrun Lorraine, perhaps penetrate into Champagne. The Court sent orders to Turenne to abandon Alsace and fall back for the defence of points nearer home; he objected to this, and Louis was persuaded to let his great captain act as he would. Thereon he skilfully held the Germans in check, till the wasted districts could support them no longer: they then recrossed the Rhine, and ascending the right bank, suddenly seized on Strasburg, whose burghers had hitherto been scrupulously neutral in the war. With Strasburg, Alsace was at their feet: they poured over into it; the population was everywhere friendly to them. Turenne, who had hastened to the threatened point, fought and won the hardly contested battle of Enzheim, where Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, commanded a body of

English troops in French pay, a force which attracted much attention during this war¹. The enemy, especially with help of the Great Elector who soon after this joined the Imperial troops, was far too strong for him, and even with large reinforcements from Condé's army Turenne could only observe and threaten from the rough country near Hagenau: when cold weather set in he drew back, as if he would winter quietly in Lorraine. The Germans blockaded Breisach, and spread themselves along all Upper Alsace for the winter. The Duke of Lorraine was full of hopes: early in spring the allies would recover his territories and Franche-Comté, and he would reign once more.

They had forgotten their great adversary, who could fight in winter as well as in summer. No sooner were they at rest, dreaming of future victories, than Turenne, dividing his army into several columns, traversed in profound secrecy the whole length of the Vosges chain; before the end of the year he had the satisfaction of seeing all his forces, in spite of bitter weather, rain and snow, converge on Belfort with undiminished strength. Without waiting a moment he broke in on the Germans near Mulhouse, defeating them utterly: some fled to Basel, the rest in great confusion recoiled to Colmar. There the Great Elector rallied them; at Turckheim, holding unfortunately a position too long for his strength, he was defeated and turned. There was nothing for it but a retreat. The allies rolled back towards Strasburg along the river Ill, and thence across the Rhine to Kehl: in a few days there was not a German soldier left in Alsace, so completely had Turenne done his work. This, Turenne's last campaign, for he was killed early in the next, is counted as one of the most skilful and successful feats of war ever achieved by French military genius. The great captain returned amid universal plaudits to Paris, bearing himself with a modesty and simplicity which served to heighten his reputation.

¹ See Sir W. Temple's *Memoirs* from 1672 to 1679, Works, i. p. 392 (ed. 1740).

The campaign of 1674 in the North had not been so brilliant: yet the grand schemes of attack sketched by the allies were defeated there also. Condé, unable to resist the greater forces of the Stattholder, had drawn back to the Sambre near Charleroi: thither the Prince of Orange followed him, hoping to get past him into Champagne. But Condé was too strongly posted, and William had to fall back towards Mons. On his retreat he was overtaken at Senef (11 Aug. 1674) by Condé, who utterly defeated his rearguard and took his baggage. The main force of the Prince's army, which was some miles further on its way, soon returned to the rescue: posted with great skill in wooded hills protected in front by marsh lands, and defending itself with stubborn tenacity, it repulsed every attack. Condé, with reckless courage, once and again hurled his troops at the unyielding lines of the allies, till nightfall closed the strife. Even then he declared that at daybreak he would renew the attack, and all around shuddered to hear him, for they felt 'that he was the only man in the army who still wished to fight¹'. In the end he thought better of it, and, under cover of the darkness, withdrew, the allies doing the same. Both sides claimed a victory; 'but whoever had the honour, they both felt the loss²'. The French, if not actually victors, carried off all the advantages of the day: the Prince of Orange was obliged to give up all thought of penetrating into France; he even had to abandon his attempt on Oudenarde. He succeeded in taking Grave: it was the only fruit of all the great preparations and efforts of the allies in this year 1674.

Things looked well for France in the end of this third year of her war. Her armies, often far inferior in numbers, had been successful on every side; in the North invasion was arrested ere it reached the frontier, and with almost dramatic force had been pushed back in the East after overrunning Alsace; the ten Imperial cities, grouped round Hagenau, had been made French; Franche-

¹ *Mémoires de La Fare* (Michaud, III. viii. p. 275).

² Sir W. Temple, *Memoirs*, i. p. 389.

Comté, a great defence to France on that side, was secured. The King's agents had succeeded in raising up troubles for the enemies of France, hampering them and distracting their rear. The Swedes attacked the Great Elector on the northern Baltic shore: in Poland, Sobieski, the newly elected King, was altogether French in sympathy, with a French wife and strong anti-German prepossessions: there were discontents in Hungary and Transylvania, which made the eastern flanks of the Emperor's territories very uneasy and unsafe: the Turks were quite inclined to cease from war with Poland¹, and to resume their old aggressive policy on the Danube.

France redoubled her efforts for the campaigns of 1675. Turenne returned to the army of the Rhine with almost independent authority; for he had preferred this to the pleasure of overthrowing Louvois, which he might probably have achieved, had he been ambitious of a factious political victory instead of warlike triumphs. The King himself set out to take command of the army of the North, seventy thousand strong, thinking that this campaign would decide the fate of Holland.

In the East, though the Great Elector had been compelled by the Swedish invasion to withdraw his troops from the Rhine, the Duke of Lorraine was on the Moselle, opposed by Créquy, whose army was intended to connect that of the North with that of the East. The Prince of Orange was pitted against Louis, and Montecuculi, a worthy antagonist, against Turenne.

The Germans wished again to occupy Alsace, and aimed therefore at Strasburg; the French hoped to drive their foes back into the Black Forest. For six weeks Turenne and Montecuculi struggled for the mastery in the difficult country between the river Kinzig and the little town of Renchen, a campaign which has excited the utmost admiration of military judges. At last Montecuculi was forced by his antagonist's consummate skill to fall back to Salzbach, towards the north; and there Turenne came up with him: 'I have them,' he cried with

¹ Peace was made between them in 1676.

exultation, 'they shall not escape again':—then, as if in irony at man's proposals, while he was making a final observation of the enemy's position, a chance shot struck him, and he fell dead in the midst of his staff. It was the dramatic close of a great man's life: in a moment of exultation, seeing his skilful tactics all but crowned with success, he is suddenly cut off by a spent ball aimed at a venture. 'So died, at the height of his glory, not merely the greatest soldier of this age and of many others, but also the most excellent man and the best of citizens. I venture to assert that of all the men I have ever known, he is the one who seems to me to have approached most nearly to perfection¹.' Nor is this too much to say: his modesty, which could not talk of self, stood out in striking and pure relief against the universal self-praise and adulation of the time: his whole soul belonged to his country. How great is he when compared with Louvois, even with Condé himself: he extorted even the King's respect and admiration, and, hardest task of all, bore down his jealousy. No man was ever so free from self-seeking: we may even consider his conversion to Catholicism as the act of the man who desired to give all to his King and to France: he was no statesman, but a noble citizen, and one of the greatest of soldiers.

The whole plan of the campaign was shattered: that chance shot ruined Créquy's army on the Moselle, and arrested the army of the East, which sought only how to get safely across the Rhine again; it paralysed the King's efforts in the North. The effect of his death is the fullest testimony to Turenne's worth. The letters of Madame de Sévigné paint in most vivid colours the consternation which reigned in Paris: it was felt that the opposition to Louvois and Madame de Montespan had lost its chief support. 'Just as Quantova' (so Madame de Sévigné calls the ruling mistress) 'was going to Fontainebleau (whose pleasures became very pain by multiplicity) in order to forget all in amusements, come tidings of Turenne's death—consternation sits on

¹ Mémoires de La Fare (Michaud, III. viii. p. 282).

every face; Condé is hurried off for Germany; France sits as a widow. Instead of seeing the end of the campaign, one knows not where one is . . . was not that cannon charged from all eternity¹?

Montecuculi, after vexing the dejected army in its retreat, crossed the Rhine at Strasburg, and laid siege to Saverne and Hagenau. The Duke of Lorraine attacked Trèves, and at Saarbrück utterly defeated Marshal Créquy, driving him back into the town, where he was forced to capitulate with all his army (Sept. 1675). It was his last act: the old duke, a man worthy of a happier lot, was never restored to his country; he died later in 1675, bequeathing the long-drawn hopeless struggle to his son. In the earlier part of the campaign in the North the King had secured the upper Meuse, by taking Liège, Dinant, and Limburg, and, with Maestricht in his hands, had threatened an advance into Holland. This was now no longer to be thought of: the King's army, obliged to weaken itself in order to defend the Eastern frontier, whither Condé was despatched to make head against the Imperialists, fell back to the Sambre and stood on the defensive. The King himself returned to Paris, where all the well-known elements of his happiness, his courtiers, his mistresses, his flatterers, awaited him.

Condé, ill in health and vexed in humour, still did his best, and restored the fortunes of France in Alsace; with a prudence and skill worthy of Turenne himself, without a single battle he drove the Imperialists across the Rhine, after having obliged them to abandon the sieges of Saverne and Hagenau.

Whether his proud spirit was offended by the manifest preference of France for his great rival, or whether his infirmities were really too great to be borne, we cannot now say: at any rate the Great Condé closed with this campaign his brilliant career, retiring to Chantilly, and living in quiet there

¹ Lettre de M^{me} de Sévigné à M^{me} et à M. de Grignan, Paris 31 Juillet, 1675 (No. 421 in Hachette's 'Grands Écrivains de la France').

for the shattered remainder of his life¹. There his sufferings were lightened by the society of the chief writers and wits of France: Racine, Boileau, Molière, formed a brilliant group around the aged chieftain. Literature, little prized at Fontainebleau unless it servilely ministered to royal tastes or sang the royal glories, found a refuge and place of freedom in the charming retreat of this great nobleman; and when he died the marvellous eloquence of Bossuet raised an eternal monument to his glory in the funeral oration he pronounced over the Great Condé's remains.

The war languished in 1676. In the North the King took Condé and besieged Bouchain: when the Stattholder pushed up to relieve the place, Louis hesitated about fighting; he had never fought a pitched battle, and evidently shrank from it. His generals advised him to attack; but he sent for Schomberg, and he, seeing which way the King's mind went, declared against fighting a battle; for Bouchain, a safe advantage, could well be taken without it. Thus Louis 'lost the very finest occasion he could ever have had for gaining a victory².' It is possible that the King was right, though not heroic: the object William had in view, that of cutting off the Duke of Orleans, who was besieging Bouchain while the King lay at Condé, was defeated; and Bouchain fell: Louis may well have shrunk from the great risks of a pitched battle, when a solid advantage could be reaped without one. When Bouchain was taken, he returned to Versailles, while William laid siege to Maestricht, but failed to recover that strong place.

On the German side, the whole strength of the allies was concentrated on Philipsburg, which the new Duke of Lorraine succeeded in taking 'under the very nose of Marshal Luxemburg.' Philipsburg, as Turenne had said, 'was worth a province;' it was all-important to France as securing the transit of the Rhine, and especially so before the seizure of Strasburg. It

¹ Died 1687.

² Mémoires de La Fare (Michaud, III. viii. p. 284).

is said that Marshal Rochefort, who was blamed for the loss, died of regret¹.

Elsewhere unsuccessful, or at best successful in small things, the arms of France this year gained new lustre, and a glory for which she has ever been eager, on the sea. Her ships in the Mediterranean, commanded by Du Quesne, were pitted against a formidable Dutch fleet under Ruyter: a battle was fought off Stromboli, in which the French were victorious, having done marvels on what was to them almost a new element. It is said that the noblesse of France, weary of the Court, and conscious of the antagonism between them and the King, eagerly embraced this new and adventurous sea-life: it offered a good career, and possibly tangible fruits of royal favour: in dash and intelligence they seemed peculiarly well suited for their new career. In the gulf of Catania the hostile fleets met again; a terrible battle ensued in which Ruyter found his death: the Dutch ships took refuge at Syracuse. Du Quesne also suffered much; but presently receiving reinforcements, boldly attacked the Dutch and Spanish fleets off Palermo, and once more defeated them utterly. The Spanish sea-power was now annihilated; the Dutch fleet destroyed. After the death of their great admiral, their ill-success on land, and the failure of their attempt on Maestricht, the spirits of the Dutch sank to a low ebb; the Prince of Orange was perhaps the only man who did not lose courage, although he, more than any one, except the ill-fated Ruyter, had been the victim of Spanish imbecility and falsehood. The Spaniards never told the truth, and always exaggerated their strength. With almost Chinese folly they described themselves as well-found and comfortable, when perhaps they were half-starved; and having, by the pride which remained alone of all their ancient qualities, misled their allies, whom they induced to reckon on their help, were the chief causes of the disasters of these years². This

¹ *Mémoires de La Fare* (Michaud, III. viii. p. 284).

² Burnet, *Own Times*, i. p. 405: 'The late King told me that in these

sudden upspring of French naval power was a powerful inducement to England to abandon her very uneasy position and to enter into the coalition.

France and Holland now began to wish for peace: Louis doubtless regretted the severe terms he had demanded at Utrecht; for France was exhausted and discontented; her enormous expenditure had necessitated oppressive taxation, sales of offices, and finally great loans. Colbert was in despair; he saw staring him in the face the ruin of his country; all his plans for commerce were overthrown, his great Companies failed; his only resource was an ever-increasing pressure on the people, who repaid him with maledictions. He bore the cross that Louis might enjoy the crown. Whole districts along the frontiers were ruined; the noblesse disaffected; revolts broke out in Normandy, Brittany, and Guienne: the great towns showed an inclination to side with the country districts. Louis at last was forced to wish for peace; though neither William of Orange nor the Emperor had the least desire that way, the Dutch were as much set on an accommodation as the French: negotiations went on.

Negotiations did not stay the warfare. In 1677 the King came down very early into the North, taking Valenciennes and Cambrai: the Duke of Orleans invested Saint Omer, and defeated the Prince of Orange at Cassel (11 Apr. 1677). Saint Omer fell, and the French overran all Flanders. It was said that Louis took very ill this brilliant success of his brother, who had won a pitched battle, while he went on with his inglorious siege-triumphs: it is certain that Orleans never again was asked to command an army¹.

On the Lorraine frontier the French were still more successful. Créquy first skilfully hindered the Duke of Lorraine

campaigns the Spaniards were both so ignorant and so backward, so proud and yet so weak, that they would never own their feebleness or their wants to him. They pretended they had stores, when they had none; and thousands, when they scarce had hundreds.'

¹ *Mémoires de La Fare* (Michaud, III. viii. p. 285).

from joining the Stattholder, who was besieging Charleroi; when the Duke withdrew into Alsace to meet the Germans, he, with incredible celerity, got before him, crossed the Rhine, and defeated and captured the 'army of the Circles' under the Duke of Saxe-Eisenach. Thence without a pause he returned into Alsace, and after again defeating the Duke of Lorraine, once more suddenly recrossed the Rhine, and sweeping on Freiburg, surprised that important city, in which he spent his winter, resting his shattered army after such swift and wearing feats of war.

In the latter part of this year 1677 William of Orange came over to England to visit his uncles, King Charles and James. He found at first but little satisfaction from them in the matter of the proposed peace: but before his visit was over, through the management of Danby, Charles was brought to see that the Protestant party in England was very much irritated, and might be quieted, were he to make a match between the Stattholder and the Princess Mary, the Duke of York's daughter. She was a Protestant, she was William's cousin-german; and the Stewarts were ever tender on that point. Though Charles generally supported the side opposed to that of the Prince of Orange, he willingly on these several grounds approved the match. It was regarded in London as a great blow to the French and Catholic party, though Charles himself was still evidently trimming between the two sides, and was by no means ready to give up the French King's subsidies, which enabled him to dispense with Parliament and with the inconvenient expressions of opinion certain to find utterance if the Houses met. He hoped too that the marriage would dispose William towards peace; as he said, when he announced to him his approval of the match, 'Nephew, remember that love and war do not agree well together'. The French King, however, was very angry, specially with the Duke of York: 'he received the news as he would have done the loss of an army.' The upshot was

¹ Burnet, Own Times, i. p. 410.

that Charles was driven at last, in January 1678, to declare war on France.

War went on as usual on the Rhine: Créquy keeping the upper hand and doing much damage to his antagonist the Duke of Lorraine; in the Netherlands Louis took Ghent; the English fleet was ordered by Charles to do nothing,—for had not Louis the money? The Dutch, seeing that no real help could come from England, pushed on the negotiations at Nimwegen. The burgher-party at Amsterdam were offended with William for his marriage, and there was a decided reaction in Holland against him.

Peace had been talked of ever since 1673, when there had been a futile congress at Cologne under mediation of the Swedes. Bishop William of Fürstenberg, plenipotentiary of the Elector of Cologne, a man warmly devoted to Louis XIV, had been arrested as a traitor and thrown into prison by the Emperor's orders: the Fürstenbergs were a powerful family at Strasburg and Cologne, and the King refused to listen to any terms till he was set free. This put matters off till 1675, when we find Louis consenting, at the joint prayer of Charles of England and of Fürstenberg's brother, to waive this preliminary¹: he thereon requested his brother of England to act as mediator at Nimwegen, a post which Charles readily accepted; he issued invitations to the Princes to send envoys. The next difficulty lay with the Duke of Lorraine, the French Court refusing to recognise the young man, or even to give him his titular rank, and the allies insisting that they would not attend the Congress unless the passports of his ministers were made out with his title in full. The Congress was looked on 'as a thing ended before it began.'

At last, however, after many delays, the Congress began in 1676. France hoped to conclude a separate peace with the Dutch, so as to sever them from their allies; and the States were minded that way, but feared to break with their old friends, nor

¹ Lettres de Louis XIV, Œuvres (ed. 1806), v. p. 544.

could they forget the ingrained enmity of Louis towards them. Austria was sullen, 'as losers use to be,' and 'very slow and resty'; the Germans were in no hurry for peace, hoping for great successes still to come; the Spaniards flattered themselves that both Charles II and the Parliament of England would support them; Sweden, having suffered in the war, was keen for peace; Denmark her rival, and Brandenburg her enemy, were just as keen for war. With such divergence of tempers and interests, no wonder that the Congress lingered long.

The diplomacy of France mainly sought, as we have said, to sever Holland from the allies: that of the others to preserve their union intact: they drifted on, waiting to see what the war would bring. The Stattholder's visit to England and marriage in 1677 turned the tide in favour of peace: from that time the States were bent on closing the war, and Amsterdam played into the French King's hands.

Charles II acted as he ever did, in name a mediator, in heart a partisan of France; Louis had won over the Dutch burgher-party by offers of commercial advantage: when English troops came over and lay about Ostend and Bruges, with menacing attitude towards the French, who had now taken Ypres and Ghent, the Dutch were all the more eager for peace.

At last the true terms of peace were drawn up at Ghent by Louis and the Dutch envoy Beverninck:—Holland should suffer naught; Louis would defend her against any who turned on her; he would restore her to her old position, and assure her commercial prosperity; England should never triumph over her at sea. In return Holland must sever herself entirely from her allies, unless they came in to the stipulated terms.

Hereon peace soon followed and was signed; Holland including Spain, and France Sweden, in the terms, just before midnight on the last day agreed on between the parties, the 10th of August, 1678. While these things were being negotiated, the French army was pressing Mons very hard, and the Stattholder strained every nerve to relieve the town: ten thou-

sand English soldiers were ordered up to support him. On the 15th of August, four days after the signature of peace at Nimwegen, William made a sudden and unexpected attack on Luxemburg's camp at Saint Denis, near Mons. Luxemburg knew that peace had been signed: William knew it also, though apparently, no official notification had as yet reached him¹. The French were at first surprised and their outer defences taken; then they rallied and drove out their assailants with heavy loss. The Prince has been gravely blamed for this unnecessary bloodshed; and it is certain that it might well have been spared. But he was stung to the quick by what he deemed a hollow and disgraceful peace, and would gladly have broken it by a great victory over the besiegers of Mons.

So peace came at last: a peace 'which seemed as it were to establish the domination of France over all Europe; her King had risen to be the arbiter of all in this portion of our hemisphere².'

¹ In a letter to Fagel on the 15th William says that at midday he had received no official tidings of the Peace. His attack was made that evening. Burnet, to whom William talked about it, says, 'He indeed knew that the peace was upon the matter concluded. But no intimation was yet made to him.' *Own Times*, I. p. 423.

² *Mémoires de La Fare* (Michaud, III. viii. p. 286).

CHAPTER III.

THE RISE OF MADAME DE MAINTENON AND HIGHEST SPLENDOUR OF THE REIGN.

A.D. 1678-1685.

THE Peace of Nimwegen was dictated by France at the expense of Germany and Spain, Holland having become the accomplice of Louis, and Charles of England his paid agent. It left sore feelings everywhere, and was for France nothing but a basis for future aggrandisement. It is on this ground that we reserve the detail of the terms of peace for the opening of a new period. For while most treaties have aimed at closing up causes of strife, and may be taken as representing the final equilibrium arrived at after a struggle of years, others, on the contrary, are starting points from which some ambitious power, or some newly-growing principle, has made a fresh departure, beginning another era of aggrandisement or influence. Of the former kind, for example, were the Treaties of Vervins and Westphalia; of the latter, the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle and this of Nimwegen.

There were three separate acts in this peace-drama: the Treaty between France and Holland, signed 10th August, 1678; that between France and Spain, signed the next month; and thirdly that between France, Sweden, the Emperor and the Princes of Germany, which was not concluded till the following spring.

The Great Elector, profoundly dissatisfied at the restoration

of the Swedes in Pommern, stood out against peace for a while, but had to come in at Midsummer, 1679, while Denmark did not accede to the general pacification till September, a full year after the first treaty had been signed. Then at last France could truly boast, according to the legend on her proud medal that 'Peace had been full-made according to her Lord's dictates'. Two great personages alone seemed to resist at last—strange union of dissimilar elements in the world—Pope Innocent XI, whose nuncio protested against the peace, because the Papal See refused still to recognise the Peace of Westphalia, whereon it was based²; and William of Orange, who, though he stood for the moment alone, never swerved from his belief that Europe must yet come to a life-and-death struggle with the great Monarch.

1. The conditions of the peace between France and Holland³ were simply that the two powers kept all they had, save that France agreed to restore Maestricht and its dependencies to the Dutch; it was the only strong place which Holland had not retaken. A favourable commercial treaty was annexed, by which Dutchmen in France and Frenchmen in Holland were to enjoy all the privileges of natives: the effect of this document was more favourable to the Dutch than to the French, and this was the price for which they had consented to sever themselves from their allies. They had also stipulated as a preliminary that France should restore Messina, which she had held since her brilliant Mediterranean campaign against Ruyter, to the Spaniards; and the unlucky Sicilians were suddenly and in spite of all promises handed over to the mercies of their hated and angry taskmasters. When we give Louis due credit for that excellent quality in his character, his tenacity in holding by his friends, we must also remember the heartless way in which he left these poor Sicilians to their fate.

¹ 'Pace in suas Leges confecta.' De la Hode, *Histoire de Louis XIV.*, iv. p. 168.

² De la Hode, *Histoire de Louis XIV.*, iv. 187, 188.

³ Dumont, *Recueil des Traités de Paix*, vii. part i, p. 350.

2. With Spain the terms were not so simple¹. France restored to Spain Charleroi, Ath, Oudenarde, Courtrai, Limburg, and Ghent, with some lesser places; while Spain had to cede in the north the important frontier-towns of Valenciennes, Condé, Bouchain, Maubeuge, Cambrai, Saint Omer and Aire, Ypres, and some others: so giving to France a stronger frontier-line on that side: to the east Spain gave up all claim on Franche-Comté.

3. The third treaty, that with the German powers², was in name at least a renewal of that of Münster. That great standpoint was accepted, save that France gave up Philippsburg, receiving Freiburg in exchange for it. It was agreed that the Duke of Lorraine should be restored, under the conditions of 1659; but he refused these terms, which granted him in fact only the usufruct and revenues, while France held military possession of the Duchy: he preferred to retain all his claims and grievances; and spent the rest of his life as an Austrian general.

In 1668 Giustiniani had referred to the risks by which Louis was yet surrounded: 'Portugal at peace; Spain with great armies in Catalonia; the English fleet in the Bordeaux waters, the Dutch navy at Rochelle, ready for landing; the Huguenots in arms, all the realm in revolt:' now in 1678 all was greatly changed: Europe was at the King's feet; tranquillity at home was nowhere seriously threatened, the troubles in the west having blown over: men had never before realised how great and compact France was. She had resisted all the powers in league, had made conquests on every side; her exhausted foes were obliged to accept her terms of peace. Louis had kept afoot a series of armies, three hundred thousand men in all: he had subsidised Charles of England, the Swedes, the neutral or friendly Germans, Bavaria and Hanover, Cologne and Münster; his crown-pieces were well-known in Hungary and Poland. When

¹ Dumont, Recueil, vii. part i, pp. 364, 365.

² Ibid p. 376.

all was done, the royal splendour was not one whit diminished: those who saw beneath the surface knew that France was fainting under the burden; but to the common gaze all seemed as plentiful and sumptuous as ever: the Dauphin was magnificently married to a Bavarian Princess, Maria Anna; new works were taken in hand; the costly splendours of Versailles approached their completion; the city of Paris in 1680 specially voted to the King the title of 'Le Grand.'

Louis stood at the topmost pinnacle of his glory: to see how far adulation could go, one must turn to Bayle's 'Thoughts on the Comet of 1680,' a treatise which for base and shameless flattery stands unrivalled; or we must read the obsequious historiographer Pélisson, who calls his master 'a visible miracle'; or watch La Feuillade's mad adoration of the statue he had erected to his King on the Place des Victoires at Paris; 'thrice he rode round it at the head of his regiment of guards, with all those prostrations which in old times the pagans used before the statues of their Emperors¹.' Nor was this merely the extravagance of eccentric courtiers: it entered into all things. The pencil of Lebrun has left on the walls of Versailles the splendid apotheosis of the Monarch: his Court-poets composed hymns in his glory, and it is recorded that Louis even hummed his own praises with tears in his eyes. He turned eagerly towards those who flattered him and ministered to his tastes; and in these critical years of his life, when so much might have been done to restore the shaken prosperity of France—while Colbert still lived and all was tranquil—the Great Monarch finally and fatally chose the evil before the good, and grandly led the way towards the downfall of his country.

For a man cannot safely live for himself: these years had worked great evil to the King's character, strengthening the worse elements, bringing out his selfishness and indifference to the well-being of others. In theory he had always affirmed his own omnipotence, calling himself lord of the persons, the wills,

¹ Choisy, Mémoires (Petitot, II. lxiii. 303).

the goods, of his people; he now treated all offices of state as his private property, even selling them, as in 1681, by public auction. He created a huge army, entirely dependent on himself, having done away with those great personages, the Constable, the Admiral, the Lieutenant-General, whose offices conferred too large a power on their holders. The noblesse he sedulously depressed, even trying, though in vain, to persuade them to follow commercial callings; at last he was obliged by the 'hungry and rapacious swarm'¹, whose proud and turbulent freedom he had turned into a mean and troublesome dependence, after absorbing as many as possible into the army and navy, to embody whole corps of gentlemen, and to send noble regiments to the wars: they proved very annoying to that true soldier Turenne. The rest of them passed a wretched existence at Court, waiting on the smiles of that most serene Providence their King. He took it very ill if any of them withdrew to their estates, and never rested till he had got them back again to Versailles. While he promoted the most deserving of the clergy, he took care to keep them in due subjection, for he had all the patronage of France in his hands. His favourite instruments, the Jesuits, ruled over his conscience, accepting the power his favour gave them in return for their ingenious treatment of his moral conduct. No churchman was allowed to touch the great engine of state-government: the more prominent bishops, well-chosen, decorous personages, had the great French gift of eloquence, and heightened the brilliancy of the Court by their oratory. Just as the princes of the Renaissance, believing little and making little pretence to act on Christian principles, nevertheless grouped round them those inspired painters of religious and devotional subjects whose masterpieces are the glory of the world, because they deemed the artist's pencil an honour and ornament to their thrones; so now in the grandest period of the reign of Louis XIV, the preacher was employed to throw additional lustre on the Monarch, to heighten the con-

¹ Stephen, Lectures on the History of France, ii. p. 360.

trasts in his life, to declaim with dazzling eloquence against the vices of the day, 'smiting right and left like a blind man,' as was said of Bourdaloue: they added the piquant flavour of their brilliant denunciations to the vicious enjoyments of an immoral age.

In literature, apart from oratory, there was little freshness or freedom, except on the stage. There the comic muse was allowed licence permitted to none other: the genius of Molière not only delighted and amused the King¹ and Court, but also cast ridicule on the follies of the noblesse as well as on the literary coteries, the 'précieuses,' whom Louis heartily disliked. The tragic muse had also liberty, especially when she dealt with grand and heroic themes. But if she touched, as in Racine's *Athalie*, on the evils of despotic power, the cold shade of disapproval speedily succeeded the sunshine of royal favour. The historian was ever treated well: his power even Kings conciliate, who live for posterity. Satire, in the person of Boileau Despreaux, was long neglected, until one day Vivonne obtained leave to present the poet to the King. When Louis asked him Which he thought the finest passage in his works? the ready courtier, after some demur, replied by quoting a fulsome panegyric on his master, which he had carefully written for the occasion². The King could not conceal his delight; the poet was at once taken into favour and was placed on the pension-list.

On all hands profusion ruled: the admirers of the great age have applauded to the echo the false and foolish saying that 'a great expenditure is the almsgiving of Kings'. The whole country suffered under the burden of the Monarch's splendour: vast unproductive works distinguish and crush the whole period. A few artists, a few hundred artisans, were supported by

¹ See his courtly second Preface to the *Tartuffe* in 1667: 'Pour faire rire le monarque qui fait trembler toute l'Europe.'

² This panegyric was substituted by Boileau in the second edition of his *Epistles*, after this interview with Louis XIV. It occurs at the end of Ep. I. (*Œuvres*, i. p. 295, ed. 1722). The story is told by Peignot, a warm admirer of Louis (*Dépenses de Louis XIV.*, p. 131). See also the note in Boileau (ed. 1722), i. p. 294.

it, but the outlay bore no useful fruit, and was wrung from the poverty of the nation: even the results have failed to secure the admiration of the world. The great palace at Versailles, 'which one marvels at and shuns,' as Saint-Simon says, is heavy and dull: there the King seemed to take delight, as at Marly also, in ill-chosen sites¹, on which all might be due to him and nothing to the merit of nature. There may be great differences of opinion as to the cost of these needless works: it is clear that much waste must have taken place, and that too in days when the crushing cost of heavy armaments had disabled the country from bearing any additional burdens.

Naturally cold-hearted, Louis as he grew older showed more and more how he centred everything in himself: his favourites were thrown aside one after another without a thought or a regret; he displayed shameful indifference to the comfort and even to the health of his Court. Saint-Simon describes with malicious and graphic power how he caused a serious illness to the Duchess of Burgundy, and his explosion of anger at her for it: he ends by the remark that Louis 'cared for no one and thought of no one but himself, and was all in all to himself².'

This principle he put into practice during these years, in which he carried out the advantages gained over his neighbours by the Peace of Nimwegen. Louis is reported to have said that 'Self-aggrandisement is the noblest as well as the pleasantest occupation of Kings,' and, in war or peace alike, by triumph in the field or by interpretation of treaty-obligations, he steadily kept this object in sight. For this purpose, while the other powers, with a sigh of relief, disbanded their great armies after the signature of peace, Louis kept his on a war-footing: for this he set his great engineer Vauban to fortify and strengthen all his frontiers: for this he entered on that scheme of aggression which is known in history as the 'age of the

¹ 'Le plus triste et le plus ingrat de tous les lieux, sans vue, sans bois, sans eau, sans terre, parce que tout y est sable mouvant ou marécage, sans air.' *Mémoires de Saint-Simon*, viii. p. 126 (ed. Hachette).

² 'Était à soi-même sa fin dernière.' *Mémoires de Saint-Simon*, iv. p. 116 (ed. Hachette).

Reunions.' His first thought was to make France, as von Ranke says¹ 'a central fortress, of which he was commander, and the approaches of which he vigilantly guarded and strengthened.' To this end a new engine was invented in the Reunions, a kind of hook with which to draw in all that was worth having over the frontier. When Vauban undertook his great task he fortified, on the sea-coast Dunkirk, La Rochelle, and Toulon; on the Spanish side Bayonne and Perpignan; towards Italy Pinerolo; for the Upper Rhine, Freiburg in the Breisgau and Huningen; for the route eastward, Saarlouis; for the Meuse and Moselle, Maubeuge on the Sambre; for the northern frontier Lille, his great masterpiece. The three centres of the royal system of defence were, for the north Lille; for Lorraine and the Lower Rhine, Metz: for Alsace, the yet missing and necessary link was Strasburg. It had been clearly shown in the last war that Strasburg might be very dangerous to France: and this must be remedied.

Now the Peace of Westphalia, on which the Treaty of Nimwegen between France and the Empire was based, had used the phrase 'with their Dependences' when speaking of the places ceded to France. This phrase was left purposely indefinite². Thus, the Three Bishopricks 'with their districts' were to belong to France, just as they had belonged to the Empire: but then what did this include? they had their temporal districts, and their spiritual districts: there were fiefs under the Three Bishopricks which lay well within the Empire; were these too to be French? Again, feudal 'Dependence' was closer in France than in Germany. In Germany at this time a 'dependent' district was simply under the authority of the tribunal of its lord; whereas, in France, it was directly and closely subject to the Crown, even as the French King had much more central power than the Emperor had. In Germany, therefore, 'Dependence' was a far less galling tie than in France. Was now the French or the German use to prevail?

¹ *Französische Geschichte*, iii. p. 329.

² *Ib.* iii. p. 331.

Since 1648 these questions had never been discussed between the two nations: France was too much occupied to insist on her interpretation; in the days of the Fronde and of the Triple Alliance nothing could be done. Now, however, when all Europe yearned for peace, and France was strong, Louis determined that he would seize on all that the more favourable interpretation of these convenient questions could bring him: he also invented a happy machinery by which he became both suitor and judge in his own cause.

Accordingly, in 1679 he established the first of his 'Chambers of Reunion,' tribunals composed of subservient officials, before whom were laid all questions as to the extent of the King's jurisdiction on or over the frontiers: their commission was 'to examine the nature and extent of the cessions made under the Treaties of Westphalia, Aix la Chapelle, and Nimwegen.' This first chamber sat at Metz for the Three Bishopricks; two more chambers were created, one at Besançon for Franche-Comté, the other at Breisach for Alsace. It is interesting to note that at exactly this same time (1680) Sweden, the friend of France, set up a 'College of Reunions', as an instrument of the absolutist revolution of Charles XI¹, with the object of recovering to the Crown its lost or alienated domains. The way in which these Chambers began and were worked may be seen from a brief account of the origin of that of Metz. The Bishops of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, who had all been appointed by the French Crown, were ordered to send in to the King an account of all the possessions and claims of their respective jurisdictions: it was found that these in many cases stretched into the Empire, and were still under the overlordship of the Emperor: they declared that so much had been nibbled away or torn off that a court was needed to decide on usurpations or lapses from neglect or length of occupation. Thereon a kind of Committee of the Parliament of Metz was formed into a separate body, and became the first 'Chamber of Reunion.'

¹ Koch, *Tableau des révolutions de l'Europe*, ii. p. 57.

The machine worked speedily and well: ere Europe quite understood what was going on, the Court had already given its judgments in favour of the King: it is so simple when the same person is suitor and judge. The French view as to the meaning of the word 'Dependences' was affirmed; the French form of overlordship acknowledged: large districts and strategically critical points were handed over, and occupied promptly by French soldiers and engineers.

The most singular case was that of Alsace. Here the Breisach Chamber had a splendid field for annexations. By the Peace of Münster the sovereignty over Upper and Lower Alsace had been ceded to Louis, with a clause saving the rights of the 'immediate' nobles¹. These men therefore still swore fealty to the Emperor: moreover, there were in Alsace ten little 'immediate' towns or 'Imperial cities' which claimed the same rights, and these up to 1680 had retained a kind of dim independence. In that year, however, they finally submitted to the King—the nobles were harassed and persecuted: the decrees of the Breisach Chamber were harshly executed by French soldiers.

The judgments and edicts of the Breisach Court had, by implication at least, extended as far as Strasburg; and it is easy to see how important it was for Louis to secure that key of the way from across the Rhine into Alsace. The citizens were Lutheran, and much opposed to France: while the two ruling bodies, the Town-Council, and the Chapter of the Cathedral, were interested on the French side: the Fürstenbergs in the Chapter being devoted to France, and the civic authorities venal. The citizens, helpless themselves, and aware that no help could come from Germany, sadly saw their fate draw nigh. Late in September 1681, Louis, instead of going, as had been expected, to Chambord, made a progress to Metz; and when the Imperial Ambassador, in his uneasiness, asked the reason of this journey towards the frontier, he was told without hesitation

¹ I.e. who held straight from the Emperor, and continued therefore to do so whatever might become of the district in which their lordships lay.

or concealment that the King was making this visit in order to secure his rights under the Treaty of Münster; that he was going to accept the homage of Strasburg; which, as von Ranke exclaims, had been a free German city from time immemorial. An army under Louvois gathered at Illkirch, within easy reach of Strasburg: the town was summoned to accept its new master. The citizens would gladly have made some show of resistance: the magistrates, however, disliking noise and having a due official horror of complications, had left the walls utterly undefended; there was not even powder in the magazines. So Strasburg capitulated (30 Nov. 1681): it was promised its own constitution, its rights, its possessions, and the free exercise of its religion: but the Catholics were to be replaced at the Minster. The real independence of the place, in spite of all stipulations, was gone: the old Imperial city was no longer a member of one of the Estates of the Empire: no longer under a distant and easy overlord who did not and could not interfere; no longer a link in the great chain of German Rhine-cities with their wealth and trade.

The King entered the town a fortnight later: Vauban at once began the grand citadel; the peasantry were impressed for the work, and five thousand soldiers lay encamped outside till all was safe. At the Truce of Regensburg in 1684 Strasburg and Kehl were ceded in full feudal sovereignty to Louis XIV, though nominally it was only to last for the twenty years of the Truce¹.

So Germany lost Strasburg, by a legal fiction and an unscrupulous exercise of force. After one hundred and eighty-nine years had elapsed she returned again to the Fatherland.

At this same time Louis had tidings of another frontier triumph, which at the time must have seemed as important as the securing of Strasburg. French forces had gathered in Pinerolo; negotiations went on with Charles IV of Mantua, whose sympathies were French: he left the stronghold of Casale

¹ Dumont, *Recueil des Traités*, vii. Part ii. p. 83.

undefended, and the French army, suddenly investing it, took it after the merest appearance of a struggle.

Moreover the County of Chini and Alost, which France had taken in the war, were still held by Louis, who wished to exchange them for Luxemburg, which was in Spanish hands. There were delays; whereon Louis, sure that he would meet with no resistance, made a little war against Spain in 1683, 1684, in which Crequi and Vauban took Luxemburg, Courtrai and Dixmude; then the King, having secured enough for the present, made a twenty-years' peace with Spain.

Thus Louis XIV got doorways to the north, the east, and south-east, approaches towards Holland, central Germany, Italy; and spread out his strength with contemptuous disregard of all Europe. The moment was well-chosen; the aggressions sudden and decisive; before men had time to protest the thing was done. The world was heartily weary of war; to protest was to bring up again a risk of a quarrel: the Empire was harassed in the rear by the Turks, who declared war on it in 1682, swept up the Danube and besieged Vienna: but for John Sobieski and Charles of Lorraine they might have overwhelmed the Duchies, and changed the history of Europe. But on the 12th of September 1683, Sobieski, 'the man sent from God, whose name was John,' as the preacher called him after the battle, defeated the Turkish host under the walls of Vienna. That day is the first day of a turned tide, of the gradual recession and decadence of Turkey and with it of her great western ally. 'Here ends,' says Saint-Simon speaking of this time (1683), 'the apogee of this reign, and height of its glory and prosperity. The great captains, the great home and foreign ministers are no more; their pupils and disciples however remain. We are now to see the second age which will scarcely come up to the first, thought it will in all respects be still far superior to his third and last period¹.' Turenne and Condé were replaced by Luxemburg: Lionne was poorly represented by Louvois; Colbert had just died², neglected by the King, overwhelmed

¹ *Mémoires*, viii. p. 80.

² 6 Sept. 1683.

with cares, cursed by the people; and Seignelay his eldest son, though an able and vigorous minister of marine, was little able to take his place, or cope with the evergrowing evils of the time. The greatest change of all in these years was the transfer of the King's favour from Madame de Montespan to Françoise d'Aubigné, whom we know as Madame de Maintenon: it deeply influenced the latter years of the reign.

The King had long been constant to Madame de Montespan: throughout the Dutch war his letters show how great her influence was: she was the thorn which pierced poor Colbert's side, and helped to bring him to his grave. Haughty and violent, she was the terror of the Court. Now after the peace other fancies had distracted the King; they were but passing likings, still they irritated her; instead of being all the more cautious and attentive to his wishes, she became more imperious, and alienated him. Not only was the royal favour ebbing: she had the supreme mortification of bringing about her own fall in another way.

As long back as 1666 Madame de Montespan had introduced at Court the lady who was destined to supplant her in the King's favour, and to create a wonderful change in his character and even in his public acts. Françoise d'Aubigné, widow of the comic poet Scarron, was bred a Huguenot; Scarron had married her in her poverty; she had formed the graceful and intelligent centre of a literary coterie at his house. His death again reduced her to want; and then it was that Madame de Montespan took her under her patronage, and got for her the place of governess to the children she had borne the King, the Duke of Maine and his sister. At first Louis thought her a 'Précieuse,' a pedantic prim person, and disliked her heartily; it was with no small reluctance that he conferred on her that estate at Maintenon which gave her the name by which she is known to history¹. From this moment she

¹ See Saint-Simon, viii. p. 136: 'Qu'elle lui étoit insupportable, et que pourvu qu'on lui promît qu'il ne la verroit plus, et qu'on ne lui en parleroit jamais, il donneroit encore; quoique, pour en dire la vérité, il n'eût déjà que beaucoup trop donné pour une créature de cette espèce.'

began, probably with a strong religious objection to the King's connexion with her patroness, to win Louis away from Madame de Montespan. Madame Scarron's life was most reputable; she had a cold temperament which 'went gently, but carried far.' She was never the slave, always the mistress of feeling. Even well into middle life¹, she retained her regular and placid beauty; softly sweet and serious, she gradually won the royal confidence: to her Louis went, as to a haven after storms, when Madame de Montespan's violence was more than he could bear. She had no intention of taking up the position of the imperious mistress; she would gravely and wisely counsel the monarch; would bring him to a better mind; would rid him of his evil companions, and reconcile him with his long-suffering and much-wronged Queen. The King's advances towards herself she gently and firmly checked. In all she aimed at, excepting one great ambition, she succeeded. Montespan was too proud to fight against her, and retired with a pension from Court: the poor weak-minded Queen was once more taken into favour; and for the scanty remnant of her sad life, was treated with due respect. When she died in 1683, the King was privately married, in the presence of Harlai, Archbishop of Paris, Louvois, and another witness, to Madame de Maintenon.

She was never publicly acknowledged as the King's spouse; though great were the struggles made by her friends to get her recognition as Queen. The intrigues for this end form an obscure background to the picture of this period. Thus, it is more than probable that the characteristic tale of the farrier from Salon in Provence is connected with some of the underhand work of the High Catholic party, which desired the public elevation of Madame de Maintenon².

One day a decent middle-aged man, with a broad southern accent, presented himself at the guard-room at Versailles,

¹ She was born in 1635, and was therefore forty-eight in 1683; she was between three and four years older than Louis.

² Saint-Simon, Mémoires, ii. pp. 15-18.

and asked to be taken before the King, as he had something pressing to tell him in private: rebuffs and refusals were in vain; the honest man quietly persisted; his evident good faith and simplicity attracted notice; at last he got audience of Pomponne, to whom he told his story. It was the tale of Jeanne Darc and Charles VII repeated in this later age. He had seen a vision of the late Queen of France, as he went home one night; she had talked to him for half an hour, had entrusted him with a secret which he must tell the King alone; the secret was one which no man in the world, except the King, knew; when he heard it, then his Majesty would know that he was an envoy accredited from above. The King's confidence thus gained, he was to give him farther messages, the purport of which the good farrier also kept to himself. After three lengthy interviews with Pomponne, he was admitted to see the King in private, and had two or three long conversations with him, to the astonishment of all the Court. Neither the King nor the minister ever said what was the tenor of his communications: Louis treated the matter very seriously, and appeared impressed with the honest farrier's message from another world. His mission fulfilled, he went at once home to Salon, having taken no rewards, stayed to see nothing, showed no curiosity or amazement at the great world; he resumed his hammer and worked contentedly at his forge as of old. It was remarked afterwards that a dear friend of Madame de Maintenon, a lady of strange powers of fascination and a romantic, not too creditable, career, who went for a sorceress in those simple parts, lived not far from Salon; it was whispered about that the apparition of the Queen to the farrier might not have been unconnected with her agencies. It was also said that the farrier's message was to induce the King to declare Madame de Maintenon Queen. These things were only conjectured: the farrier never saw Madame de Maintenon, nor can the truth ever be arrived at¹.

¹ Saint-Simon, ii. pp. 17, 18.

Be this as it may, this unacknowledged Queen was omnipotent over Louis. He worked in her chamber, consulting her as to everything, specially on Church-matters, affairs of conscience, family questions: she was of a narrow monastic temperament, a kind of female Jesuit, with great gifts and skill in direction. 'She believed herself to be universal Abbess, specially in spiritual matters; . . . she fancied herself a mother of the Church¹.' Her thoughts and feelings all ran along one well-defined track, infinitely petty and narrow. The King, who professed that he would have no minister, bowed his head and resigned his judgment to this mildly-imperious woman; sagacious, tenacious, and a devotee², she held him, though he knew it not, in the closest bands. For two and thirty years Madame de Maintenon was lord of France.

Louis became in some respects a different man: he had less self-reliance; his passions were moderated, nor did any mistress ever again win the royal favour; the religious side of his character, always, even in his worst days, discernible, now became the leading quality. His ambition, his love of glory, his weakness for praise, his obstinacy, his bad faith in treaties, his selfishness, his unforgiving spirit, remained unchanged; the new religious bias even proved to be the origin of some of the worst evils of his reign.

The King, who had become 'a devotee, and that too in the utmost darkness of ignorance³,' and Madame de Maintenon, with her narrow intellect,—both equally religious, equally afraid of independence of opinion and of literary excellence,—naturally drifted into a system of religious persecution, which specially marks these years. The Jansenists and the Huguenots, in different ways, were offensive to the royal ideas of obedient unity: and they set themselves to reduce both to order. This movement had begun some time back: in 1679 Madame de Maintenon

¹ Saint-Simon, viii. p. 141.

² 'Devouée dans les petites choses, et sans générosité dans les grandes.' Martin, *Histoire de Français*, xiii. p. 608.

³ Saint-Simon, viii. p. 142.

writes that 'the King thinks seriously about the conversion of the heretics, . . . and will shortly work heartily at it.' But before the Huguenot question called for final treatment, there came, in 1682, a great wave of disturbance to religious opinion within the Gallican Church itself.

The reigning Pontiff, Odescalchi, Innocent XI, a man of noble character and aims, who was a true reformer,—for he began his reforms at home by reducing debt, living simply and purely, and by abolishing nepotist ministers,—found himself in direct antagonism with Louis XIV. He had been much distressed by the Franco-Turkish friendship, and had sided with the Empire against the French King. Louis retaliated by claiming the 'Regale' or right of enjoying the revenues of all vacant benefices, to which he added a claim for the power of absolute appointment. He also looked sharply into the payments made to Rome, and by so doing much increased the distress of the Curia, already deeply embarrassed and burdened with debt.

The Bishops of Alet and Pamiers in the South, men of Jansenist views, resisted this extension of these regalian rights, and appealed to Innocent, who supported them. The King, already in the hands of the Jesuits, more and more regarded the Jansenists as disloyal subjects, and professed to find in their opposition an ultramontanist which he could not endure¹. Under the advice and with the guidance of the great Bossuet, who was neither Jansenist nor Jesuit, Louis called together the clergy in 1682: led by Bossuet, they drew up four Articles, which have often been appealed to as the clearest statement of the Gallican Liberties. These Articles affirmed (1) the independence of the secular power; (2) the superiority of Councils over the Pope; (3) the fixed sacredness of the Gallican usages; and (4) the fallibility of the Pope, unless supported by the assent of the Church.

The Gallican Church seemed on the verge of a separation

¹ Ranke, *Päpste*. viii. § 16.

from Rome: men talked much of a Patriarchate: the Archbishop of Paris was thought to desire that splendid post; it was held that the Gallican Church, with the King as its head, could dictate its own terms to Rome; the Assembly, at Bossuet's bidding, was preparing to enquire into the moral system of the Jesuits. Louis, however, was not in the least minded for this: he dismissed the clergy, after having got from them an expression of their obsequious approval to his acts and an implied censure of the Jansenists, and set himself to crush all independence in matters of religion. The Pope did not like his dealings; for he was far too good a man to approve of 'conversions by dragoons¹.' It may not be true that Innocent was actually allied with William of Orange; yet there is no doubt that the Papacy looked with good-will on the resistance which, in the latter part of this decade of years, rose up against Louis.

Ever since Louis had taken the reins of power into his own hands he had shown himself hostile to the Huguenots; in all ways he quietly depressed them; he closed against them all avenues to distinction, narrowed their freedom of action, and frowned on them as bad citizens, as 'a state within a state, guilty of disorder, revolt, warfare at home, disloyal alliances abroad²;' he complained that he was actually compelled to have treaties with them: the very existence of the Edict of Nantes galled him. Still, so long as Colbert, the last real minister of the King, lived, and the King was elsewhere occupied, the Huguenots had enjoyed tolerable quiet. Now however Colbert was gone, and a time of peace had come; the influences of Madame de Maintenon were also omnipotent. The Jesuits had now complete ascendancy over the King; they persuaded him that 'every school of thought and opinion other than theirs was an attack on the King's authority, and was nothing more or less than a spirit of republican independence. The King in this matter, as in many others, was as ignorant as a child³,' and listened

¹ Ranke, *Päpste*. ii. viii. § 16.

² Saint-Simon, viii. p. 142.

³ *Ibid.* p. 141.

to them alone. To complete the dark circle around him, Louvois, who had been on the side of Madame de Montespan, as long as her fortunes were not desperate, at last came over to her successful rival; and in order to set himself well with her and the King, plunged, with all the haste and harshness of his character, into schemes for the conversion or repression of the Huguenots.

For some time the storm had been foreseen: since the close of the Dutch war many French refugees had escaped to Holland, Denmark, or England: all kinds of influences were exerted to convert those who remained. A 'Bank of Conversions' was established: it was fed by one-third of the incomes of all vacant benefices in France, and was emptied by bribes to the Huguenots, purchasing their adhesion to the established Church. Péllisson, the King's panegyrist, was set over this new department of the state, which 'worked miracles,' as its admirers said: the gazettes were filled with lists of the converted: each post brought the King accounts of fresh triumphs of the faith, and he began to think the end of all divergence of opinion could not be far off. He was much too ignorant as to the real condition of France to be able to form a wholesome judgment of his own. When courtiers told him that the Huguenots were all but extinct, he accepted their statement; all the more because it tallied with his wishes. The Huguenots, driven to bay, had revolted in the South: in 1683, 1684, there were disturbances in the Cevennes, in Dauphiny, in the Vivarais: their congregations, in spite of threats and orders, met for worship as a kind of peaceful demonstration of their strength. They were dispersed by the sword, without resistance: the soldiers and the executioners slaughtered them by hundreds.

Stronger measures were agreed on. Louvois, to retain his master's favour, suggested to Louis that system of persecution which has given the word 'Dragonnade' to the French language. He got permission, in fact, to transfer the management of the conversions from the civil to the military arm: an edict came out in April 1684, which exempted all new converts for two years from having troops billeted on them: the soldiers thus

removed from the docile were quartered on the stiffnecked, and were instructed to make their visits as unwelcome and oppressive as possible. One knows well what this meant; a brutal soldiery, excited by religion and the basest passions, soon made the homes of the poor Huguenots unendurable; their persons, their wives and children, were subject to daily insult: the least of their wrongs was the spoiling of their goods.

This system of 'Conversion by Lodgings,' as Louvois styled it, had also its measure of success: many who had been proof against money were not proof against brutalities and misery, inflicted not on themselves alone, but on their innocent women and children: with rage and rebellion in their hearts they submitted; another triumphant series of reports was forwarded to Versailles.

All this time Louis had been contemplating the step which should crown his great work: he believed that the Edict of Nantes destroyed the unity of the realm, sheltered opinions which seemed to him both blasphemous and disloyal, and stood out as a monument of a toleration which, as he held, disgraced France in the eyes of Europe. It was now nearly a century since that famous Charter of liberties had been granted by Henry IV: the Huguenots had stood by the legitimate Bourbon King against the Leaguers and the Jesuits, and had fairly won their place. Throughout the seventeenth century, though in the troubles under Louis XIII some of the chief Huguenot nobles had taken side against the Crown, the bulk of their party had been peaceable and contented, thriftily enriching their country and themselves. In the early days of Louis XIV they had shown no sympathy with the Fronde: Montauban and La Rochelle had resisted Condé; and therefore Mazarin had confirmed the Edict of Nantes in 1652. From that time onwards their history had been that of good, quiet, industrious citizens and subjects; they had furnished some of the best soldiers and ablest financiers to their country; they had set the best example of industry and ingenuity in trade and manufactures. There were nearly if not quite two millions of them,

the nimblest fingers and readiest wits in France. In the North, at Sedan, they were workers in iron; at Paris they made knick-knacks; in the centre, in Auvergne and Anjou, they were paper-makers; in Normandy and Brittany linen-weavers; in Tours and Lyons they were cunning in silk manufacture; in the Gervaudan they wove woollen goods¹. There was not a shadow of reason for thinking them disaffected or disloyal: they desired only to enjoy the scanty privileges they possessed, to live in peace, and to benefit their country.

But this was not to be. The King thought that, one way or other, he had converted them nearly all: what was the use, he argued, of an Edict which applied only to a scanty remnant? Why should it not be cancelled if 'the better and larger part of those of the religion' had ceased to resist? So long as Charles II of England lived, Louis perhaps hesitated to take this last step; for Charles was not safe, and, as von Ranke says, it might cost a great deal of money; in 1681 the English Government had remonstrated against the severities practised on the Huguenots, and had granted citizenship to the refugees, finding them a very useful and thrifty people². After the death of Charles, when James II, a man after his own mind, came to the throne, Louis hesitated no longer, and on the 18th of October, 1685, the ordinance revoking the Edict of Nantes was formally signed and sealed. The public celebration of Protestant worship was absolutely forbidden; all pastors must leave the realm in fifteen days; the galleys for life should be their fate, if they dared to officiate again; all children must be brought up as Catholics; all emigrants were ordered to return, or they would forfeit their goods; terrible penalties were denounced against any who might attempt to escape out of France. An illusory concession to the private opinions of the remaining Huguenots, 'till God should please to enlighten them,' closes this amazing monument of the power of religious bigotry, this warning as to the frightful blunders to which despotism is liable.

¹ L. von Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, iii. p. 37.

² *Ibid.* pp. 390, 391.

Round the King all were in ecstasy: the venerable Chancellor Le Tellier, who died twelve days later, thanked God that he had lived to see the day on which he affixed the Great Seal to the document, and sang his *Nunc Dimittis* at the news: Madame de Maintenon told Louis that the act would cover him with glory before God and man: that paragon his grandson, the Duke of Burgundy, who was completely Jesuit-led, applauded; the Church of course was loud in praises and thanksgivings. The King himself deemed that he had reached the highest pinnacle of his glory, the crowning splendour of his reign.

Let us willingly allow that Louis was kept unaware of the worst acts done against the Huguenots¹, and that by education, character, and want of sympathy with his people, he was incapable of seeing the consequences of the series of measures which ended in the Revocation. But more in his excuse cannot be urged. He had educated himself to be ignorant of his best interests, he had surrounded himself with second-rate advisers, he had listened so greedily to the voice of flattery, that this fatal step appeared to him but a splendid example of his power, of the unity of his realm, of his religious zeal. A man cannot be excused by reason of ignorance which arises by his own fault: the chief blame for this suicidal act must ever rest on the head of the great Monarch.

It would not be easy to apportion the guilt of having advised the King. The Jesuits and Louvois pushed him on, persuading him that not one drop of blood should be shed; while it was to Louvois undoubtedly that the cruelties of the time are due. Madame de Maintenon, however, with her measured bigotry, and great influence on the religious development of the King's character, is probably the person, more than any other, to whom France owes this disastrous edict. It is true that her gentler nature disapproved of the severities, though she professed to rejoice heartily over the resultant conversions: she has left behind her some humane phrases, which must be recorded to

¹ Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, p. 485, note 1 (ed. Louandre).

her credit: she protected those of her own servants who were Huguenots. More than this she could not do; for when she ventured to recommend milder measures to the King, he told her plainly that 'he feared she had in her still some leaven of inclination for her old belief¹'. As far back as 1679 she spoke ominously about the Huguenots. 'The King,' she says, 'is thinking seriously of the conversion of heretics: and shortly they will be working hard at it.' Two years later, with a characteristic eye to business, she advises her brother to buy himself a property in Poitou, where, thanks to the flight of 'those of the religion,' land was to be had for a song: she has no word of feeling for the confessors of her old faith; she is quite willing that her brother should profit by their obstinacy. It may be quite true that, as Voltaire concludes, she had not the first hand in it, and that her measured disposition shrank from the violent steps taken²; it is equally true that her character and influences were among the strongest of the predisposing causes which led to them.

And thus the year 1685 saw the end of the political existence of the great Huguenot party. The pious and literary Jansenists had already been suppressed; the quiet, thrifty Huguenots, the best citizens in the realm, were now to be cast out: to this despotic government had come; France must henceforth live on the strength of a forced unity. From this moment, when the tendencies which had long been working towards their fulfilment in France, seemed to attain their full success, we may date the beginning of her fall. The absolute monarchy has reached its highest point; the seeds of decay germinate with terrible rapidity, where there is no balance in a government, and when all depends on the will and character

¹ La Vallée. *Histoire de France*, iii. p. 308, note 2. She was born and brought up a Huguenot.

² She says in one of her letters: 'Il est de mon devoir de dégoûter le Roi des arts violents le plus qu'il m'est possible.' But Louis, as S. Simon says, was 'barricadé contre toute le monde... sous la clef de deux ou trois ministres.'

of one man. To the end of the century things seem, but only seem on the surface, to remain in equilibrium; after that the descent is rapid, and monarchy in France, yearly lower and weaker, drifts helplessly on, till it sinks beneath the outburst of a nation's wrath.

CHAPTER IV.

EUROPE AGAINST FRANCE: PREPARATIONS.

A.D. 1685-1688.

WHEN, after the S. Bartholomew massacre, France sheathed her dripping dagger, and looked around, she saw many gloomy faces at home; abroad, the whole Catholic world applauded vehemently, and was eager to show approval of the deed. But now, when Louis XIV had issued his memorable Edict, it might be praised by obsequious clergy and courtiers at home and by a listless nation; abroad all the powers, Catholic or Protestant, looked on in gloomy silence. The Papacy itself condemned the act. Louis, in respect of both Jansenists and Huguenots, had shown more care for the political unity of his realm than for the religious unity of the church, or for the dignity and interests of the Holy See. In 1573 Europe was in the full swing of the Catholic reaction; 1683 marks an epoch in the political reaction against the domination of France. Now the resistance no longer indicates the clean-cut division between Protestant and Catholic: it is the political balance of power that is at stake, not the ancient faith; and therefore Catholic and Protestant states are soon seen in close union against France in the Augsburg league of 1686.

'France,' said the eccentric ex-queen of Sweden in one of her letters, 'is like a sick man in the hands of rash physicians; instead of curing him by gentle measures, as they easily might have done, they are hewing off his legs and arms.' It is

not easy to say definitely how much of the later misery of France is due to this tremendous blunder of her King. The general tendency of the reign,—it being the attribute of a great King to make great expenditure,—was to increase consumption and lessen production. All that was done tended in this direction: in war or peace alike the expenditure was wasteful and unremunerative. Armies and fortresses withdrew wealth from the fields and looms, while they pressed with ever-growing severity on those who remained at home to work: the building of palaces, the fêtes and glories of the monarch, while they stimulated a few barren trades and arts, squandered the wealth which the wholesome and productive industries of the country collected, discouraged thrifty life, and set a pernicious example to society.

These things were at their height in 1685; nor can their baleful consequences be disentangled from the results which followed the exodus of the Huguenots. It is clear that the sufferings and embarrassments of France went on with tenfold speed from this time: the effects of the exodus were unfortunately but too closely allied with the general tendency of the time.

No two writers agree as to the numbers who escaped. For some years before the Revocation a steady stream had set outwards: Amsterdam alone had passed a decree to build a thousand houses for the emigrants: London saw a new quarter to the East, in the 'Spital Fields, rise into busy and prosperous life: the well-trained eye and deft hand of the French artisan were welcome everywhere in Europe. All this was before 1685: but when the new Edict ordered the Huguenot ministers to leave the country under pain of death; and with the same breath ordered their flocks to stay at home and be converted,—'the most stiffnecked,' as Louis said, 'bearing the stiffest burden,'—can we wonder that the ill-treated and outraged Huguenots paid little obedience to their unnatural master? They streamed across every frontier; grandfathers and children, tender maidens and strong men, the noble and the artisan, undeterred by the horrors of their lot if caught, struggled onwards in a hundred disguises, with thrilling adventures and

escapes; all animated by one spirit,—the determination to join their much-loved pastors, and set up new homes in some less inclement land. They bribed the guards on the frontiers; or they slipped across the open country by night, or they hid themselves in merchandise and were shipped as bales of goods for England: or finding friendly sailors on the coast they embarked in little craft, gladly braving the rough autumnal seas, if only they might flee from the curse and bondage of the conversion at home. Strings of galley-slaves, chained together in long and dreary procession, moving painfully towards the sea, told of the numerous failures to escape. But the most part got away; the very flower of the industries of France¹, they carried cunning arts, and skill and taste, to her rivals, and laid the foundations of a prosperity which endures to this day.

There had been two millions of Huguenots in France: the apologists of Louis XIV try to prove that less than seventy thousand escaped after the Edict: Vauban, wishing not to exaggerate, reckoned that in five years a hundred thousand fled: Voltaire, not a prejudiced witness, says that in the first three years fifty thousand families escaped: he adds that altogether France lost half a million of her inhabitants: Sismondi comes perhaps nearer to the mark when he reduces the tale to three hundred thousand²: for even Capefigue, bitterly hostile to the Huguenots, after close and diligent research allows that at least two hundred and twenty-five thousand went forth. If he can trace so many, there must have been a large number who left no trace behind: Sismondi's three hundred thousand seems to be no exaggerated estimate. Nor does this account include the multitude who were otherwise lost to France; who perished in the attempt to escape, or were hung or broken, or languished long years in prison, or laboured out the rest of their days in the galleys. Louis XIV, ignorant as he was of his own country,

¹ See von Ranke, *Franz. Geschichte*, iii p. 374, for their industries; and above, p. 226.

² Martin puts the figures rather lower, from 1685 to the end of the Century. *Histoire de France*, xiv. p. 59.

and 'barricaded against his people,' became dimly aware of the misfortune he had brought on France: he imagined that the exodus was a mere perversity, which would be allayed, were men free to come and go. For a short time the penalties on evasion were suspended; the refugees pressed still more eagerly over the frontiers; and the old severities soon began again. And what a misfortune! Here were the thriftiest, the bravest, the most intelligent, the most industrious of Frenchmen, the very flower of the race: some of their best and purest blood, some of their fairest and most virtuous women, all their picked artisans. In war, in diplomacy, in literature, in production of wealth, these refugees gave what they took from France to her enemies, for they carried with them that bitter sense of wrong, which made them henceforth foremost among those enemies, the forlorn hope of every attack on their ancient Fatherland. Large numbers of officers, and those among the ablest, emigrated; among them pre-eminent Marshal Schomberg, 'the best general in Europe¹.' The fleet especially suffered; the best of the sailors emigrated²; the ships were almost unmanned. The seamen carried tidings of their country's madness to the ends of the earth: as Voltaire says 'the French were as widely dispersed as the Jews³'. Not only in industry, but in thought and mental activity, they were a terrible loss. From this time, literature in France loses all spring and power; and this specially in the Church, where little life was left in the faith which at last, at such a price, had achieved its unity: under the Regency, in the days of Voltaire, at the Revolution, no champion rises up to defend the very citadel of the old faith: all fire is quenched: no one dares to think for himself, no questions may be asked, nor are differences allowed; till, when the intellectual life, the vigorous scepticism, the daring and contemptuous questioning of the eighteenth century, break in upon this sleeping minster of the

¹ *Mémoires de Madame de La Fayette*, Michaud, III. viii. 218.

² *Ibid.* p. 242: 'La religion en avoit fait évader une infinité, et des meilleurs.'

³ Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, ch. 36.

Church, no dexterous polemic is ready with any weapon of controversy; no saint with holy prayer and pious works defends the outraged altars of the land.

Abroad, the effects of the Revocation were immediate and very striking. In Holland it instantly strengthened the land-party, and enabled William of Orange to hold his own against the reluctant burghers. In England the effects were still more marked; for there it gave assurance and certainty to all the doubts and anxieties with which the Anglican Church and the bulk of the people regarded the accession of their Jesuit-guided King. Every one believed that James was ready to do all that Louis had done; nothing so much paved the way for the Revolution, although for the time the King's authority was too strong to allow England to join the league against his friend.

The whole policy of the House of Brandenburg came round. Till now, the Great Elector had been very friendly with Louis, shutting his eyes to French aggressions in Germany, and hoping to win Pommern from the Swedes: he had neutralised all the resistance which had begun to spring up against the Alsatian 'reunions,' and the seizure of Strasburg. Henceforth all was changed: Brandenburg was reconciled with the Emperor; his old antagonisms were completely given up; he sent help to the King of Poland against the Turks; he made a treaty even with Sweden. No longer did North Germany believe that the House of Austria was its natural foe: all the old fears and antipathies gave place before fresh and more pressing dangers¹: the antagonism to France, which in course of ages was destined to weld all Germany into one body;—a process begun by the Great Elector, carried on by Frederick the Great, and brought to its triumphant close in our own days;—dates from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Great Elector gladly welcomed the refugees: as in England they gave new life to manufacture, and as in Holland they quickened commerce, so in Brandenburg they brought in a new age of agriculture:

¹ L. von Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, iii. 419.

undrained swamps and barren heaths, tilled by faithful and intelligent hands, soon blossomed like the rose.

Just before this time Louis XIV had been laying down his lines to catch the Imperial dignity, whenever it might fall in: he had made secret compacts with the Electors of Brandenburg, Bavaria, and Saxony: but by this act he undid all his own work; though he still retained some hold on the Low-German Princes who lay nearest him, his chance of the Empire was gone. As if to make the opposition in Germany as vehement as he could, in 1685, on the death of the Palsgrave Charles, Louis rashly claimed the Lower Palatinate in right of the Palatine princess, the Elector's sister, who had married the Duke of Orleans. Alarmed and angry, the German powers could hesitate no longer: in July 1686 they signed the famous League of Augsburg; it was the beginning of that long resistance which at last proved fatal to France.

Even the Catholic powers accepted this League: the Pope himself, Innocent XI, that Austrian Pontiff, who had even supported the Jansenists whom he disliked, because Louis XIV oppressed them; who wished to shelter the Huguenots, and was ready for any step which might weaken his great adversary, who actually counted on the sword of the Calvinist William of Orange¹—even Innocent (in 1687) secretly joined the League against the Catholic Kings of France and England, against the dominance in Europe of absolutism and the Jesuits. The Emperor and the King of Spain were also in the League with

¹ 'Le Saint-Père du jansénisme
A passé droit au calvinisme,
J'ai pour lui des respects profonds;
Il mérite de la louange
D'avoir choisi pour ses seconds
Schomberg et le prince d'Orange' (A. 1688).

Nouveau Siècle de Louis XIV. p. 125.

It is a mistake to say that Innocent knew and approved of William's plan of interference in England. D'Estrées' letter to Louvois (*Œuvres de Louis XIV*, vi. p. 499) says distinctly that 'the Holy Father was no little troubled at the resolution of the English to dethrone their King if he did not change his policy': he suggested that the Prince of Orange should march on the Rhine, and support the Imperial and Papal interests at Cologne against Louis and his archbishop William of Fürstenberg.

the Dutch, Calvinists and Catholics side by side, the Electors Palatine and of Saxony, the Bavarian Circles, Franconia, the Upper Rhine. In 1687 the Duke of Savoy came in, as did also the Elector of Bavaria; all the Italian princes sympathised, and even the old friends of France, the Swiss Cantons, threw obstacles in the way of recruiting, which Louis reckoned on to fill up his armies. The League at first aimed at being strictly defensive: it should watch over the political independence of Europe, and, strange change! Austria and Spain bound themselves to protect liberty of conscience. But the defensive attitude is one which cannot last; the incidents of the war, and the cool and daring schemes of William of Orange, could not fail before long to give an aggressive turn to the alliance. Europe will drift surely, and not slowly, into a great war.

It was at this moment that the famous statue of the Place des Victoires was erected, as if to warn the world of the high aims and claims of Louis; it was unveiled with ceremonies of pagan adoration¹; under the great Monarch's feet lay crushed a many-headed Cerberus, emblem of the Coalition: along the front ran the strange inscription 'Homini Immortali,' arrogating an imperial and more than human glory: by irony of nature, just as 'Alexander when his head ached ceased to be a god,' so now, when men acclaimed Louis as above the level of mankind, and offered to burn undying votive lamps before his image, an abscess, painful and exhausting, brought the proud monarch to the very brink of the grave. In this same year, 1686, died the great Condé, who had become an obsequious courtier, and decorously and politely religious. When they asked him, in his last days, to write memoirs, he replied with proud humility and a courtier's turn 'All I have done is worthy only of oblivion: write the King's history; then all other memoirs will be superfluous.'²

Early in 1687 Louis was quite restored to health, and ready to begin the second period of his reign. Had he then died,

¹ See above, p. 150.

² Martin, *Histoire des Français*, xiv. p. 75, note 1.

what a magnificent record of grandeur, splendour, unequalled triumphs, would he have left behind him! But the age of great men was over for France: her chiefest generals, best statesmen, most brilliant writers, were all gone. Luxemburg and Duras were poor substitutes for Condé and Turenne; even Schomberg was carrying his sword to the service of the Prince of Orange: Colbert and Lionne are of the past; Louvois, whose favour was already on the wane, had not long to live. The day of third-rate statesmen was come; and Louis, self-satisfied, ignorant, and unable to distinguish between a good and a bad minister,—that surest mark of an incompetent ruler,—flattered himself that he could form fresh statesmen as he would, and preferred, with fatal security, a docile mediocrity to the dangers of originality and power¹. Barbezieux, Louvois' son, was but a feeble minister of war; Seignelay, Colbert's son, was a good head of the Admiralty, but his health was weak, and he died in 1690, leaving his work in weaker hands: Pontchartrain, most estimable man, was quite unfit to grapple with the terrible confusions and necessities of finance. On every side France loses ground during this period: to the outer eye her splendour is undimmed; if not advancing, she seems to be standing still at the summit of glory: her armies win great victories; she makes head against Europe in arms: yet at the end she concludes, under pressure of her anxieties respecting the Spanish succession, a peace, which marks a distinct and serious falling-off in power, and the recession from some of her proudest pretensions.

In these years of peace the King and Madame de Maintenon had shown anxious care at least for one branch of their subjects: the people might languish, agriculture droop, the thrifty artisan escape to England or Berlin—the small noblesse demanded constant attention. They were in no way formidable, as the great houses might be: Madame de Maintenon herself was one of them, and interested herself warmly on behalf

¹ His admirable choice of the Marquis d'Harcourt as his ambassador to the Court of Spain in the critical time at the end of the century is a signal exception to this general statement.

of poor gentility, always so charming. The military and naval cadet schools of 1682, institutions which were far from successful¹, aimed at supporting, training, and finding a career for the boys of this lesser noblesse. For the other sex, Madame de Maintenon, at the beginning of her power, set on foot the great convent school of Saint Cyr for daughters of the poor nobles, endowing it richly, watching over it personally, and treating it with every mark of favour. It was thither that she retired after the King's death, and, with mild eyes averted, looked never out on the scandalous disorders of the Regency. It was there that, for the King's amusement, she busied herself with pretty shows, moral and religious dramas, and whatever might fitly ally the world with her devotion. For the young maidens of Saint Cyr, Racine, after a silence of twelve years, resumed his pen, and in his later manner produced the *Esther* and *Athalie*, which were acted there by the damsels before the King². The dreary *Esther* was an allegory; Louis is Ahasuerus, Vashti is Madame de Montespan, haughty and bad, who falls before the meek charms and measured character of the modern *Esther*: she, seated by the King, enjoyed, as a triple triumph, the dramatic success of her protégées, the applause which greeted her poet, and the beneficent sunshine of the royal smile. Her heart was in this richly-endowed 'toy-convent' of hers; she arranged, with sedulous far-seeing care for her own interests and comfort, the terms on which she was to be received and supported by the Convent, whenever her day at Court should be over: at the last she took refuge there, when her royal spouse was on his deathbed³.

But now Louis was called away to sterner thoughts and

¹ De la Hode, *Histoire de Louis XIV.* tom. iv. pp. 236, 237.

² *Mémoires de Mme. de la Fayette*, Michaud, III. viii. p. 229.

³ It is said that Lulli (who wrote music, just as Racine wrote plays, for the young maidens) composed an air for one of these entertainments; that 'the ingenious Mr. Händel' picked it up there, and reproduced it in England, where it became for ever popular as 'God save the King.' The story rests on no sure foundations, and the air seems undoubtedly older than this time.

cares; for the League of Augsburg grew daily more formidable; and war might break out at any time. France, in spite of her ten years of peace, was ill-prepared for war: the King's pleasures had squandered his resources; even the soldiers had been sacrificed by hundreds to his fancies; for that the waters of Versailles might flow a year or two sooner, a whole army was employed, with its head-quarters at Maintenon, in the construction of a canal from the river Eure. The work was unwholesome, and the marshy lands very unhealthy; not only did these costly waters waste great treasure, but thousands of soldiers perished of fevers and other maladies, though, as Madame de la Fayette says, 'this inconvenience'—the perishing of so many souls—did not seem worthy of any attention, in the lap of that tranquillity which men then enjoyed¹.

Now, however, these poor soldiers were ordered away from this fatal task to the yet more destructive trade of war, and the costly aqueduct was left incomplete, standing in part to this day, a record of the first unfinished work of the great monarch. Not only were the plans of William of Orange taking definite form, but the capture of Belgrade (A.D. 1688), far away on the Danube, had relieved the Emperor of his worst anxieties, and had set him free to turn his attention to western affairs: and these affairs at first took the shape of a diplomatic struggle on the Rhine, destined in time to have marked effects on the fortunes of Europe. It was all-important for Louis to secure the Electorate of Cologne; for that was the key to all his strategy, being a back-entrance into Holland, while it also secured his influence both in the Palatinate and among the lesser princes of Northern Germany. Up to this time French influences had been very strong in the Chapter at Cologne, and now Louis proposed that William of Fürstenberg should be chosen Coadjutor to the Elector, who had become infirm. But though the Chapter approved, Innocent XI interposed

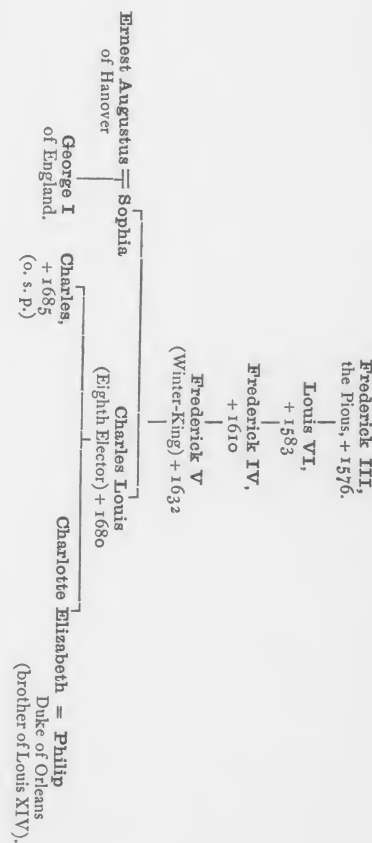
¹ *Mme. de la Fayette*, Michaud, III. viii. p. 211.

obstacles : and the result was that when, in the course of 1688, the Archbishop-Elector died, vacating not only Cologne, but Münster, Liège, and Hildesheim, Louis found that a new election was necessary. Hot intrigues and bribery followed : the lesser Bishopricks were given to German ecclesiastics¹ ; in the Chapter of Cologne there was an eager election ; William of Fürstenberg, though he had a decided majority (fourteen against nine) had not the requisite two-thirds ; the minority withdrew with a protest in favour of the young Clement of Bavaria, the candidate of the Papal and Imperial interest. Fürstenberg took possession of the Electorate, supported by French troops ; a French garrison occupied Cologne itself. The Pope and Emperor declared against the choice of the majority : it seemed doubtful whether Fürstenberg could maintain his position without solid help. The King of France had also to look after the rights to the Palatinate which, through the failure of males in the Simmern line, had come to Charlotte Elizabeth, his sister-in-law.

With this uneasy state of affairs, threatening the very existence of the old Rhine-League and of the French influence in North-Western Germany, on the one side, and the dubious attitude, warlike preparations, and known hostility of William of Orange on the other, Louis stood uncertain what to do. These were days of great anxiety for him. His army was very ill-equipped, his navy worse, his seaports undefended ; there was no money, the country was uneasy, the Huguenots, converted in form, were in fact keenly looking for an opportunity to revolt against the pitiless political and religious tyranny under which they groaned ; the people generally were irritated and unhappy. Yet Louis speedily gathered together three hundred thousand men, besides the militia of the Provinces ; he made perquisitions whenever French troops occupied foreign territory ; he sold offices in great numbers ; the cities voted handsome sums of money.

¹ Liège chose an anti-French bishop, and Louis avenged himself, a little later, by plundering all the diocese.

TABLE IV.—THE ELECTORS-PALATINE OF THE SIMMERN LINE.



All through the year 1688 the Stattholder's eyes were fixed on England. King James had alienated the loyalty of his people; he was believed to be about to crush the liberties of the kingdoms, so long as they stood in the way of a Catholic restoration. With the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes before them, all Englishmen, Anglicans or Nonconformists, Tories or Whigs, believed alike that a Catholic toleration could only end in their own ruin; they deemed the equality of creeds a chimera, and held that they must exclude the Catholics, or the Catholics would destroy them. Moreover, King James' toleration was a blow aimed at the most conservative feeling in the breasts of English Churchmen, their pride in the exclusive privileges and position enjoyed by their communion, while it equally alarmed the Nonconformist, whose stern spirit of unextinguished Puritanism loathed the faith which it regarded as an aggressive idolatry. The King, as he developed his plans, alarmed by his injudicious zeal both friends and foes: even the Roman Curia did not hesitate to declare that he was destroying what remained of Catholicism in England: the Pope himself drew into closer relations with the powers opposed to the reaction¹. Then came the birth of a Prince of Wales. In vain did the English people listen to ingenious and elaborate attempts to prove that the babe was no child of the Queen, that it had been secretly brought in by the backstairs: much as they might wish it, they did not in their hearts believe the unlikely tale. There was no doubt that a Catholic heir to the English throne was born², and that the prospect of a Protestant successor in the person of the Princess Mary, William's spouse,

¹ We must remember, however, that it is not correct to say that Innocent was allied with William.

² The censorious tongues of the time had many a gibe and nickname for the Prince of Wales: there exists a French song which hits both him and Louis XIV (whose enemies declared that he was Mazarin's son):—

'À Jacques disoit Louis:
De Galles est-il votre fils?
Oui-dà, par sainte Thérèse,
Comme vous de Louis-Treize'

Nouveau Siècle de Louis XIV, p. 175.

was gone. The bulk of the nation, fearing the chances of another revolution, had been quite willing to wait patiently till time brought a change of rulers: they would then have welcomed Mary as Queen, and things would once more have gone well. Now time could bring no change for the better: and meanwhile King James seemed bent on shocking the prejudices and trampling on the rights of his subjects. The heads of all parties opposed to James now placed themselves at once in closer communication with William: they addressed to him the famous invitation of 30 June, 1688¹, signed by seven persons, representing both the Church of England and the State, both the noble and the popular resistance to royal tyranny. It was not an invitation to William to be King, but to come over and take the lead in a general rising against King James' government. The after-stages of such an act were not discussed: at first the idea of the deposition or abdication of James was not entertained: whatever William may have thought, he played the part at first of a kind of armed mediator, called in between his father-in-law the King and the popular movement. His own ideas and sympathies were favourable to the stricter views as to the royal prerogative: he was no popular prince; he was the champion—strange contradiction!—of the less against the more tolerant. He, who stood in the forefront of the resistance to Louis XIV and his system of repression, was called on to declare, and did declare openly, against the scheme of concurrent toleration and endowment proposed by James. William had to support the Anglican Church in its exclusiveness, securing its supremacy, and declaring for the Test Act, while he at the same time was the champion of Calvinism without Episcopacy abroad. The contradiction, however, was far more apparent than real. For the toleration of James was seen to be a mere snare; men knew that when his Jesuits had got hold of power, they would not long allow it to be shared with others: whereas William's less tolerant position meant at least complete

¹ To be read in Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, Appendix I, 228.

freedom of worship for the Nonconformist, and liberty of conscience for all.

Though the state of feeling in England seemed most favourable, and all were longing for the intervention of William, he was obliged to employ all the patience and circumspection of his nature, and to make long preparations. He must gather force, ships, men and money; must secure, if not the active co-operation, at least the passive acquiescence of the Amsterdam citizens; he must see the Augsburg League in motion, so as to attract the eyes of Louis towards the Rhine; he must delude that vigilant watcher, D'Avaux, the French Ambassador in Holland, and persuade France that her western coasts were threatened by his armament. Above all, William could not safely move so long as Louis gathered troops near the Flemish border and did not declare himself.

And Louis seemed to balance long; for the decision was weighty, carrying with it the world's fortunes. Should he strike hard at Holland, and so defeat William's scheme, whether it were directed, as he believed, against England, or against the western coasts of France? or should he make sure of his influence on the Rhine? Was the Emperor or the Prince of Orange the more dangerous foe? To put it in another way, were the dynastic interests of the French Crown to prevail over the general interests of France? On the reply to these questions hung the fate of Europe: Seignelay saw clearly what ought to be the answer, and warmly urged an immediate attack on Holland. But in the Council, Louvois' views fell in with the King's narrower grasp, and ultimately prevailed.

It was a great blunder; even the middle course of an attack on Cologne, or a demonstration against Maestricht and the line of the Meuse, would have sufficiently encouraged the friends of France on the Rhine, while it would have paralysed William, even if it did not force him entirely to change his plans. But Philipsburg and the Palatinate, the German alliances, and the family claim on the Palatinate

seemed more important than all the rest¹; and thither the French troops were ordered to advance.

No moment in history is fraught with such consequences: William's '*aut nunc aut nunquam*' expresses the whole thing. Nothing shows more clearly the want of true capacity, of true greatness, in Louis, than his decision at this point: he deliberately, against advice, chose the weaker before the stronger course, and cared more for the narrow than for the broad issue. He thought that the threat of his displeasure would keep Holland quiet; for he knew how timid and half-hearted was the commercial party, as represented by the Amsterdam burghers; perhaps he even hesitated to embroil himself with Spain by a direct attack on Holland across the Netherlands; war with Spain, the succession-question being yet unsettled, might overthrow all his plans, and lose him the great prize of his life: he no doubt trusted to the chapter of accidents; as Monmouth had failed and perished, so probably would William. The men and the time, however, were very different; and a man of clearer vision would have decided otherwise. Though Louis knew how determined a foe he had in the Stattholder, he failed to discern the pertinacity, swiftness, the far-reaching and well-conceived plans of his rival. Had he been really great he would not have made these mistakes; for the great are known to the great; and the instincts of greatness forbid the choosing of the smaller aim in preference to the larger. The wise politician, too, knows what to do, how much he can accomplish with his means, which course is best to follow. Louis had a clear view as to his own aims and ends: but they were not pure, not free from personal and private ambitions. Dynastic glory was more to him than the general settlement of Europe or the larger interests of France.

So Louis missed his opportunity, and left to his rival room to act as he would: nor did William fail to seize the fortunate

¹ See Table, p. 241.

moment. It is part of the greatness of William that he was not touched or disheartened by the infectious caution and timidity of the magistrates, and that by a rare combination of unflinching boldness and prudence, of long and anxious preparation, and sharp incisive action at the right moment, with a single stroke, he changed the whole course of European politics.

The opposition between the two Princes runs throughout. No two men could be more antipathetic; none so opposed in all that makes up their respective claims to greatness. They were unlike in all; in physical appearance and bearing William was thin and hectic, Louis splendid and vigorous in frame and face: the Dutchman reserved and dry¹, the Frenchman full of grace, and, if he liked, of winning condescension: William, a changed man in battle; if before he was 'of a disgusting dryness,' then he became 'all fire'; yet it was a fire without passion: Louis never shone in war, and was quite out of place on a battle-field. While the one was deplorably ignorant and untaught, the other had a splendid memory, and had been well-trained in the days of adversity; William was a great linguist. Though he did not enough condescend to his people, his designs were always great and good: if he had any ambition, it was that of leading the politics of Europe to a good end; whereas Louis had little grasp of general principles, and his ambitions were personal or dynastic. There is no more untrue judgment passed on William than that of Massillon who said he 'had been a great man, had he never wished to be King,'—for that crown of his, the crown of England, little as he liked it, little as in some ways it became him, was the great triumph of his political system: it, and it alone, enabled him to curb his rival's power.

We may set aside S. Simon's curious tale of the Trianon

¹ 'Spoke but little and very slowly, and most commonly with a disgusting dryness, which was his character at all times, except in a day of battle. Burnet, Own Times, ii. 304.

Window¹, which he declares to have been the cause of this great war of 1688. The memoir-writer, especially if so prejudiced as the Duke was, is ever apt to mistake some trivial circumstance for a true cause. He sees so much of the pettiness of those motives which seem to set the world in action, he is so little conversant with the larger steadily-moving powers which underlie all great revolutions, his view of the nature of princes is so apt to be contemptuous,—for he sees through them while they are hidden from the common gaze by their position,—his love of piquant anecdote, the gossip of courts, is so strong, that the noble memoir-writer becomes at once the most interesting and graphic of story-tellers, and the most unsafe of guides. That Louvois, though the window-story is a mere trifle, was at the bottom of the final decision in favour of the Rhine-war, and that he was usually swayed by secondary and unworthy motives, is true enough. Yet the causes of the war of 1688 are deeper than the crooked building of a window, or the fears of a minister for his place: they lie far down in history, they depend on the working-out of general principles, on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, on the King's schemes for Germany, on the alarm of Europe, on the expression of reactionary ideas in the character and policy of James II. One can see how strongly the nobler minds of Europe were touched by the greatness of the issues, when we read the account of the last moments of the Great Elector, who died April 29, 1688. His last words were 'London, Amsterdam': his last thought given to that momentous crisis on which the political future of Europe, as he saw clearly, was to turn.

At last the tension became too great; and Louis, after first sending a small force to the Netherland frontier, and finally threatening the Dutch with war if they molested James II, despatched the Dauphin eastwards, at the head of the main army of France. The attack, which began at the end of September 1688,

¹ Mémoires du Duc de Saint-Simon, iv. pp. 302, sqq. (ed. Hachette), where the story is told with all the vivid detail and life of that brilliant and prejudiced author's pen.

was directed at last not on Holland but on the Rhine. Monseigneur¹, guided by Duras, a poor substitute for the generals of the great age², was instructed to invest and take Philipsburg and occupy the Palatinate: Vauban and Catinat were then to guarantee success. Fürstenberg opened the gates of Bonn, Neuss, and Kaiserswerth to the French troops: on the other hand, his rival, Clement, thanks to Schomberg, secured Cologne with a strong force of Imperialists. Eighty thousand men under the Dauphin took Philipsburg, and passing on thence occupied the valley of the Rhine as far as to the Bergstrasse. In less than two months the whole Palatinate and the three ecclesiastical Electorates were in French hands.

The relief felt at Amsterdam, when tidings came of this attack on the German frontier, was immense. The funds sprang up ten per centum: the timid burghers no longer held back; William made all haste to complete the preparations for his great enterprise. The States General issued a manifesto, declaring their full concurrence in his plans, though neither they nor he said one word about a change of dynasty in England. A change in policy was felt to be essential to the success of the great struggle just beginning against Louis XIV: neither the States General, nor William, nor the English people, for the moment cared to enquire how that change would have to be brought about, and its permanence secured. Louis XIV saw how it would end, and credited both William and the English with more distinct designs than in fact they had ever formed:

¹ The title of 'Monseigneur,' meaning the Dauphin (just as that of 'Monsieur,' from the time of Gaston, brother of Louis XIII, signified the eldest brother of the King), was not used of the Dauphin par excellence till Louis XIV set the fashion. See S. Simon, iv. 361 (ed. Hachette).

² 'Pour opposer au grand Lorraine
Il faudrait Condé ou Turenne;
Plaignons à jamais leur trépas,
Et plaignons le sort de la France
De n'avoir d'espoir qu'en Duras
Qui mettra tout en décadence.'

Nouveau Siècle de Louis XIV, p. 134.

he had heard from Rome¹ 'that the English are agreed with the Prince of Orange to dethrone King James;' and lost no time in warning the English King, and in offering him help. But James was intent on a balancing policy: he would neither side with Louis nor with the League of Augsburg, and refused all aid from France. Now, however, that Louis, leaving him to his fate, had moved on the Rhine with all his force, James took alarm, and offered to join the League against his friend and patron; he declared that the attack on Philipsburg was an assault on the liberties of Europe. Nor is it clear that King James was insincere: he was not the man to be the contented henchman of Louis, as Charles had been: duller and more obstinate, he was also more honest and tenacious of his own power, and could not be bought so easily. But it was too late. The Prince of Orange was ready to sail; his great manifesto was issued on October 10, 1688; in it he skilfully declares his position to be that of the next heir to the throne, coming to defend the laws and religion of England. He made it quite clear that he was prepared to maintain the Test Act. At last, after tedious delays from south-westerly autumnal gales, he landed at Torbay on the fifth of November 1688.

It is no part of this work to trace the progress of the Prince, or the vacillations and treachery of the English Government, or the desertion of those nearest to King James in blood and interests, or the feeble conduct of the King himself: it is enough to say that on Christmas Day, 1688, James, who had sent the Queen and the little Prince of Wales before him, landed on French shore: and that, three days later, William, at the request of the Convention, took into his hands the civil, financial, and military government of England. Before the end of January 1689 the throne was declared vacant; in February the Declaration of Rights was adopted by the vote

¹ In a letter from D'Estrées to Louvois, given in Œuvres de Louis XIV, vi, p. 500, dated 18 Dec. 1687.

of Parliament, and the crown transferred to William and Mary. Scotland followed three months later: Ireland remained faithful, in the main, to James.

So easily and irrevocably did the Catholic effort in England meet its end. It perished without bloodshed or disorder or revenge: its fall is the next stage in the resistance of Europe to the great schemes of Louis XIV. The accession of William III to the English throne gives a new impulse to the world's history.

CHAPTER V.

EUROPE AGAINST FRANCE: WAR. A.D. 1688-1697.

THUS the 'little Lord of Breda' became the great King of England; the Stattholder of timid Holland the leader of the European resistance to Louis XIV. Had the French forces been well-prepared, or the French armies well-led, in these years, while William was not yet firmly fixed on the English throne, Louis might have retrieved his blunder: had James II been a more vigorous Prince; had he cared less, in fact, for his Jesuits and more for his crown, the new government in England would have found it very hard to hold its ground.

But there was no personal ambition or heroism in James II. When he arrived at the French Court, he made a very poor impression: they found him deficient in ability and kingly bearing, and totally without brightness: 'he bore up under his troubles, because he was dull and thick-skinned, rather than from heroism¹;' he offended French society by his subservience to the Jesuits; men heard with something like disgust the declaration of the dethroned monarch that he was 'one of the company of Jesus²:' the Archbishop of Rheims, Louvois' brother, as he saw the devout King coming from church, said, with a smile on his lips, 'What a good man! he has given up three kingdoms for a Mass!' The contrast with Henry IV,

¹ *Mém. de la Fayette* (Michaud, III. viii. p. 234).

² *Ibid*, p. 229: 'Plus les François voyoient le roi d'Angleterre, moins on le plaignoit de la perte de son royaume.'

and his saying, 'Paris is worth a Mass,' was no doubt in every mind. Louis, however, treated his fallen brother with dignity and much generosity, establishing him in a little court at S. Germain, and providing him amply with sustenance.

While Louvois and his friends always urged the prosecution of the war on the side of Germany, Seignelay, as Minister of Marine, and perhaps with some natural attraction towards Great Britain¹, as warmly devoted himself to the war on the sea, and to the restoration of James. To this antagonism in the King's counsels are partly due the failures of the first years of the war; as La Fare says, in speaking of the Irish expedition, 'this war, promoted by Seignelay, because it could be carried out only by his department, the navy, was disliked by Louvois, who did all he could to make it fail².'

To resist the coalition, France had but two friends, the Turk and the Dane: the Emperor, thanks to the heroism of Sobieski and the Duke of Lorraine, had freed Europe from fear of the Turk; while Denmark, closely connected with William of Orange³, might any day pass over to the other side. Louis took great pains to dissuade the Elector of Bavaria from joining the League, but in vain: the Poles refused to listen to him; the Russians, to whom he turned, were too busy in the East.

In a word, France stood alone, face to face with threatening Europe, and she was but ill-prepared for the struggle; the country was uneasy, the exchequer empty. Yet Louis did not flinch from the greatness of his risks: he determined to withdraw his troops from the Palatinate, to carry on the war in the Spanish Netherlands and on the Lower Rhine, to send a force into Roussillon, to organise a home-army to keep down disaffection and to be ready as a reserve, and lastly to equip an expedition for Ireland, in the hope that the Catholic loyalty of that island would afford King James a safe basis for a counter-

¹ He was Colbert's eldest son and therefore of Scottish origin.

² *Mémoires du Marquis de la Fare* (Michaud, III. viii. p. 295).

³ Prince George of Denmark (brother of Christian V) went with his spouse, the Princess Anne, who was younger sister of Mary, spouse of William.

revolution in England. For these purposes he is said to have had three hundred thousand men under arms.

Early in 1689 his troops were ordered to evacuate the Palatinate: and here too the counsels of Louvois were disastrous to France. He advised the pitiless ravaging of the Rhine districts, and the destruction of all cities, all agriculture, all prosperity in them. The splendid castle of Heidelberg was ruined, the town burnt: what Heidelberg suffered was repeated wherever French soldiers were found; the wanton infliction of misery in this second devastation of the Palatinate¹, at last roused all the Germans, and doubled the energies of the League. The Ratisbon Diet formally declared war in February 1689, and commanded a general rising of the Empire against so barbarous and so brutal a foe. Three armies were set on foot.

France won no laurels in her campaigns of 1689. In the Netherlands the Prince of Waldeck, with the first German army, joined the Dutch and Spaniards under Churchill, afterwards so famous as the Duke of Marlborough. They beat D'Humières, 'as favoured at court as he was bad in the field²,' at Walcourt near the Sambre; the rest of the campaign ended as it had begun, in trivial movements on both sides leading to no result.

On the Rhine the Elector of Brandenburg, who commanded the second German army, recovered Kaiserswerth and Bonn; higher up, the third army under the Duke of Lorraine besieged and took Mainz: then these two armies united and forced the French back into Alsace and Lorraine.

Lastly, the death of the Queen of Spain in this year set the Spaniards free to declare war on France.

If one would see how much these bootless efforts exhausted France, one should read Louvois' minute³ on the church-plate which was available for war-purposes, and might be sent to the

¹ The first in Turenne's day, 1674.

² *Mémoires Historiques*, in *Œuvres de Louis XIV*, iv. p. 290 (written by M. de Grimoard).

³ Dated February, 1690. *Œuvres de Louis XIV*, vi. p. 508.

mint. It shows how great was the distress for money, that could compel Louis to listen to such a proposal. The splendid Versailles silver was melted down. All devices were tried; by a debased coinage, by loans, offices for sale, benevolences from the towns, it was hoped that the exhausted treasury might be replenished. With supplies thus gathered the campaign of 1690 was begun: it was carried on with the same want of plan, the same feebleness in command, which had marked the last year's warfare: the King had only two good generals, Luxemburg and Catinat¹, and both of them he disliked: for, as we have said, he was never cordial with his best men, and preferred well-conducted mediocrity to independent ability.

Luxemburg was sent into the Spanish Netherlands; Boufflers commanded on the Moselle; the Dauphin, watched over by Lorges, was on the Rhine; Catinat in Piedmont, for the Duke of Savoy wavered: lastly Noailles was sent southwards to Roussillon and Catalonia.

But this year, indecisive on the borders of France, was destined to produce great results on another scene of action. Louis XIV, warmly seconded by Seignelay, had made every effort to equip a fleet and gather an army for an expedition to Ireland; James was to accompany it, and the command was given to Lauzun. The King's farewell to James was perhaps double-edged: 'the best thing,' said he, 'that I can wish for you is that I may never see you again': and indeed, apart from his desire to see William overthrown, there was doubtless a relief in being well rid of this gloomy Prince, who was never very good company². King James set sail from Brest, and safely landed in Ireland in March 1689: the Catholics, in great force, flocked round him: and all the island, except Londonderry, declared against William. A strong reinforcement under Chateau-Regnault, with men and stores, succeeded

¹ Berwick did not begin to serve as a French general till 1704.

² 'On en étoit défat en France,' says Mme. de la Fayette (Michaud, III. viii. p. 234), speaking of his departure.

in landing safely in Bantry Bay: the English fleet failed to annoy them.

Things had become so serious in Ireland that William III, in spite of all the agitation in England, and the terrible risk of a failure, either by sea or land, saw that he must cross over and crush the growing opposition before it spread too far. On their side, the Jacobites were neither wise nor vigorous; they made a lively Court round James II at Dublin, and the highest aspirations of religion and loyalty soared up to heaven from the lips of men whose hearts were careless and their lives debauched: no serious attempt was made to grapple with cautious Schomberg, who was steadily securing his basis of operations in the north. Dissensions broke out between the French and Irish; the treasury was bare. Yet William felt that if the French King chose to throw all his strength into the Irish war it might be fatal to him, and he accordingly set off for Ireland and landed safely there (14 June, 1690), just as James had at last made up his mind to take the field. William was not a moment too soon. Tourville, now in command of the whole naval force of France, had set out to find the Anglo-Dutch fleet, commanded by Torrington. Both admirals had orders to fight: Tourville was willing to obey though he disliked the order, while Torrington resented the interference of Queen Mary and her council. Consequently, when the three fleets came into collision off Beachy Head, Torrington, who felt no good-will to the Dutch, left them to bear the whole brunt of the battle. The Dutch suffered terribly: though the French losses were also considerable, they won a decided victory, which was a great triumph for both Tourville and Seignelay (10 July, 1690). It was Seignelay's last success: he died in that November, leaving the charge of the navy in the incompetent hands of Pontchartrain.

Before his death the fate of the Revolution had been decided on the Boyne. King William wasted not a moment after landing in Ireland. James had advanced as far as Dundalk: but finding that the English and Dutch were coming up rapidly from the north in splendid spirit and condition, he

began to fall back. It was too late; William had him in his toils; with characteristic swiftness he overtook him at the Boyne, 'like the eagle swooping with straight flight on the prey'.¹

The Battle of the Boyne (1 July, 1690) was brilliant and decisive. The great general Schomberg was killed in action; James took horse and fled; and surveying the situation from Dublin, once more showed a strange lack of vigour and interest in his own fortunes. Instead of trying to retrieve the disaster, he embarked at Kinsale, and steered for France. William, who had been wounded in the shoulder, remained complete master of the field: in the next year his general Ginkel beat the French at Aghrim; and Limerick, the only remaining arsenal and stronghold of the Jacobites, capitulated. The Articles of Limerick closed the struggle for Ireland; all danger was over from that side, and William's throne secure. He had been wounded at the Boyne, and rumour magnifying it had told the Parisians that their great foe was killed. Paris fell into a paroxysm of delight: 'that evening I was returning from Sceaux with Seignelay,' says La Fare², 'and we were not a little surprised to find bonfires in every street, and straw Princes of Orange which the mob threw into the flames, with a toast to the King. . . . Perhaps it was the greatest compliment ever paid him.' For a month France was uncertain whether William really was alive or not.

In this year 1690 not much was done elsewhere. In the Netherlands Luxemburg beat Waldeck at Fleurus (30 July, 1690); but he was another Vendôme, as careless and inconsequent as he was brilliant in battle. He neglected to press his advantage, when he might have conquered all the Netherlands: he let the allies rally at Brussels, and gave the Elector of Brandenburg time to come to their help. A barren victory was all the result of the campaign, which ended almost where it began.

On the Rhine the Dauphin, in Catalonia Noailles, did as

¹ Ranke, *History of England*, iv. p. 605 (English translation).

² *Mémoires*, Michaud, III. viii. p. 295.

good as nothing: in Piedmont Catinat had greater things on hand. Victor Amadeus had at last declared for the League, driven to it by Louvois, whose terms were too hard for him. Catinat then attacked him, reduced Piedmont and Savoy, and marched on Saluzzo: Victor, after defeating Feuquières, who was left to secure the head-communications, crossed the Po, and found Catinat near Staffarda, where the French general defeated him utterly.

The three French victories of the year, Beachy Head, Fleurus, and Staffarda, were however more than counter-balanced by the ruin of James II at the Boyne. In 1691 all had to be begun again. Once more Louis made vast efforts; while William III, after securing himself in England, crossed over to the Hague, where a congress of the League agreed to raise their combined forces to two hundred thousand men.

The French King, to mark his sense of the importance of the moment, put himself at the head of a hundred thousand men, and marched to besiege Mons: he still clung to his old tastes in warfare; sieges, not strategy. Vauban as usual displayed all his great skill and energy; William, though he marched up to relieve the place, found the King so strong that he dared not attack him; and Mons capitulated in April 1691. Then Louis felt he had done enough, and returned to France: Luxemburg, left in command, skilfully baffled the allies, who tried to force him to fight; at last in the autumn, William being gone, and Waldeck withdrawing into winter quarters, Luxemburg caught the latter, and inflicted on him a severe check at Leuze. It was a sharp affair, in which Waldeck's whole rearguard was roughly handled. The capture of Mons and this action were all that came of the campaign.

Nothing was accomplished in 1691 on the Rhine: Catinat secured his position in Northern Italy by taking Villafranca, Nice, and Oneglia: in the Savoyard mountains he took the stronghold of Montmélian. In Catalonia little happened, with exception of the capture of Seo d'Urgel.

In the summer of this year death relieved France and Louis

of Louvois, the terrible minister who had ruled them with so heavy a hand. The violence of his temper, which spared not even the King; the crimes, for they were nothing less, which he induced Louis to commit, and under the remembrance of which the royal conscience was far from easy; the dislike of Madame de Maintenon, whose disposition was the very opposite to his—had made his position at Court almost untenable: it had been noticed that he had lost the royal favour, and he himself expected his fall. The anxieties of his position brought on an attack of apoplexy, which carried him off. Every sudden death, every difficult malady, was at that time attributed to poison: it was said that Louvois himself had poisoned Seignelay his rival; and now it was affirmed that the King or Madame de Maintenon had given the deadly draught to Louvois. Saint-Simon, with his voracious love of scandal, assures us that it was so; he is however absolutely untrustworthy in such matters: Louvois no doubt died a natural death.

Terrible as he was, and relieved as all who came near him were, still his death was a blow to the state: there was no strong hand left to direct the war abroad, and to raise supplies at home: he had been a wonderful administrator; had he been carefully limited to the war-office, he might have left a great name behind him, a name of which France could have been proud, for she would even have taken pleasure in the horror he inspired abroad, and in the execrations of Europe over the Palatinate barbarities. But Louvois with a feverish ambition grasped at all branches of public work: we have seen how the worst excesses of the Revocation period are due to him. It should be remembered that to him were due the measures which levelled the privileges of the noblesse¹. It is said that Louis did not care to conceal his pleasure at the death of his minister, 'This has been a fortunate year for me,' he said, 'it has rid me of three men whom I could not endure; La Feuillade,

¹ Saint-Simon, with all the bitterness of an old family, describes the scandalous way in which the noble youth was compelled by him to serve in the army. *Mémoires*, viii. 108, 109

Seignelay, and Louvois.' He felt no anxieties, no doubts, as to his own power to direct the whole state-machine: he named Barbezieux, Louvois' second son, war-minister, and took on himself the main burden. He liked young men; Barbezieux was but twenty-four years old, lively, active, presumptuous, and inexperienced. Louvois was his last great minister; freed from him, Louis only fell the more completely under the influence of Madame de Maintenon and his confessor.

The war, as yet, had in the main been prosperous for France; 'alone against all' she had won battles by sea and land, and taken strong places in the Netherlands, in Italy, and in Spain. But the burdens were terrible, and the great enemy of Louis was now beginning to have his hands free for vigorous action. It was thought that 1692 might be the decisive year of the war¹. Both sides strained every nerve: huge armies sprang out of the soil, and on the sea France was determined, if possible, to maintain the advantage she had won at Beachy Head: daring corsairs, of whom Jean Bart is the best known, became a terror to the Anglo-Dutch commerce: it was hoped that Tourville would crush the English navy. Louis proposed to act on the defensive in Catalonia, Piedmont, and Germany, and to attack the Netherlands and England: in a word, he would direct all his energies against William's throne.

His plans for the restoration of James II were swiftly matured; thirty thousand men under Marshal Bellefonds were to escort him to England. The most hopeful news came thence; it was thought that, if opinion there had but the King's presence to support it, it would break out into an irresistible counter-revolution; the exiled King was popular with the officers of the fleet, which he had formerly commanded with much bravery and credit; it was believed that Admiral Russell would never fight against him. Trusting to these hopes, Louis ordered Tourville to sail from Brest, and to engage the English fleet wherever he might find

¹ 'Il (Guillaume) avoit marqué l'année 1692 comme l'année fatale à la France.' *Œuvres de Louis XIV* (ed. 1806), iv. p. 343.

it. It was thought that full half the English ships would desert in action; consequently, though his vessels were ill-found, and far inferior in numbers to the Anglo-Dutch force, Tourville obeyed the royal order, against his own judgment and that of all his officers, and engaged the enemy off Cape La Hogue. There could be but one result: Russell, who had told his Jacobite friends that if attacked he must do his duty as a seaman and fight his best, far from deserting, stood to his guns; the French fought gallantly, and, thanks to a thick fog that came on, drew out of the battle without very serious loss: a little more fair weather would have been fatal to them, for almost the whole Dutch fleet and the blue squadron of the English never came into action, and were still fresh. As it was, the results of the battle, however honourable to French bravery at sea, were very disastrous: many ships escaped through the Blanchard Race to S. Malo; many were so crippled that they were run ashore, to save them from the English, though even then the English got at them and burnt them. King James saw the flames rise before his eyes; with the ascending smoke and fire his plans and hopes were scattered to the winds: his unlucky star, he said, was in the ascendant; he prayed Louis to leave him to his fate¹.

'As at Lepanto, so at La Hogue, the mastery of the sea passed from the one side to the other².' Though the French cruisers did many brilliant deeds, and though in 1693 Tourville caught a great fleet of merchantmen coming from the Levant, defeated the escorting ships of war, and took or burnt almost all the enemy, still the weight of power henceforth lay with the English. Never again could a great fleet of French ships threaten to replace James II on the English throne.

In the Netherland war the arms of France had far brighter fortunes. As in 1691 all turned on the siege and capture of Mons, which gave Louis the overweight in the Spanish

¹ L. von Ranke, *Hist. of England*, v. pp. 50, 51 (Eng. transl.).

² L. von Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, iv. p. 44.

Netherlands, so in 1692 all should depend on Namur, which, it was hoped, would carry with it the line of the Meuse: 'it is the strongest rampart,' says Louis, 'not only of Brabant but of the Bishoprick of Liège, of the United Provinces, and of a portion of Lower Germany. Beside securing the communications of all these districts, its situation at the confluence of the Sambre and the Meuse makes it mistress of these two rivers; it is splendidly placed, either to arrest the action of France or to facilitate the forward movement of her enemies¹:' it was also of great natural strength and carefully fortified. The preparations made by Louis were most minute, long-considered, and complete: while Coehorn employed all his learned skill in the defence of the place, Vauban's attack has been handed down as his masterpiece.

With a hundred thousand men Louis moved down on Namur, and invested the town. Marshal Luxembourg was posted on the Meuse, to cover the siege. So well were all the French dispositions made, so skilful the engineer-work, that when William came up to relieve the town, with a fine army, almost if not quite as powerful as that of Louis, he could find no weak point in his foe's armour, nor could he tempt him out to battle. He had to look on while first the town, and then the castle, of Namur gave way before the unparalleled skill of Vauban. The place finally capitulated at the end of June 1692.

Louis felt that his honour was safe. In the face of hostile Europe, himself at the post of danger, he had carried through a great siege, and had not been forced to fight a battle. Had he been a real soldier, the fall of Namur would have been the beginning of the decisive campaign of the war. He might have fallen with overwhelming force on William, driving him back into Holland. But field-warfare was not to his taste. Instead of striking the fatal blow, he made an oriental progress back to Paris with all his splendid Court: the fine army was much weakened by his escort, and by the sending of troops to the Rhine and Piedmont: Marshal Luxembourg was now

¹ *Œuvres de Louis XIV* (ed. 1806), iv. 344, 345.

fain to act on the defensive. William with great skill caught him early in August, in a bad position near Steenkirke, and forced him to fight: even though surprised and taken at a disadvantage, Luxemburg, who was never so happy in his inspirations as on a desperate battle-field, not merely saved the French army from defeat, but inflicted very heavy loss on his assailant, who had to supplement a masterly attack by an equally masterly retreat, and fell back to Brussels. The only battle ever won by William, in spite of his great genius in war, was that of the Boyne; that was a victory which secured to him three kingdoms; while his foes, thanks to their own supineness, or to his amazing fortitude and skill under defeat, never succeeded in drawing much advantage from their triumphs.

With Steenkirke ended the Netherland campaign, in which France had been very successful. In Italy Catinat was now pitted against the rising genius of Prince 'Eugenio von Savoye,' as he loved to sign himself, to indicate his three nationalities. Son of Olympia Mancini, one of Mazarin's nieces, and of the Count of Soissons, he was Italian and French: and Louis, by refusing him first preferment in the Church and then a commission, and by exiling his mother¹, threw the young man into the hands of the Emperor. He served brilliantly on the Danube against the Turk, and now began a splendid career of resistance to Louis, who had disgraced his mother and driven him out, and had sneered at the 'little Abbé'; no wonder if Prince Eugene cherished feelings of the bitterest resentment against him. The Prince, leaving half his force to check Catinat, carried the war over the frontier: welcomed and guided by the mountain-protestants, he descended the Durance, and inflicted sharp losses on Dauphiny, sacking Embrun and Gap, and threatening the Rhone. But Eugene was ill-seconded, and did not succeed in making good his footing. After alarming all

¹ Compromised in the Brinvilliers' poisonings, and under suspicion of sorcery.

the kingdom by this audacious raid, he fell back safely into Piedmont.

Affairs on the Rhine were unimportant: Lorges crossed that river, won some small advantages, ravaged Swabia. In Catalonia nothing was done: on the other hand, the expedition of French refugees from England, which was to effect a landing on the French shores, failed completely. The Emperor having thoroughly defeated the Turks, made peace with them this year, and this set his hands free to cope with Louis. On the whole, the end of 1692 saw the hostile forces fairly balanced: though France won most laurels, she was losing strength more rapidly than her antagonists. There was no sign of dissolution about the League: its chief members, the English King and the Emperor, were stronger than ever. There was great distress in France, and deep discontent; the brood of political pamphlets grew with amazing rapidity; the refugees of 1685 avenged themselves on the King and his court with bitter satires; the land was full of beggary; bad harvests threatened famine and ruin; the miserable peasantry made a kind of servile *Jacquerie* on the roads and in the woods. Finance was in scandalous confusion, and pressed ever harder on the industry and capital of the realm: 'France was perishing of misery to the sound of the *Te Deum*,' says Voltaire. At last Louis made offers of peace; but the allies felt themselves so strong, that they refused to treat.

The campaign of 1693 followed. This year Louis proposed to reduce Liège, and take Brussels. With one army under Boufflers, Liège should be invested; another under Luxemburg was instructed to cover the besieging force, as in the previous year at Namur. But these armies, thanks to the exhaustion of France, were not in the field till June, and William had time to strengthen all defences, and to set afoot a fine relieving army. Luxemburg would have brought all to the issue of a battle, and had a decided preponderance in force and position: once more Louis could not be persuaded to fight; again he shrank from a pitched battle, and allowed that he was overmatched.

He broke up, and returned to Versailles, nor did he ever again appear with his armies in the field, though he was as assiduous as ever on the parade-ground: his foes with a sneer styled him 'the King of reviews.' This abandonment of all his plans aroused universal amazement: William of Orange had proved too strong for him. Though Luxemburg inflicted a severe defeat on William at Neerwinden, after a very hard-fought day, no results followed, except that Charleroi fell to the victors. Luxemburg's indolence, and the exhaustion of his army, which lacked everything, forbade anything decisive in the Netherlands. A third of the French army was now sent to the Rhine: Louis had hopes of victory, conquest, and peace, in Germany. Yet though they had the upper hand in the field, and inflicted great damage on the Rhine lands and the Palatinate, still nothing decisive was achieved. The warfare went on without plan or hope of end.

In Italy the Duke of Savoy failed to take Pinerolo, and was beaten at Marsaglia; Catinat overran all Piedmont.

It was clear that 1693 had brought little prospect of a settlement of the great quarrel. Louis still held out against Europe, still won victories and took cities: but France was terribly exhausted, and the allies held firmly together. The war became defensive in 1694, except in Spain, where Noailles was ordered to push forwards, and make the French hand felt. He obeyed well, defeated the Spaniards at Verges, and took Palamos, Girona, Ostalric, Castel-Tollit; in concert with Tourville he besieged Barcelona; the appearance of a strong fleet under Admiral Russell in the Mediterranean compelled him to desist. The English showed their superiority at sea; they made a weak attempt to land at Brest, and were driven off with loss; they burnt Dieppe, and harassed, without doing much harm, Dunkirk, Havre, and Calais. In the Netherlands the war was altogether insignificant. France was profoundly disheartened: the Venetian ambassador, in October, 1694¹, speaks of their

¹ Quoted by von Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, iv. p. 48.

bitterness at finding in that year that they 'had been obliged, through the inequality of their forces, to change the glory of their past active warfare into the dull necessity of defence.' The French began to feel in the end of 1694 that their enemies were too strong for them. At this time too their most considerable general, Luxemburg, died¹: though he had glaring faults, he belonged also to the first and great school of French warriors; he was unworthily replaced by Villeroy, chosen because he was a favourite, while Catinat was not. Vauban and Catinat alone upheld the old reputation of the army.

The campaigns of 1695 offer but one point of interest: in Savoy diplomacy had taken the place of the sword, with results which did not appear till the following year; Noailles was recalled at his own request from Catalonia, and the Duke of Vendôme, great-grandson of Henry IV and Gabrielle d'Estrées, a brilliant officer of amazing indolence, debauched and of abandoned manners, a man of extraordinary skill in extricating himself from the straits into which he often fell, was appointed to take his place. This year he did nothing in Spain. In Germany the French, as usual, ravaged the Rhine-provinces, but made no impression on the allies.

The war on all sides was languid; no enterprise was shown in attack, no vigour in pushing an advantage: La Fare, writing of 1696, gives us the simple cause: 'Our generals,' he says, 'have ever been so frightened at the Court that the fear of the ruin which would follow failure has arrested them in the moment of success; . . . to please the King, not to benefit the State, was their unlucky object, and in this way of looking at their duty, generals were wellnigh as culpable as ministers².'

The one point of interest in 1695 was Namur. In spite of the bravery and energy of Boufflers, who commanded in the place; in spite of Villeroy's tame and tardy attempts, and his bombardment of Brussels as a diversion, in spite of all the ill-directed efforts of France, Coehorn here won a great triumph for the

¹ 4 Jan. 1685.

² *Mémoires de La Fare*, Michaud III. viii. p. 301.

allies. Namur, after a long investment and heavy losses on both sides, capitulated to William III early in September 1695; the operations of the siege in 1692 had been exactly reversed, and the result showed that the superiority in power and vigour had passed over to the allies. The taking of Namur has always been considered to be William's greatest feat in war.

The death of Queen Mary, which took place 28 Dec. 1694, had, it was thought, shaken William's throne: there was much grumbling and illwill, both among the traders harassed by French privateering, and in the country party; the burdens of the war were very heavy. The Court of Versailles, eager to strike a blow at the arch-enemy, and thinking the time well-chosen, once more despatched King James, in February, 1696, to the coast: Jean Bart was ordered to escort him across the Channel; a Jacobite plot was formed in England. The plot however failed utterly; Russell guarded the sea with an English-Dutch fleet, and James returned sadly to S. Germain, having only succeeded in calling out from the English a very strong expression of attachment to the principles of the Revolution.

Things seemed to draw towards an end: Charles XI of Sweden appears on the scene as a mediating power in 1696, though as yet the parties were still far from possible terms. In one quarter Louis had a real success: the negotiations with Victor Amadeus went on, and the Duke's price gradually came to be understood. In 1695 the French had allowed him, after a sham siege, to recover Casale, the strong place for the sake of which Richelieu had striven so hard: early in 1696 Pinerolo, the gateway by which the French entered Italy, was also placed in his hands. To detach Victor Amadeus from the alliance Louis felt that he must, if only for a time, recede from the dominant position which France had held in Northern Italy: no sacrifice was too great, if only thereby the compactness of the League could be shaken. Victor was sagacious and prudent, hiding the plans of his ambition under the cloak of weakness and irresolution; he balanced between the parties, and in the end gained from them both. Louis secured the

independence of his Duchy; the allies, at Utrecht, gave him the name of King. At this time Victor recovered not only Casale and Pinerolo, but all Savoy: his little daughter was affianced to the Duke of Burgundy, the Dauphin's eldest son¹; it was agreed that his envoys should rank with those of crowned heads.

On these large and very favourable conditions the Duke of Savoy passed over to Louis, promising to secure the neutrality of Italy. The alliance was much shaken; Louis was free to throw all his strength into the Netherlands and Spain. Catinat appeared in Flanders; the French had the decided superiority in the beginning of 1697, and it caused no small stir when it was heard that not vigorous warfare but serious negotiation and peace-making in earnest was to be the business of the year. William, shaken by the defection of Savoy, overburdened by the war, and anxious as to the temper of England, at last accepted the mediation of Sweden². He was not a little surprised to find that in the main Louis was ready to listen to the terms he proposed: though the French arms were still the stronger on many sides, and though the League was weakened, still the French King's moderation was conspicuous and astonishing. The exhaustion of France was no sufficient clue for the puzzle; for France had long been worn out, and the records of the time do not impress us with the belief that Louis felt much for his people's sufferings. The true key lay in the Spanish succession question. As in 1668 at Aix-la-Chapelle, so now at Ryswick in 1697, the hope of that great inheritance swayed the policy of France.

The Congress was held in a castle belonging to William III at Ryswick, a little town halfway between Delft, where the French envoys lay, and the Hague, which was the headquarters of the allies: it was opened in May 1697. The French ambassador had previously, in an informal way, let it be known that his master

¹ From this union sprang Louis XV.

² Charles XI died April 1697; the mediation was however carried on in the name of Charles XII.

was prepared to recognise William as King of England so soon as ever the peace was actually made. This point, the point of honour, once settled, it became clear at once that England and France would have no serious difficulties on other points: the secret conference between Boufflers and Bentinck at the Hague, at which the terms of peace were really arranged, went smoothly and expeditiously. There seemed little to prevent peace being come to between the chief antagonists. With the others things were not quite so easy; Spain and Germany showing a stiff back. The fall of Barcelona, however, after a vigorous siege conducted by Noailles on land and d'Estrées at sea, disposed the Spaniards to come to terms: and now the Emperor and the Empire alone stood out.

On the 20th of September, 1697, the first of the Treaties¹ of Ryswick was signed, between France on the one side, and England, Holland, and Spain on the other; the Emperor and Empire still resisting. The Germans could not hold out long, for they could not carry on the war alone; and William undertook to bend them towards peace.

By this first treaty France (1) ceded to the three allied powers all the places she had won from them by sword or pen since the Peace of Nimwegen; (2) she consented to the garrisoning with Dutch troops of the chief Spanish-Netherland strongholds, as a barrier between Holland and France; (3) Louis recognised William III as King of Great Britain and (4) Anne, second daughter of James II, and spouse of Prince George of Denmark, a staunch Protestant, as heir to the throne of Great Britain and Ireland, to the exclusion of the Catholic branch; and lastly, he promised solemnly to do nothing to abet any plots or cabals against William's throne. James II was not named, Louis refusing to abandon the fallen King; but the engagement made, though not so definite was more extensive, and included not only James, but his son, and all his party.

The group of powers which made this treaty with Louis had good reason to be well satisfied with the result. They seemed

¹ Given in Dumont, *Corps Diplomatique* VII. Partie ii. p. 399.

to have curbed the great Monarch's ambition: they had wrested from him a recognition of the English Revolution, and an acknowledgment of the interests of Protestantism bound up therewith; they had placed a strong chain of barrier-forts between the United Provinces and their ancient foe.

William at once set himself to induce the Germans to make peace: and this was no easy task. They had done most in the field: the backbone of the fighting-power had been German; William had definitely promised that he would see that Strasburg was restored to the Empire; and, left to himself, would have broken off negotiations with France, when he found that Louis was determined to retain that all-important city. As neither England nor Holland would support William in this step, he had to acquiesce, and, as best he could, to persuade the Germans also to acquiesce. At last they came in, and the second Treaty of Ryswick, between France, the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire, was signed on Oct. 30, 1697. Even with the loss of Strasburg, this treaty also was a vast gain to the allies. For (1) France ceded all towns taken since the Peace of Nimwegen, except Strasburg; (2) she withdrew from all her positions on the right bank of the Rhine, giving up Freiburg, Breisach, and Philipsburg; (3) she restored Lorraine to the young Duke Leopold, retaining only Saarlouis; (4) she abandoned her candidate for the Electorate of Cologne, and (5) accepted a sum of money in lieu of the claims of the Duchess of Orleans to the Palatinate. To secure Alsace Louis, having lost Breisach on the German shore of the Rhine, at once built a new Breisach, on the Alsatian side of the river: Vauban furnished the plans for its fortification.

The French Huguenot refugees were not restored to their country. Louis would not even hear of their being allowed to settle in the Principality of Orange, where they would have been so near the unextinguished Protestantism of the mountains; on the other hand the English Jacobite refugees were not excluded from France, though their power of offence, for the moment, was reduced.

All Europe regarded the Peace of Ryswick as a great triumph for the allies; France applauded it as bringing her much-needed rest, and as another proof of her Monarch's moderation and greatness: he had stood out, his panegyrists declared, often victorious, against all Europe in arms; and now in the end, after gloriously exalting the French name, had modestly withdrawn from war, to betake himself to the still nobler task of staunching his country's wounds in peace.

The true motive of the peace, which made the King accept losses and such unfavourable terms, was the fact that the Spanish succession question was now at last becoming imminent; Louis saw his way to the whole prize, on which his eyes had so long been fixed. To secure it, he needed peace with England and Germany, and with Spain herself; such a peace would open the door to negotiation, to delusive partition-treaties: with these he would amuse and paralyse Europe, while at the right moment his hands would be free to seize the great inheritance.

And this is why he made this unfavourable peace: deeming its losses as nothing by the side of the vast aggrandisement which the Spanish succession would bring him. Time shewed him wrong; his greatest triumph, the accession of his grandson Philip to the throne of Madrid brought with it no real strength to France.

His medallists struck for him a coin with the legend '*Bello Per Decennium Feliciter Gesto*,' and the proud figure of France trampling on the shields of Spain and the Empire, England and Holland; he could boast on another medal of three hundred and fifty cities taken by his arms between 1643 and 1697. On the other side the ingenious engravers were equally busy: one medal among many deserves a passing notice. On the one side is William III with his titles, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland; on the reverse a Hercules beats down the Irish rebels, while the French in the back-ground take to panic-stricken flight; the legend, in scornful defiance of the '*Nec Pluribus Impar*' of Louis, is '*Plures Impares Uni*':—William,

alone, is more than a match for Louis and his allies: William is fated to destroy the pride of him who boasted that he alone was not unequal to the many. This idea runs through William's life: the Peace of Ryswick seems, at first sight, to justify his boast. The sun of France stands still at last: the onward movement of his triumph is arrested, and Europe breathes more freely. In fact the Monarch only rests once more in order to gather strength for a last great effort. The seventeenth century closes in peace: but the Succession War which opens the eighteenth will soon prove to Europe that Louis XIV has abandoned none of his vast designs.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SPANISH SUCCESSION. A.D. 1697-1700.

THE question of the succession to the Spanish throne is the thread which runs through the whole reign of Louis XIV; without it we fail to understand many things; if we keep it in mind, we shall find it a clue to the inner politics of the age. When Voltaire denies that the Spanish Succession had anything to do with the Peace of Ryswick¹, he thinks to prove his point by Torcy's Memoirs²; he attributes all to the King's moderation and to his desire to solace the distress of France. The truth is that Louis required leisure to carry out his plans. He was engaged in a deep plot, of which the chief agents at home were his Jesuit confessors, La Chaise and Le Tellier, while abroad it was managed by the Marquis of Torcy and Harcourt. It was a plot to deceive all Europe; for while Louis openly renounced the succession in favour of the little heir to the Bavarian Electorate, he secretly determined to secure it to himself through the Spanish patriotic horror at a partition. The faith of treaties was as water before the claim of dynastic interests and the glory of giving a sovereign to the throne of Spain. Louis was fully aware of all the intrigues going on; his amazement at the result, his long and careful deliberations

¹ *Siccle de Louis XIV*, p. 191 (ed. Louandre).

² The Marquis of Torcy, the King's foreign minister, who held in his hands all the threads, was a consummate diplomatist. The publication of the '*Correspondence inédite du Marquis d'Harcourt*,' by C. Hippeau, makes Torcy prove himself a liar by business. His letters prove the exact opposite to what he affirms in his Memoirs.

before he would accept what he had himself prepared; his great professions of moderation were a mere comedy, played skilfully enough before the eyes of Europe, but paid for at last by the disasters of the Succession War.

Louis was perhaps all the more eager for the Spanish inheritance because at the very moment of the negotiations of Ryswick he had in another quarter suffered a severe check. The influence of France on Poland had long ago been seen to be very powerful: now, however, the time seemed to have come for a new and closer connexion, and for the renewal of those dynastic relations which had been so rudely broken when in 1574 Henry of Anjou slipped away from Poland to become Henry III of France. In 1696 John Sobieski, King of Poland, had died after a brilliant reign, and the nobles were convoked as usual to elect a successor. Sobieski had always favoured France, being wedded to a French wife; and he had endeavoured in vain to make the crown hereditary. Consequently, at his death the nobles were divided between a French party, which seemed to aim at carrying out his views, and a party which perhaps deemed itself the more patriotic, leaning towards a neighbouring prince, the Elector of Saxony, Augustus Frederick. The question really was, Should French influences prevail, and the King of Poland be their exponent against North Germans and Russians? Should their King be dependent on France, hostile to Peter the Great and Prussia, and allied with Charles XII¹?

The French had a good candidate for the throne: if he must be a foreigner, who so brilliant as the soldier who had fought at Steenkirk and Neerwinden, the Prince of Conti, nephew of the Great Condé? It is true that the ill-will or jealousy of Louis XIV had never allowed him to hold high command: but all knew that he was an able man, and that he had in him his uncle's dash and fire of war, together with a winning and imposing address and person, as became a great Bourbon. At first all seemed to prosper with his suit for the Polish crown.

¹ He came to the throne in 1697.

The Abbé Polignac¹, the French envoy at Warsaw, skilfully managed his affairs, and secured him a majority in the Diet (1697); Louis Francis, Prince of Conti, was proclaimed King by the Primate of Poland. But the minority were not pleased to yield: they elected as their King Augustus of Saxony, who, being a neighbour, and free with bribes, pleased them well. His troops were on the spot, and he entered at once into possession. When Conti, feebly supported by France, arrived at Danzig, he was not even received or acknowledged, and had to return home discredited. It was a sore blow to the pride of Louis, who, little as he liked Conti, wished greatly to appear before Europe as disposer of that distant Crown.

No war in the North followed this divided election; the Peace of Ryswick gave tranquillity to western Europe; and Prince Eugene's great victory at Zenta (Sept. 1697) over the Turks led on to that Treaty of Carlowitz in 1699, which at last seemed to abase the pride of the Mahomedans, and extended the blessings of peace to the East. This treaty was a triumph for Russia; it gave her a firm footing by the Black Sea, and formed the starting-point of her career in those waters, just as by the founding of S. Petersburg in 1703 she was shortly to establish herself as a maritime and European power on the Baltic. It was also a blow to French interests, which were ever pleased to see the Turks on the Danube, harassing and menacing the Empire at its heart.

Thus the century was about to close in profound peace; and all the world looked forward to halcyon days at last.

Yet they were not days of idleness: Charles II of Spain was likely to die at any hour; he had been given over by his physicians, but had recovered, more than once; it was high

¹ Melchior of Polignac, of a noble family of Languedoc, gets his name of Polignac from *Apolliniacum*, the castle of Sidonius Apollinaris. This Abbé was of unusual skill as a diplomatist, and though twice in disfavour at Paris (now, and after the King's death, when he went with the natural sons against Philip), became a Cardinal, and was long a brilliant figure as French Minister at Rome. One of his most remarkable achievements was a long Latin poem, the *Anti-Lucretius*, written as a refutation of the Latin poet's philosophy.

time that the succession-question should be settled. So things which had been left to slumber since 1668 were roused again; and Europe sat down to play a game of skill and intrigue, in which the prize was the Spanish Crown and the great possessions that went with it.

At first there were four possible heirs: the House of Austria, the House of Bourbon, the young Electoral-Prince of Bavaria¹, and last (and without importance) the King of Portugal, who would gladly have made the whole peninsula one kingdom. Austria and France aimed at the whole inheritance; the King of Portugal would doubtless have been satisfied with Spain and a portion of the Colonial Empire: the Bavarian Prince represented those who were in favour of a partition of the vast inheritance, a solution supported by William III, who wished to lay down the basis of such a division as all the claimants might agree to, and such as might make war unnecessary. It was a praiseworthy attempt; and it takes little from the wisdom of the English King's views when we have to confess that he became the dupe of the unscrupulous falseness of Louis XIV.

In 1668 Louis and Leopold, both young princes, had been friends, and had agreed with apparent sincerity to a treaty of partition², which had great influence on the conclusion of the Peace of Aix la Chapelle. Now they were both men long past their prime; and thirty years had wrought great changes. In 1668 the Emperor had been childless; in 1698 his daughter Maria Antonia³ had a son Joseph Ferdinand, and by his second wife Eleanor of Neuburg (sister of the second wife of Charles II of Spain), he had himself two sons, Joseph, destined for the Imperial throne, and the Archduke Charles⁴. Moreover, long wars and the spectacle of the all-devouring ambition of Louis XIV had turned the friendship of 1668 into bitter enmity. In 1668 Leopold had recognised the French plea that

¹ See Table V, p. 276.

² See above, p. 170.

³ Married to the Elector of Bavaria in 1685.

⁴ Afterwards the Emperor Charles VI, the father of the great Maria Theresa.

or Austrians, as barred, and adopted as his heir the little Electoral-Prince of Bavaria, Joseph Ferdinand, making a solemn will in his favour. The Emperor's influence was strong enough at Madrid to get that testament annulled; and having won this triumph, by the agency of his ambassador, Count Harrach, and by the friendly disposition of the Queen of Spain, he hoped for yet farther success, and pressed the Spanish Court to recognise the Archduke Charles as heir presumptive, and to allow him to appear as such at Madrid. This Charles II hesitated to do: for in his heart he still clung to the little Bavarian prince. French influences, on the other hand, were very low at the Court of Madrid.

This state of affairs had had much to do with the conclusion of the Peace of Ryswick. So long as the war went on, the Dutch and English were anxious that the Archduke Charles should enter Catalonia, which was full of German troops; and they had offered to the Emperor to lend him ships of war for his son's safe conduct into Spain. After the peace this offer was, of course, withdrawn, and the immediate peril passed by; for had Charles II dropped out of the world, while the Archduke was either in Catalonia or at Madrid, the chances of France would have been poor indeed.

Peace made, Louis chose the Marquis d'Harcourt, the best agent who could have represented him to go to Madrid; he furnished him with an admirable paper of instructions, in which every contingency was foreseen and provided for. Unscrupulous and false as the King's course at this time was, no one can deny that he showed unusual sagacity in his choice of instruments, his clear view of the question, and the ability with which he directed his course towards his one object.

Torcy in his memoirs, and Voltaire following him, describe the circumstances connected with the eventual Spanish will of 1700 as having fallen like a thunder-clap out of a serene sky on the French court; one might believe from them that it found the King unprepared for it, that it was a great anxiety and embarrassment to him, that he accepted it reluctantly and after

very serious deliberations. The truth is just the reverse. It had been before the eyes of Louis for years, as the central ambition of his reign; in making war or peace it ever held the first place, and was never allowed to drop out of sight; once and again the King affirmed that he was determined to sustain his just rights: in the last three years of the life of Charles II it became the main object of all French diplomacy. The correspondence which passed between Louis and the Marquis d'Harcourt shows this at every turn; each point is carefully watched, each contingency provided for. It would be idle to say that, when at last success crowned the efforts of France, in this most skilful of all diplomatic games, Louis XIV was innocently astonished at so great a stroke of fortune, and had to make up his mind whether he should accept or refuse the inheritance. There can be no doubt that from the beginning of these three years Louis not only meant to seize the succession, if he possibly could, but that he was prepared to sanction any steps to bring it about, and to run the risks of a great European war rather than forego the prize¹.

The state of affairs at Madrid was this: the King of Portugal was regarded as entirely out of the field; the Electoral-Prince of Bavaria was also scarcely considered to be a formidable competitor; the struggle lay between Austria and France. The feeble King himself was inclined towards the Electoral-Prince; though his personal feeling could not count for much: his Queen, Maria Anna of Neuburg, was altogether favourable to her brother-in-law the Emperor Leopold, and was supported in this by a strong Court-party headed by the Amirante of Castile, the Duke of Rioseco and the Count of Aguilar. As is usual with such Courts there was a Queen's party and a party of her antagonists: these latter were headed by the Cardinal Puerto-Carrero and the

¹ As we see from his Memoir for the Marquis d'Harcourt, written at the end of 1697 (Hippeau, *Avènement des Bourbons en Espagne*, I. lxiii): . . . 'De soutenir les droits de monseigneur le Dauphin. Le dernier parti rallumerait certainement la guerre dans toute l'Europe, et les puissances de la ligue réuniraient bientôt pour empêcher sa Majesté de recueillir une aussi grande succession.'

Duke of Montalto, both of them 'strong Austrians' in sympathy, though they also had some Spanish feeling. There were, besides, one or two thorough Spaniards, who cared little for the Court-parties and something for their country; and, of course, a fair proportion of trimmers, who waited to see how things might go. French party at Court there was none. In the country, however, and everywhere outside the Court circle, there was an ever-growing conviction that the integrity of the monarchy must be preserved, and that this could be accomplished only by close alliance and union with France. This turn of public opinion, due in large part to Torcy's ability as Foreign Secretary, was much fanned and fostered by a national hatred of the Germans, and by the jealousy which true Spaniards felt when they saw with what exclusive favour the Queen's circle treated all her countrymen.

To handle these parties in masterly fashion, to strengthen the popular feeling for France, to create a French party among the *Hidalgos*, to keep watch over the movements of the King, who could be chosen better than the Marquis d'Harcourt? He was at once supple and tenacious, lively, brilliant, yet sagacious and firm, a man too who, as Saint-Simon maliciously says, 'could on the slightest necessity become the very soul of falseness'.¹ At the end of 1697 he was chosen as Ambassador to the Spanish Court, set off at once, and was there in February 1698. Could he but make his footing good at Madrid, he was the very man to please and enliven a weary and dreary Court. His mission is among the epochs of history; for he not only achieved a great diplomatic success, but actually, in large part, changed the whole current of Spanish feeling, which since the time of Ferdinand the Catholic had been intensely hostile to France. The growth and wane of national antipathies in modern times forms a fine subject for the student in history: Harcourt's embassy gives an admirable picture of the way in which such popular changes come, and of the great effects which may be made to flow from them.

¹ Saint-Simon, ii. pp. 329, 330.

At first the French Minister had no easy task. For seven weeks after he reached Madrid, the King, on one excuse or another, refused to see him; the *grandees* for a long time would not call on him; the temper of the Court was most hostile. But he neither lost patience nor wasted time: he showed profuse splendour, far exceeding his official and private income; he made friends with all who came near him¹; he marshalled his host of spies and informers, chiefly monks, through whose kind help little presents, tasteful '*bijoux de France*' and pretty trifles, found their way to ladies' boudoirs. He even condescended to execute commissions for the Queen of Spain; though that ambitious lady would not give him audience, she still asked him to get her ribbons, silk stockings, and perruques, from Paris²; the vanity of the woman overcame the antipathies of the Queen; the German then, as often afterwards, yearned for the taste of France while she hated its politics. Harcourt also did his best to learn Spanish, though his progress was not rapid; it is singular that so great a diplomatist, even though he was a Frenchman, should at such a critical moment have known nothing of the language of Spain.

During this same period of waiting Louis had ordered Tallard, his minister at S. James, to sound William III as to his views on the succession: and the first scheme for a Partition-Treaty was set afoot. This Partition presented to the mind of William the only escape out of the difficulties of the position which did not involve a great European war: and for that England, as he knew, was not prepared. It may seem strange that Louis should thus have Harcourt at Madrid intriguing for the whole succession, while he set Tallard at London to treat for an amicable division of the spoil. The truth is that the Partition-scheme was a blind, under cover of which the other plan could go on quietly; and at the worst, if nothing else, it kept the Archduke, the formid-

¹ Curiously enough, one of the first ladies of note who became his friend was the wife of the Constable Colonna, Maria Mancini, that niece of Mazarin whom Louis XIV had wished to marry in 1660.

² Hippeau, i. p. lxxxvi, in a letter from Harcourt dated 6 Apr. 1698.

able competitor, out of Spain, and secured for France certain substantive gains. Moreover, Louis knew that any proposal for partition must be most hateful to the Spaniards, that the fear of it would set them thinking, that they would ask who could best secure the great inheritance intact. If Harcourt played his cards well and made it clear to the Spaniards that, first, a French prince meant an unbroken kingdom, and secondly, that France wished only to defend, not to subdue Spain, Louis had good hopes that Spanish opinion, already friendly, would become so strong as to compel the Court to abandon its German prepossessions, and to accept the young Duke of Anjou as sole successor to the throne. The Partition-treaties were in fact part of a pretty game played skilfully by the French King, to quiet and delude England and Holland, to paralyse the Emperor, and to incline the Spaniards towards the French interests.

Meanwhile the long-desired audience took place, in the middle of April, 1698; and in the following month Harcourt was able to play an admirable stroke. The Moors were pressing Oran and Ceuta hard, and he offered to place French galleys at the disposal of the Spanish Court for the relief of those important points. The German influence, headed by Anne of Neuburg, in spite of the wishes of the majority of the Council and of the unanimous desire of the Spanish people, carried the day, and the offer was declined. Nothing could have better served the interests of France: the Spaniards outside the Court were furious, declaring loudly that the German party was utterly indifferent to the welfare of the country: that great dignitary Cardinal Puerto-Carrero, Archbishop of Toledo, henceforth began to favour the French side; the two Harrachs, the Emperor's ministers, were harsh and overbearing; even the Queen chafed under their dictation; they had the folly to pronounce openly against her, while the King on his side became weary of her power.

At this time arrived at Madrid a great diplomatist, of the Father Joseph type, but a Jesuit, the Father de la Blandinière: he became the centre of a network of intrigue, with clerical

spies and informers on every hand: he greatly advanced the interests of France. The Spanish and French Jesuits worked heartily together; and now, to crown the popularity of the Ambassador, the Marquise d'Harcourt also arrived, and carried all the ladies of the Court by storm¹: never was there so charming or so brilliant a pair, so polite, so profuse in gifts. The Spanish ladies who hated the German Queen and her German favourite, Perleps, gave fêtes to Madame d'Harcourt which were so many demonstrations against the German party. Meanwhile the Austrian ambassadors continued to mismanage their affairs with extraordinary grossness and folly.

On the other side, things had advanced so far with the Anglo-Dutch negotiations, that the First Partition Treaty was actually signed at the Hague on the 10th of October, 1698. The Dauphin, on the death of Charles II, was to have the Tuscan Ports with Finale, Guipuscoa, San Sebastian, and Fuentarabia; the Archduke Charles to have Milan and Luxemburg; the Electoral-Prince Joseph Ferdinand was to become King of Spain and to have all the rest of the Spanish territories: the Dauphin, for himself and his heirs, made a fresh renunciation of all his claims. The Emperor was not informed of this Treaty, and it was to be kept secret: but who imagined that this could be possible? It very soon became known at Madrid, and Charles II thereon made a fresh will in favour of the Electoral-Prince, who was now but seven years old. Harcourt had been instructed not to oppose this²; Louis regarding the Archduke's opposition as far more serious than that of the little Prince and his father the Elector of Bavaria; moreover, the life of a child is proverbially insecure. So things went on till early in 1699, when the child fell ill and died. Small-pox, they said it was: but the wise ones shook their heads, and whispered Poison: some were sure that the Imperial Court had done it, for the Archduke's interest lay that way; others have been as positive that Louis XIV was

¹ 'Sa présence ici,' said de la Blandinière, 'fait mille biens.'

² Hippeau, i. 257.

the virtual murderer: solid proof of either is wanting. But for this child's death, by natural causes we would fain believe, the whole question of the Succession might have been amicably settled¹, and Europe saved from a long and wearing war. The whole affair had now to be reopened: Louis at once declared against the substitution of the Elector of Bavaria in place of his son, and put forth fresh and much larger claims: these William III and Heinsius resisted strenuously, and after much deliberation a second Partition-Treaty was signed in London just a year after the death of the little Prince, which had virtually annulled the first. Now France was to receive Milan, and to hand it over to the Duke of Lorraine, in exchange for his claims to his own territory of Lorraine and Bar; she also retained the Tuscan ports and Finale, together with some important places on the Roussillon frontier: the Archduke was substituted for the Electoral-Prince as future King of Spain, with the Indies and the Spanish Netherlands. William III hoped that the Emperor would accept a Partition which secured almost all for his son; but the proverbial Austrian obstinacy could not be shaken, and Leopold refused it altogether.

The effect of this second treaty on Spain was very considerable: vehement irritation sprang up against England and Holland, which were regarded as the authors of it. Many of the *grandees* did not hesitate to approve of the conduct of the French King, and to declare that this Partition must at last open the eyes of the Spanish nation to its peril². And it did so: from the moment this second treaty was known in Spain, French influences became supreme; the Duke of Anjou's name was in every mouth. The Bavarian party all went over to the French side; the odious favourite *Perleps* fell, the Queen's position seemed untenable: she even made overtures—doubtless insincere ones—to Harcourt. That able minister, feeling his work done in Spain, and seeing that his continued

¹ L. von Ranke thinks so: *History of England*, v. p. 163 (English Translation).

² Hippeau, ii. p. 233.

presence might seem to hint at dictation, offensive to proud Castilian natures, obtained leave, in April 1700, to withdraw into France, leaving behind him Blécourt, to watch affairs and report. The King at once gave him the command of a force, collected about Bayonne, and instructed him to be ready to enter Spain at its head, if it became needful, on the death of Charles II, to use force in order to secure the succession of the Duke of Anjou. If it turned out that the Spanish King's last will was in favour of France, there might still be some resistance to overcome; if on the other hand Charles II named the Archduke as his heir, Harcourt was to resist the entry of the Austrian Prince into Madrid. It was thought at Versailles that the feeling in Spain in favour of Anjou and the unbroken inheritance was so strong that Harcourt need only show himself to carry all before him. At last even Charles II himself began to incline towards the French side; he was persuaded to send to Rome for advice; and received a letter¹ from Pope Innocent XII, urging him to secure the unity of the whole Spanish realm: and though the Pope does not actually say that this must be by naming the Duke of Anjou as his successor, he leaves it to be clearly inferred. These last months of the King's life were one long agony: he had never had a moment's health all his days, and now his state was piteous. In him, a feeble soul in a decrepit body, the great dynasty of Ferdinand the Catholic was slowly coming to an end, amidst abject fears of sorcery (for Charles firmly believed that both he and his spouse were bewitched), miserable political and social intrigues; he dreaded the violent temper of his unhappy wife, and was under the terrors of a narrowly religious nature: it is characteristic of him that the argument which swayed him most towards the final will was that of one of his courtiers whom he consulted: 'Sire,' he replied, 'when our Lord was near his end He said, Of those whom thou hast given me have I lost none².'

¹ Dated 6 July 1700, given in Hippeau, ii. p. 233.

² *Mémoires secrets du Marquis de Louville*, p. 99.

At last, on the 21st of October, 1700, Cardinal Puerto-Carrero finally triumphed, and the Will, naming the Duke of Anjou sole heir to the grand inheritance, was signed by the dying King; on the 1st of November the poor creature closed his eyes: the Will was opened, and its contents declared amidst universal rejoicing.

Would the King of France accept the Will, with all its perils, for his grandson, or would he remain faithful to his Partition-Treaty? This was the question which at once agitated all Europe: and Louis seems to have thought it decorous, though his mind was fully made up, to play the comedy of indecision, to hold a council at Fontainebleau¹, to listen gravely to arguments for and against, to take time for consideration, to announce his final judgment with dramatic effect. The argument which really was decisive with him did not appear on the surface. It was for the dynastic glory of his family that he should place this crown on his grandson's brow. 'He had accustomed himself to have no confidence in any but himself, and above all to set his dynastic affections above his country's interests²:' and for them he was ready to run every risk.

And doubtless it was a great triumph, and one which deeply modified the relations of Europe. Spain and Austria, whose rulers had married the Latin to the Germanic blood, were now cut clean asunder and for ever; Spain should be taught to lean in her fallen state³ on her stronger Latin sister; the imperial ambitions of the House of Austria received a fatal blow. Yet that French triumph was bought at the price of a terrible war: the decadence of Spain seems to infect France; henceforth, for the remaining years of the Monarchy, France also steadily loses power.

It was believed, before the death of Charles, that a European war must break out at once; it seemed now as if men were

¹ Described in full by Saint-Simon, ii. pp. 127, sqq.

² Hippeau, i. p. cl.

³ In the days of Ferdinand and the Catholic Spain was reckoned to have twenty millions of inhabitants, now she had barely eight.

wrong. William III would readily have gone to war; but the second Partition-Treaty had been very unpopular in England, where it was argued that the great and substantive additions it would have made to the power of France were more dangerous for Europe than the establishment of a French Prince on the Spanish throne could be, considering the solemn assurances given by Louis that the two crowns should ever be absolutely separate and independent.

Opinion in England declared itself strongly in favour of the acceptance of the Will by Louis XIV. William indeed expressed with bitter scorn his view as to the French King's faithlessness: 'I pray you,' he said to Tallard, 'weary not yourself to justify your master's conduct: the most Christian King cannot belie himself; he hath but acted after his wont.' William, however, stood alone; people generally cared little for the breach of faith involved in this frank repudiation of treaty-obligations: in the royal council at Fontainebleau the Chancellor had declared that by keeping faith France 'would become the laughing-stock of her false friends, with better ground than Louis XII or Francis I had been ridiculed for their rare attachment to their solemn faith and positive royal word¹.' The reference to Francis I is curious: if he was a pattern of good faith and royal honour, what was to be expected from his successor? So completely had the faith of treaties become secondary in the mind of Louis to political or dynastic convenience!

In the face of the feeling in the English Parliament William III was powerless: it was hoped that if he could not move, Leopold would be too timid to act vigorously.

Philip of Anjou, now proclaimed King at Paris and Madrid, as Philip V of Spain, was seventeen years old, the younger son of the Dauphin Louis and therefore grandson of Louis XIV: he was a pleasant-looking, amiable youth, with 'an inclination for what is good²,' but little knowledge. He had been

¹ Saint-Simon, ii. p. 131.

² See his grandfather's rather touching letter about him, addressed to

ill brought up, and was both stupid and lazy; one knows the fate of such a prince, and how incompetent he would be to grapple with the dire needs of his adopted country¹. Harcourt, who was not only a brilliant diplomatist and soldier, but a protégé of Madame de Maintenon, was now made duke and peer, named head of the young King's council, and instructed to attend him to Madrid. Louis entrusted Philip to his safe keeping and sound guidance. A better guardian he could not have chosen; and, so far, the King of France acted wisely; henceforward, he seemed bent on undoing all that he had with such infinite pains achieved. On the 7th of December, 1700, the young King bade farewell to Louis and his other kinsfolk, amid floods of tears², and after a tedious winter journey, entered Madrid in safety, amidst the loud and heartfelt plaudits of his new subjects.

No sooner was Philip gone than Louis, in defiance of all his solemn protestations that the two Crowns should never be united, commanded his lawyers to draw up and seal a patent, securing to the Duke of Anjou and his sons all their rights to the French throne³. It was the first note which gave alarm to Europe, and made men fear lest their confidence was misplaced. This alarm was increased when it was seen that through the personal character of Philip and his reverence for his grandfather, Louis at once obtained full command over Spain, and treated the government of that country much as if it was but a department of his own affairs.

Men expected war; yet the century ends in peace; and Louis, rewarded for his labours, and for the skilful moderation of the Treaty of Ryswick, seemed to have already effaced the remembrance of that cloud on the brightness of his career. He

Harcourt, in Hippeau, ii. 354: 'Il aime le bien. Il le fera s'il le connoist.'

¹ See the severe letter he received from his grandfather after he had been King two years. *Œuvres de Louis XIV.* vi. p. 107, ed. 1806.

² From a MS. Journal in the British Museum, ed. G. Masson, 1868, p. 22, 'Tous pleurèrent vivement.'

³ *Ibid.* p. 24.

stood before Europe as the most powerful prince of the world, whether in his home relations or abroad; and one who looked only on the surface might be tempted to think that this dramatic triumph, with which the seventeenth century closed, was the highest point of the Great Monarch's glories.

CHAPTER VII.

THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

A.D. 1701-1713.

THE opening of the eighteenth century saw the Bourbons established on the thrones of France and Spain; lords of Italy, of the Netherlands, of the Spanish Main, they seemed to have no limits to their power; the proud boast '*Nec Pluribus Impar*' was justified by the sullen and timorous attitude of all the European powers. In reality the appearance was delusive. The century was not destined to be for France what it became for England and for Prussia, the epoch of their great advance: an age in which England became mistress of India and leader in the world's commerce, and Prussia rose to be a chief European power, laying the foundations of her present dignity as leader of the whole Germanic race. France descends, decade by decade; her institutions languish and decay, and at the end perish; her great and splendid Monarchy at last pays the penalty of Absolutism, and is trampled in the dust by the rising forces of Democracy.

Louis was very far from being so powerful at home as he seemed. France had not recovered from the exhaustion of the last war: her finances were still in confusion, her productive power seemed permanently diminished; since 1660 all incomes had been steadily decreasing, 'those who used to have a thousand livres a year in funds now have no more than five hundred'¹; it was believed that half the wealth of France had

¹ *Le détail de la France, 1695*, by Boisguillebert, in *Cimber et Danjou, Archives Curieuses*, 2^{me} Série, xii. p. 179.

perished. Boisguillebert's *Détail de la France*, drawn up in 1695, gives us a frightful picture of loss and confusion.

Early in the late war (1693) Fénelon had addressed his famous letter¹ to the King: it drew, even then, a frightful picture of the famished state of France, and attacked the whole course of the Monarch's policy. But how could such an appeal succeed? Madame de Maintenon was on the other side, in fact; and the King seemed to have no feeling for his nation's sufferings. It was by no means the last shaft in the good Archbishop's quiver: about 1699 appeared, with or without his knowledge, his wonderful allegory, the *Télémaque*, 'at once an epic poem, and a great treatise on morals and politics,' designed to influence for good the hopeful and docile disposition of his pupil the young Duke of Burgundy. The spirit which breathes through this work, a satire of the past, a Utopia for the future, is no doubt narrow; it has little grasp of those more difficult problems of political life, which throughout the eighteenth century press for solution; it would have been better fitted to form the code for a Paraguayan Jesuit-community than to meet the actual needs of France. The virtues of a Greek state, Homeric or Platonic, might be for a while reproduced in absolute isolation; but a central power like France, palpitating to every movement on every border, could never have ruled herself according to the beautiful dreams of the Archbishop of Cambrai. At this point, however, we are dealing with the criticism of the past, rather than with the possible regeneration of France in the future: and it is enough to point out that Fénelon hoped to train his royal pupil to be the very opposite of his grandfather, to love his people, to solace their woes, to avoid war, to refuse unjust aggrandisement. Under the innocent garb of a classical novel, the *Télémaque* was a terrible criticism and satire on the whole history of the reign of Louis; the amiable author was dismissed from Court, his alarming humanity being too dangerous; the book was seized, and its publication forbidden. Louis pursued the Archbishop with his displeasure to the end; he never

¹ See Martin, *Hist. de France*, xiv. pp. 186, sqq.

again appeared at Court: his palace at Cambrai was the home of all that was pure and beautiful, all that was disinterested and humane—how could such a man be tolerated at Versailles and Marly, where all was in bad taste and fanatical, all splendid within and recklessly extravagant, while round the palace-gates lay crowds of starving Frenchmen, victims of the great Monarch's glory? Louis, when the Duke of Burgundy died (1712), finding among his papers some of Fénelon's manuscript writings, burnt the obnoxious documents, lest they should contain things reflecting on his career. We know not what works of the Archbishop we have thereby lost.

French writers are now inclined to tell us that it was not the acceptance of the Spanish Will, but the series of rash steps afterwards taken by Louis, that brought on the war. In this they are, partly at least, in the wrong: the occupation of the barrier-fortresses, the commercial measures, the recognition of James III, were doubtless all menaces to Europe; yet they were all parts of a definite policy, which arose out of a sure belief that war must result from the Spanish Will. Harcourt had been withdrawn from diplomacy and set at the head of an army for Spain; he at least was under no illusions, and thought war inevitable; he counselled Louis to grasp all he could before it broke out¹; and would not be sorry if by so doing he brought the crisis on at once.

It was in harmony with this advice that in February 1701 French troops, by agreement with the Elector of Bavaria², the new Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, and a warm partisan of Louis, suddenly reinforced the Spanish contingents in the barrier-fortresses. The Dutch troops, far out-numbered, received orders from Amsterdam to withdraw without resistance. Seven first-class places, which in former days had been the

¹ Hippeau, i. p. clviii: 'Si l'on doit avoir la guerre, il vaut mieux que ce soit aujourd'hui que demain.'

² By one of the strange turns of the political wheel, the Elector of Bavaria not only himself sided with France, but brought over his brother the Elector of Cologne, that very Clement of Bavaria whose election Louis had so vehemently opposed in 1688. See above, pp. 239, 240.

prizes of long wars, thus fell without the slightest effort into French hands: it was the first proof to Europe of the true significance of the new order of things. Mons, Luxemburg, and Charleroi were among the towns thus occupied: the whole barrier between France and the United Provinces was levelled at a stroke. The Dutch, thus menaced in the most vital point, hastened on their preparations for war. But without England, what could they do? and the peace-party, though the Whigs were recovering strength, was still dominant in Parliament. Louis himself came to their aid: by actual commercial measures, and rumours of other decrees, which made men fear that the Franco-Spanish union would absolutely exclude English and Dutch ships from the Spanish main, he touched the feelings of England in a vital point. If the barrier-towns were the critical matter for Dutch sensitiveness, the interests of commerce roused most excitement in England. This was followed by the seizure of documents (early in 1701) which showed that the French government was engaged in a fresh plot to overthrow William and restore the Stewarts; at last William felt himself strong enough at home to be able to sign at the Hague (Sept. 7, 1701) a great and famous treaty, 'the Grand Alliance,' by which the Emperor, the Dutch, and the English bound themselves to wrest all his newly-acquired advantages from the King of France, to restore the Netherlands' barrier, to conquer the Milanese as an Imperial fief, as well as all the other Italian and Mediterranean possessions of Spain, and to attack and occupy the Spanish Indies. These last, when conquered, should fall to England and Holland, while the Italian acquisitions were to be the prize of the Emperor.

In this same month of September, 1701, James II died at St. Germain; and Louis, carrying out to the full his dynastic sympathies, against the spirit, if not against the very letter, of his engagements, at once recognised his son James as King of England, and allowed him to be proclaimed by the title of James III. It was the one thing needed to enlist the whole force of English opinion on William's side: national pride was

insulted, the religious feelings of the people raised, the interests of all, whether Whigs or Tories, menaced.

Even before the Grand Alliance was thus concluded, a first campaign of the war had taken place in Italy. The Emperor, without waiting for his western allies, had despatched thither his greatest general, Prince Eugene, with thirty thousand fine troops, which were at once pitted against one of the best men France still possessed, the incorruptible Catinat. Violating the neutrality of Venice, Eugene outflanked the French, who would have made his descent into Italy from the mountains very difficult, crossed the Adige and the Po, and catching part of the French army at Carpi, routed it; he thus became complete master of the whole district between the Adige and the Adda. Catinat, out-generaled, was obliged to retreat, ill-supported by the Duke of Savoy, who once more began to play his old double game. Catinat's want of success gave Louis the opportunity of setting over him the empty and presumptuous Villeroy, with orders to engage the Austrians wherever he might find them: and on the 1st of September, against Catinat's sounder advice, Eugene was attacked at Chiari: he defended himself bravely and skilfully, and inflicted a great defeat on the French; all the Mantuan territory, except the capital and Goito, now fell into his hands.

Thus things stood in Italy, when the Grand Alliance of September 1701 was signed, and a general war became inevitable. France, in spite of her misery, had still a huge army: it was reckoned¹ that she could put full two hundred thousand men in the field. But the officers of the old school were gone; those in command were mere agents of the King, who believed that he could dictate campaigns and secure triumphs in his cabinet. No general ventured on any independent step; the great machinery of Louvois existed still, though it was fast going out of gear; there was no money to pay and arm troops, though there had been plenty to waste at Marly; commissions were a matter of purchase, and the

¹ L. von Ranke, *Franz. Geschichte*, iv. 133, 134.

noble children, who commanded regiments they had bought, knew nothing of war, and brought only profusion and confusion into the camp. 'The men,' says Villars, who was almost the only free-spoken person in France, 'the men are capital, but not the officers: there are whole regiments commanded by no one but a lieutenant¹.' In the Netherlands, where the war was sure to fall heavily, all was in disorder; 'finance, troops, strongholds, all in utmost decay².' There were only ten thousand men there, in all; no horses, no guns, no powder: fortifications were hastily patched up, and a huge ditch and rampart drawn from the Meuse to the sea, with redoubts on it at intervals, reminding men of the old Roman walls and limits of Empire: it did not prove of much service in the war. The friendship of the Elector of Bavaria was the key to the French policy in this war: for him France would defend the Spanish Netherlands; by means of him and his brother, the Elector of Cologne, she would penetrate into the heart of Germany, pass from Rhine to Danube, and endeavour to strike a great blow at the very heart of the Austrian power.

There were four chief theatres of war: the Italian, which was rather an episode, the struggle being chiefly for the Milanese, and not in itself vital; the Belgian, for the fortresses; the German, for the Danube; and lastly the Spanish, for the great prize of the war, the Crown of Charles II.

Before war broke out elsewhere, the vigour of Prince Eugene had greatly harassed the French in Italy; early in 1702 his troops entered Mirandola; a daring attempt on Cremona, though crowned with momentary success, failed with considerable loss. The Germans, though they missed the town 'by a quarter of an hour,' as Eugene said³, carried off the Commander-in-Chief, Villeroy: the song-writers of the day made very merry over the double gain to France of Cremona saved and Villeroy lost⁴. Vendôme was sent to take his place,

¹ *Lettres de M. de Villars*, ii. p. 173.

² *Martin*, xiv. p. 381.

³ *MS. Journal in the British Museum*, pp. 32, 33.

⁴ *Nouveau Siècle de Louis XIV.*, pp. 209-216.

'the able, intrepid, good, the amiable Vendôme, the dexterous discoverer of his enemy's schemes, the indiscreet revealer of his own, the affable and indolent¹.' The young King of Spain left Madrid and his wife² to see a campaign: he watched Vendôme with singular skill relieving Mantua, and was present at the severe and indecisive battle of Luzzara, in August, which went somewhat in favour of the French and Spaniards. Prince Eugene fell behind the Mincio, the French occupied the Duchy of Modena, as well as Mantua and the Milanese. Nothing of importance took place; the King of Spain went home satisfied with what he had seen.

Long before this date war had begun along the whole line. The death of William III, which took place in March 1702, did not delay matters for an hour, or affect the general course of affairs; he lived still in the mature wisdom of Grand Pensionary Heinsius, and in the warlike genius of Marlborough; and Queen Anne was as ready as he had been to resist the claims of the Catholic branch of the House of Stuart. The great system of resistance to France which he had organised was too firmly fixed in men's hearts and in the needs of the age to suffer much by his untimely death.

Since early in 1701, a French and an Imperial army had observed each other on the Rhine without fighting. The French had the advantage of the strong places belonging to their ally the Elector of Cologne, as well as of the fortresses of Alsace; Tallard with twenty thousand men occupied the Electorate of Trèves and the Duchy of Lorraine. Their forces, in all some five-and-forty thousand, were spread over too broad a surface; and when Catinat, transferred from Italy, took the command, he found himself with a weakened army face to face with the Emperor's generalissimo, Louis of Baden. Catinat, naturally cautious and unenterprising, and hampered by a sense of the dislike for him which reigned at Court,

¹ So says the Prince of Ligne in his bright forgery 'the Memoirs of Prince Eugene,' A. 1702, p. 72 (Eng. Trans.).

² He married the daughter of Victor Amadeus II of Savoy late in 1701.

with an unequal and ill-found force, was unable to make use of his great advantages of position: he allowed Louis of Baden to cross the Rhine, and lay siege to Landau. Mélac, who was in command there, made a fine defence, but Catinat could do¹ nothing to relieve him, and in September Landau fell; the Imperialists at once became masters of Alsace.

Just before this the Elector of Bavaria had formally declared war against the Emperor, and had taken Ulm; now Louis of Baden recrossed the Rhine, and seized that strong corner of the world, the angle of the Black Forest mountains, lying between Strasburg and the Danube. Here he threatened the Elector, and proposed to hinder him from joining the French. Catinat seeing the danger of the attempt to penetrate to the Danube, would have done nothing: Villars, however, one of his lieutenant-generals, an ambitious and lively soldier, was instructed by the Court to make the attempt. He crossed the Rhine at Neuburg and at Huningen, leaving Catinat at Strasburg. Before he was well over he found the German infantry awaiting him on a wooded hill at Friedlingen; his men charged boldly and drove them down into the plain; then, smitten with some strange fear, instead of pursuing their advantage, they turned and fled headlong, sweeping Villars with them in their blind panic. He believed the battle lost and himself ruined, and sat in despair, doing nothing to stay the disaster, till one of his officers rushed in with cries of victory; for Magnac who commanded the French cavalry had bravely charged and overthrown the enemy's horse: the French foot rallied, and the Germans drew off in good order, unmolested. Villars, a favourite at Versailles, was made a

¹ French historians condemn Catinat, but do not make sufficient allowance for his difficulties: 'On a fait tout ce qu'on a pu pour sauver Landau. On tint pour cet effet un conseil d'officiers généraux chez M. de Catinat pour décider si l'on tenteroit de forcer les passages de la Lauter pour le secourir. Tous les officiers, à la réserve de M. le Marquis de Villars, furent d'avis de ne le point entreprendre . . . on fit convenir au Marquis que la chose étoit impossible.' MS. Journal in the British Museum, p. 38. Catinat resigned his command after this, alleging ill-health; he was coldly permitted to retire.

Marshal of France as a reward for this absurd victory: nevertheless his campaign was a mere failure; he did not even attempt to penetrate into the Black Forest¹; Louis of Baden's forces were stronger than his: he had to fall back and recross the Rhine. The year ended without anything decisive on the Rhine and Danube, though by taking Landau the allies had gained more than France had gained by the Bavarian onslaught on Swabia.

The Duke of Burgundy had been sent to the Netherlands to take the command; though he was the nominal general, the true head of the army was Boufflers, one of the few officers who recalled the memories of the older time. He failed to succour Kaiserswerth on the Rhine, which was wrested from the Elector of Cologne and the French. Marlborough arrived in the Low Countries; and though in this campaign he fought no great battles, he took Venloo, Stephanswerth, Ruremonde, and Liège: the French were unable to make head against him; and Boufflers, commanding a weakened and ill-disciplined force, could only save himself from being crushed by abandoning place after place. At sea the English attacked Cadiz in vain; immediately afterwards the Duke of Ormond defeated the French in Vigo Bay, and took or burnt the whole Plate-fleet, which Château-Regnault was convoying home to Spain.

Towards winter began that heroic struggle which raged throughout the earlier period of this war in the south of France. The Huguenots of the Cevennes, descending into the open country, declared war against their oppressors: French troops and miquelets from Roussillon were sent to destroy them: under the heroic guidance of Cavalier² and Roland they made unexpected resistance. They had no small influence on the war; for they did much to wear out the strength of France, and to occupy some of her best officers and troops in the time of her greatest need.

¹ The Elector suggested to him, that there was a way through the Black Forest, by the Höllenthal; Villars replied with a joke, 'qu'il n'était pas assez diable pour cela.'

² Now only seventeen years of age.

The winter of 1702, 1703, was restless, full of skirmishes and small affairs in the north, wherein Marlborough easily kept the upper hand. He not only secured Holland against attack, but punished the Elector of Cologne by taking Bonn, and occupying all his Archbishopric; the districts still held in the north by the Spaniards or their friends were cleared by him; he took Spanish Gelderland¹, Limburg, and Huy, before the summer, and was far more than a match for Boufflers and Villeroy. Marlborough's campaign of 1703 made his footing quite secure in the Provinces and in Lower Germany, and prepared the way for the great campaign he meditated for the following year. The check which Marshal Boufflers inflicted on the Dutch at Ekeren, not far from Antwerp (30 June, 1703), though it stopped all forward movement of the allies towards the south, had no influence on Marlborough's plans. The French defensive line, drawn from Namur to Antwerp, remained intact; Brabant, Hainault, and Flanders were to be left for the present unmolested.

In Germany the French arms were prosperous in 1703. Villars crossed the Rhine with thirty thousand men, driving back the Imperialists. He took Kehl, opposite Strasburg, and obliged Louis of Baden to fall back to his lines at Stollhofen. Thence, leaving Tallard to watch the Germans, Villars boldly crossed the Black Forest and effected a junction with Maximilian Emanuel, the Elector of Bavaria, at Dutlingen, near the head of the Danube valley. The Elector had already begun to show very considerable gifts of war, vigour and boldness, and a decided power of handling an army and of planning campaigns. His ambition to oppose the neighbouring House of Austria made him a very important ally for Louis XIV, who recognised his value; he was determined to support him warmly, and to use him as a wedge with which to break up the Austrian power. The Elector was one of those three princes whose 'geography prevented them from being men of honour';

¹ The part north of the Rhine was Dutch, south of that river Spanish.

² The Prince of Ligne's 'Memoirs of Prince Eugene,' p. 34.

lying as they did between great powers they were obliged to trim and balance. But the Elector of Bavaria, though he chose the French instead of the German side, was staunch to his party, and, if unpatriotic, was never dishonourable.

His territories were destined to be the critical theatre of the war during these years, 1703, 1704. At the time that Villars joined him Maximilian Emanuel had already gained considerable advantages over the Austrians, having defeated them, and occupying in force all the line of the Danube from Ulm to Passau. Villars would gladly have pushed on to Vienna, hoping at once to crush the Austrian power at its source. Prince Eugene is represented as saying to Leopold, 'Your army, Sire, is your monarchy; . . . your capital is a frontier town¹,' and the phrase fairly presents the position of Austria, with her Bavarian foes under the walls of Passau; her Hungarian subjects under Ragoczi in full revolt²; her hereditary enemy the Turk threatening her from Belgrade. But the Elector of Bavaria wished first to secure Tirol, and persuaded the French that if he attacked it from the north while Vendôme entered it from the Lago di Garda on the south, that great roadway between Vienna and Milan might be for ever closed against the Emperor. Accordingly Villars was left to hold the Danube valley, while the Elector entered the mountains, and Vendôme came up from Italy. But though the Elector occupied Innspruck, and Vendôme reached Trent, the ruggedness of the country and the unaided bravery of the Tyrolese sharpshooters were too much for them, and they failed to make their junction at the head of the Brenner Pass. Both armies were obliged to retreat, for there were new dangers in their rears. The defection of the Duke of Savoy from the French side threatened Vendôme with ruin; while the Prince of Baden and Styrum, the former from Stollhofen, the latter from Franconia, were rendering Villars'

¹ The Prince of Ligne's 'Memoirs of Prince Eugene,' A. 1703, p. 77.

² In 1701 this representative of a great Transylvanian house, which had been dispossessed by Austria, escaped from Vienna to Hungary, and for ten years kept that country independent of her German masters.

position in Bavaria very precarious. Louis of Baden had crossed the Danube at Ulm, had taken Augsburg, and was threatening Munich: if Styrum could join him, Villars might be lost. The Elector, however, returned in time, and in junction with Villars, first drove Louis of Baden back, and then falling on Styrum, who lay on the Upper Danube, defeated him utterly (20 Sept. 1703) at Höchstett. The Prince of Baden, when he left Stollhofen, set free the army which was observing him there. Thereupon Tallard came down to the Rhine with this force, took Old Breisach and laid siege to Landau; he brilliantly defeated a relieving army under the Count of Nassau at Speyer; and then returning quietly continued his siege, till Landau capitulated. With these operations the year 1703 drew to an end, and the old King of France might be well pleased with the fortunes of the war: he had won victories at Höchstett and Speyer; he had recovered Landau; the Netherland frontier was intact; his ships held their own against the sea-powers. On the other hand, the political changes of the year were not so favourable to him; for it saw the defection of two small but important states, Savoy and Portugal. By the first he lost his hold on Italy, and from this time the German interest predominates in that Peninsula: by the second the throne of Philip V was at once threatened, and Spain became the theatre of critical warfare. While Austria had detached Savoy, it was England that detached Portugal. To the famous Methuen treaty, which brought the Portuguese wines into England, and gave to Port-wine its triumph over French Claret, is due the beginning of that closer friendship which has ever since marked the relations of Portugal and England; to it England owes, in large part, her maritime security in the Mediterranean waters; it was this friendship which made her capture of Gibraltar in 1704 important and permanent.

One other source of deep anxiety affected Louis; and this was perhaps the one he felt most bitterly. The old Huguenot spirit was after all not extinct; and the civil war of the Cevennes with its high spiritual enthusiasm, its romantic heroism, its terrible cruelties and severities, darkens these years,

while it weakens the power of France. The Camisard war took the dimensions of a crusade: all Languedoc was disturbed; the Pope issued indulgences for all who would fight against the heretics; the 'Children of the Cross,' as the Catholic volunteers were styled, emulated the cruelties and ferocity of their predecessors. Villars was withdrawn from foreign service at the end of 1703, and sent down to the south to make head against this formidable insurrection. He had quarrelled with the Elector of Bavaria; Louis doubtless thought this the best way of solving all difficulties between him and his German ally, and Tallard seemed both skilful and lucky.

All these things were very favourable to the allies, and neutralised the advantages won by the French and Bavarians; they encouraged Marlborough to undertake that grand campaign of 1704 on which his fame so largely rests. For with him probably, rather than with Prince Eugene, lies the credit of it¹. Eugene met the English commander at Mondelsheim near Heilbronn, and measures were there planned between them and Louis of Baden, who, however, was not very friendly with Prince Eugene, and desired to stand aloof from the combined operations with an independent sphere of action. This conference of Heilbronn begins the age of the 'Triumvirate'; Prince Eugene, Marlborough, Heinsius; representing the Empire, England, the Provinces. It is the most splendid epoch of the military history of England. Marlborough was the leading spirit; his English troops had at least a full share of the perils and glories of the war. It is, too, the heroic moment of Marlborough's own career. The plans he now matured had formerly been laid before William III, who had rejected them; he was therefore acting against the opinion of his old master, and his whole fortunes were staked on the cast; opinion in Holland was timid, in England opposed to the venture; he must succeed or fall².

¹ So von Ranke holds: 'It was entirely Marlborough's own idea, and at the same time his greatest one, to undertake that unexpected march.' *History of England*, v. p. 320.

² Eugene writing to the Duke of Savoy said at this very time: 'Mylord

Bearing his whole fortunes with him, and with the unfaltering resolution and serenity of a great man, Marlborough set out from Holland for this decisive campaign.

The French and Bavarians formed a continuous line from Vosges to Passau, which had now (Jan. 1704) fallen before the Elector's prowess: the Austrian capital was in most imminent peril when Marlborough began to move. With consummate skill he misled Villeroy and Boufflers, leaving five and twenty thousand Dutch troops in a camp near Maestricht to check them and preserve his communications, and with the best of his army he crossed the Rhine at Cologne, and marched up stream; the story ran that he told the Elector of Trèves 'he was going to teach the Germans how to beat the French!'. Great was the commotion in the French and Bavarian armies: Villeroy marched after Marlborough; Tallard made for the Moselle, then joined Villeroy and threatened the Stollhofen lines, which Prince Eugene undertook to defend; the Elector descended the Danube as far as the Schellenberg near Donauwörth, where he sedulously entrenched himself. Marlborough, unmolested, joined the Prussians and other German troops near Mainz; with them he passed unopposed through the Black Forest, meeting Louis of Baden near Ulm. Thence they marched against the Elector, and in a sanguinary battle stormed his strong lines on the Schellenberg, driving him headlong with his Bavarians across the Danube. Donauwörth became the prize of the allies, who had forced the key of the whole position. This important victory gave no small offence in England, where the heavy losses incident on storming a strong position were felt and resented by those who were ignorant of the strategic and geographical bearings of the stroke. Even after this great success the allies were still in a critical position; they had magazines at Nürnberg and Nördlingen, but nothing in Bavaria except

M. c'est un homme qui a . . . grand envie de faire quelque chose, d'autant plus qu'il serait perdu en Angleterre s'il retourne sans avoir rien fait.' Heller, *Correspondence*, ii. 182, quoted by von Ranke. *Franz. Geschichte*, iv. p. 154, note 2.

¹ MS. Journal in the British Museum, p. 73.

Donauwörth. With prudent strategy the French and Bavarians, who were their equals in numbers, and far better off in position and supplies, might have soon wearied them out, and obliged them to break up their combinations. Patience however was just what they lacked: though the Elector of Bavaria at Dillingen was splendidly posted to cut off the supplies from Nördlingen, he would not stay there; Ingoldstadt was threatened by Louis of Baden, and he must needs march down into Bavaria: Tallard and Marsin had courage and presumption, a powerful army, and the choice of positions; they decided on awaiting the allies, and barring their retreat towards the west. Prince Eugene came out from his lines, deluded Villeroy, kept him from joining the main force of French and Bavarians, and by a happy march reached Marlborough just in time. The Elector, Marsin, and Tallard, descending the left bank of the Danube, reached the plain of Höchstett, of good omen as they thought since last year's battle, and there, between Höchstett and the village of Plindtheim or Blenheim, they agreed to strengthen themselves and bar the way to the allies. Marlborough and Prince Eugene wished for nothing better: they rejoiced in the prospect of a battle.

The Danube in this part of its course is already broad and deep; and the plain-land on its left or northern shore is of no great width, being bounded by wooded hills running parallel to the stream; out of these low heights run little rivers, descending through marshy banks at right angles to the Danube. One such rivulet joins the main stream at Höchstett, another, the Nebel, runs in at Blenheim. It was above this latter, from the woods to the Danube, that the French and Bavarians posted themselves awaiting the allies. The Elector of Bavaria had the left wing, round Lützingen, a little village close to the woods; in the centre lay Marsin behind Oberklau, with a small force pushed across the rivulet and occupying Niederklau on the east bank; Tallard had the right wing and had crammed the village of Blenheim full of troops. Their dispositions were faulty in more ways than one; thus, the French were quite separated

from the Bavarians; they all, except Marsin's men in Niederklau, lay too far from the river, on the rising ground, where they could not defend the passage of it, or make full use of the difficulties of the ground; and lastly, too many of their troops (as they found out when too late) were cooped up in Blenheim and the other villages. They numbered, in all, nearly sixty thousand men, with ninety guns; but twenty-six battalions and twelve squadrons in Blenheim, and the troops posted in the other villages, much reduced their available force; and when it came to the push their infantry was far too weak to dispute the allied advance. The allies on their side of the Nebel had about fifty thousand men, and sixty-six guns: Prince Eugene was on the right, with his Imperialists, facing the Elector and Marsin, Marlborough to the left, with the English and Dutch, stretching from the Danube till he touched Eugene's left, having opposite him Marsin and Tallard: through the centre of his position ran the high road which leads from Höchstett to Donauwörth, crossing the Nebel with a bridge, just below which are some water mills on the stream. On the 13th August, 1704, General Cutts began the battle by taking Niederklau and the mills, and clearing away the French from the eastern bank of the little river; after this the English pressed forward, got across the stream and attacked Tallard in front and Blenheim on their left flank. But while Marlborough made good progress here, Prince Eugene, higher up, could make no impression on his opponents: their position was very strong, and all his efforts seemed vain. Towards evening, however, Marlborough after great efforts succeeded in storming Tallard's position, the key of the battle, and separated him from Blenheim, whence his strong reserve, too late, tried to come out to his rescue; the English, however, had got round them and held them firmly there. The action had been chiefly one of artillery and cavalry. Now Tallard himself, being shortsighted, fell in with a troop of English horse, and was made prisoner: his cavalry, having been cut in two by the English, fled in panic; part got safely to Höchstett, while the rest bending to their left and being hard

pressed in the rear by the enemy's horse, came unawares to the Danube, dashed into the stream, and perished almost to a man¹. When Marlborough turned Tallard's guns on him, Marsin discerned that he was no longer safe, and that he and the Elector must draw off, if they would avoid being surrounded and ruined. They effected their retreat in good condition to the Black Forest; Tallard's army was as good as annihilated. After dark, the regiments in Blenheim, about ten thousand strong, at last convinced that their friends had left the field, capitulated; and the great battle was over. The Germans call it the second battle of Höchstett, but in England it has ever been known as the great battle of Blenheim. It was the worst mishap which had ever befallen Louis XIV: Marlborough stood out as the hero of the day; Prince Eugene was too noble to be annoyed at the fate of war, which threw him into the background. Marlborough's plan of the campaign was more than justified: all Bavaria was at the feet of the allies. The Elector, firm to the falling cause, withdrew into France, whither came also his partner in misfortune, his brother the Elector of Cologne. By this great stroke the Empire was saved, and henceforth the tide of war flowed in other channels. The Margrave Louis of Baden felt himself strong enough to cross the Rhine: everywhere the French fell back; Landau once more changed hands: Marlborough took Trarbach on the Moselle, and threatened Trèves, which afterwards fell: the war drew ominously near to the frontiers of France. Marlborough was created a Duke by Queen Anne, and a Prince of the Empire by the Emperor Leopold.

Early in 1705 Marlborough threatened France from Trèves with a powerful army; Louis of Baden was also to advance through Alsace, and to join the Anglo-Dutch army, under the

¹ Commemorated in an absurd poem of the time (quoted by Macaulay in his *Essay on Addison*):

'Think of two thousand gentlemen at least,
And each man mounted on his capering beast!
Into the Danube they were pushed by shoals.'

walls of Metz: after the reduction of that important fortress-city, the allies should penetrate into France, and march on Paris. It is clear that this scheme needed prompt and hearty co-operation; which was just what the Germans would not give: Louis of Baden moved very slowly, not caring much to support the great Duke; and Marlborough was foiled. The insurrection in the Cevennes was now over: by pitiless severities, by leaders broken on the wheel, by villages burnt and destroyed, and troops of Camisards shot down like dogs; then by great promises and offers, not only of pardon but of advancement, Villars had at last overcome the stubborn resistance of these simple peasants. Cavalier, their chief leader, submitted, on condition that the King would enroll the Huguenots in four regiments, and allow them liberty of conscience: Villars promised everything; Cavalier was named colonel of one of these regiments. But he soon discerned that the Court was playing with him, while the Camisards disavowed him and called him renegade and traitor; he therefore escaped into Switzerland, and thence joined the allies. He served with high distinction in the English army, and closed his days as an English general and governor of the Island of Jersey. Villars, having thus closed this wound in the side of France, was at once sent to stem, if possible, the triumphant onward movement of the allies. Enormous efforts had been made to raise men and means; and in Villars' hands they were well used. He posted himself skilfully in a camp at Sierk, whence he could both watch Thionville, Saarlouis, and Metz, and check Marlborough's advance. Unsupported by the Germans,—for Prince Eugene had been once more sent into Italy,—Marlborough did not venture to attack Villars; and finding that Villeroy and the Elector of Bavaria were threatening his communications by besieging Liège, he determined to retreat. He relieved Liège, and drove the French back to Louvain; Villars, on the other hand, moving towards Germany, took Trèves, joined Marsin, who had been observing Louis of Baden, and came down on the Rhine. The Court would not allow him to cross the river: he had hoped to

restore the French fortunes there; but Louis XIV had other plans: he wished, unfortunately for himself, to make the war decisive in the Netherlands, and ordered a large part of Villars' army to reinforce Villeroy, so strengthening the incompetent general at the expense of the ablest man he had in his service.

We are coming to the year 1706, which has been styled, with far more justice than Dryden's 1666, the *Annus Mirabilis* of English, if not of European History¹. It clearly is the greatest year of the Succession-war, and we shall do well to regard the incidents of 1705 on the different theatres of action, the German frontier, the Netherlands, Italy and Spain, as leading up to the decisive actions of the following year.

The new position taken up by Portugal in 1703 had entirely changed the face of affairs in the Peninsula. The Archduke Charles, after having been proclaimed King of Spain as Charles III, and recognised by the allies, crossed over to England, and thence sailed, early in 1704, with ten thousand men for Portugal. He landed at Lisbon, where he was joined by a strong Portuguese army. But an attack on Spain from the frontiers of Portugal is no easy matter: the country is difficult, and a resolute enemy can soon bar the way. And the Duke of Berwick, who then commanded for Philip V, was a very capable general: he had in him not a little of the military genius of his uncle the Duke of Marlborough²: in these two great soldiers the Churchills have the singular honour of having produced the most formidable antagonist, and the ablest supporter, of the throne of France. The allies were driven back into Portugal. Just at the same time the English fleet under Admiral Rooke, after an abortive attack on Barcelona, suddenly returned, and by a happy inspiration surprised Gibraltar (4th August, 1704), where, with true Spanish negligence, there lay only two hundred men in garrison. This fortuitous success is perhaps the greatest and most permanent advantage

¹ L. von Ranke, *History of England*, v. p. 322.

² He was a natural son of James II and Arabella Churchill, the Duke's sister.

ever won by English arms on the continent of Europe. In vain did the Count of Toulouse, one of the natural sons of Louis XIV, attempt to recover the rock. A fierce sea-fight off Malaga, in which the French fleet of fifty-two ships engaged the Anglo-Dutch navies, which, united, were more numerous though weaker in artillery, ended to the advantage of the French: their adversaries had to draw off, leaving to them the honour of the day. France, however, had not strength to refit her navy and fill up the gaps made by the hard-fought battle: the battered ships were unable to hold the sea, and withdrew to Toulon; henceforth no great French fleet was seen; the supremacy of the waters remained undisputed in the hands of the sea-powers, and Gibraltar was secured to England. In 1705 Charles III set sail from Lisbon, escorted by the British fleet, and landed near Barcelona; for the Aragonese provinces were far more friendly towards him than the Castilian; and his best way to Madrid was from the east, not from the west. Philip V had refused to ratify the old Catalan privileges; the pride of the Catalans was offended, and they gladly threw themselves into the arms of the English and Austrians.

The English agreed to land an army on the Catalan coast: Charles III promised to respect the Catalan *Fueros*: the meteoric Earl of Peterborough, 'last of the knight-errants,' was sent to take command of the English forces: round so romantic a character romance is sure to cluster, and it is difficult to sift the true from the exaggerated in the narrative of his career in Spain. The inhabitants of Barcelona compelled the garrison to throw open its gates to Charles; the province at once proclaimed him: Valencia and Aragon enthusiastically followed its example; and the fortunes of Philip V seemed to be on the wane. Thus the old divisions of the Spanish kingdoms reappear in full life; the struggle between the supremacy of Castile and the federation of the little kingdoms and provinces, seems, for the moment, likely to reverse the general tendencies of monarchy and to draw towards a more decentralised form of government.

The Castilians, however, could still fight: Philip V in person,

with Marshal Tessé by his side, marched early in 1706 down to Barcelona, and besieged it on the land side, while the Count of Toulouse blockaded the harbour. After the place had well-nigh succumbed, the English fleet appeared; the French, not daring to face them in open sea, sailed away; Barcelona was relieved. Philip hastily broke up the siege, and fled: he could not venture through the hostile districts which lay between him and Madrid, and had to cross the Pyrenees into Roussillon; then, passing through southern France, he re-entered Spain from Bayonne, and so to Madrid. Meanwhile the allies had promptly taken the offensive; from east and west they closed in on Castile; Ruvigny, a French exile commanding an Anglo-Portuguese army, penetrated into Estremadura and threatened Madrid. Philip once more took flight to Burgos; the allies entered Madrid in triumph and proclaimed Charles III in the capital. The campaign of 1706 in Spain seemed for the moment decisive: men expected to see another refugee-monarch taking shelter at Versailles.

In Italy also these years had been disastrous for French interests. Vendôme in 1704 had slowly but steadily restored the fortunes of his master on the Italian slopes of the Alps: Ivrea, Susa, Pinerolo, had been recovered, and Piedmont for the time secured: the Imperialists on the other hand were in full possession of Mantua and the Modenese, and threatened Milan. In 1705 Prince Eugene reappeared on the scene, and roused the lazy Vendôme to unwonted energy; he, in a sharp battle at Cassano, eastward of Milan, defeated the Austrians: Eugene, hearing of the death of Leopold, returned to Vienna, to watch over the course of affairs. Taking advantage of his absence, Vendôme completely defeated the Austrian army (May 1706) at Calcinato, not far north of Mantua, and drove it to the Adige: nothing now, except Turin itself, remained to the Duke of Savoy. While Vendôme on the Adige lay waiting for the Germans from the mountains, a splendid army, commanded by the most incompetent of all the favourite generals of Louis, La Feuillade, young, ignorant, and presumptuous,

invested Turin, with a lofty contempt for all the rules of siege-warfare. The days of Vauban were over: he was sent to meditate on the utter wretchedness of his country, and to express his sense of her hardships in his famous pamphlet on the 'Dixme Royal'.¹ At last Eugene returned: with a march bold even to rashness, to be excused only by his well-founded contempt for the indolent slowness of Vendôme and the utter incapacity of La Feuillade, he suddenly crossed the Adige and the Po, and swiftly marched up the right or southern bank of the river towards Turin. At this critical moment Vendôme was recalled by Louis to take the place of Villeroy, who had met with his deserts at Ramillies: the Duke of Orleans, the King's nephew, a man of considerable ability, and Marsin, were sent to take his place in Italy. These changes gave Eugene time to cross the rivers which run into the Po, and to join the Duke of Savoy at Carmagnola. Then he crossed the Po, and contemptuously made a rash flank march in the presence of an enemy immensely superior to him in numbers. Marsin, ordered by the Duke of Orleans to attack, as he ought to have done, produced full powers from Louis XIV, to the Duke's infinite mortification, and refused to move. There was nothing for it but to stand on the defensive; and Prince Eugene wished for nothing better: he had but some thirty-five thousand men, while the French were at least twice as strong, and entrenched. They, however, were in the utmost confusion, and even their strong position, from being too large, turned to their disadvantage. Eugene's vigorous attack was completely successful; Marsin was killed, the French army routed. The Duke of Orleans, who had displayed a bravery and coolness worthy of a better day, ordered a march to Casale: with forces still stronger than the allies, he might there have defended the Milanese, and made Eugene's position perilous, by cutting him off from his communications with Germany. But the French officers and army were utterly frightened: they thought that at Casale they would be cut off

¹ Published in 1707.

from France; and whole regiments took to flight towards Susa and Pinerolo. The great armaments melted away and disappeared. All Italy was in the hands of the victors: Médavy, who had been left by Marsin on the Mincio, had to capitulate in Mantua; the Emperor recovered his authority over the old fiefs of Milan and Mantua, and gave Montferrat to the Duke of Savoy: even the Pope was compelled to recognise Charles III as King of Spain: a small army of Imperialists, entering the kingdom of Naples, ejected the French and Spaniards. Thus 1706 saw France completely driven forth from all her old Italian positions, and the Empire triumphant from Naples to the Alps.

The great campaign of 1706, according to the views of Louis, was to be that of the Netherlands. Louis of Baden could easily be kept in check on the Rhine by Villars; and it was evident that after his experience of 1705 Marlborough was not going to attempt another concerted movement with him; with a fine army between Maestricht and Tongres, the English general was clearly aiming at Flanders, and the hitherto intact line from Namur to Antwerp. To grapple with this formidable foe the blind partiality of Louis had appointed Villeroy: Chamillard, the worthy but utterly incompetent War Minister, could only raise funds by odious and oppressive means, which added to the popular discontent. Villeroy, with a strong army, larger than Marlborough's, lay at Louvain; with the presumption of incompetence, he thought himself strong enough to take the offensive, and, without awaiting Marsin, pushed forwards till he came face to face with the allies not far from Tillemont, near the little town of Ramillies. Marlborough's strength had increased daily, and the numbers on the two sides were very nearly equal¹, except that the allies were full of confidence in their great captain, while Villeroy made blunder on blunder, as if his only aim were to be beaten. He gathered his best troops on his left wing, behind a morass, so deep that they could neither attack nor be attacked; whereby he at once made his

¹ Coxé counts up 60,000 allies, and 62,000 French.

available force decidedly inferior to that of the allies. Marlborough fell like lightning on his right, where the ground was easy of access, and where the cavalry, the strongest arm of the allies, had full opportunity of acting with full force. Villeroy had neglected to occupy the higher ground with infantry; the Danes in the allied army, well led by the Prince of Würtemberg, broke in between the French cavalry and the main part of their line, and drove them asunder. The Maison du Roi, the King's body-guard, fought with determined bravery, but were ill-commanded and soon overpowered and broken. Marlborough having thus got hold of the higher ground at the left end of the French lines, soon made the position of their infantry quite untenable; when the village of Ramillies was stormed, the French gave way along all their line, and retreated in great confusion to Louvain.

The battle of Ramillies was fought on May 23, 1706; the next day but one Marlborough was in Louvain: the French fell back hastily before him. Ramillies was as decisive for the Netherlands, as Blenheim had been for Bavaria; not till the French troops, still in utmost confusion, found themselves behind the Lys, did they venture to halt and take breath. The allies took Brussels and Malines, Ghent and Bruges, and in them proclaimed Charles III King of Spain and overlord of the Netherlands: Antwerp and Oudenarde threw open their gates; Brabant took oath to the Austro-Spanish King. So strong was the feeling in favour of Charles that Louis XIV did not venture, as heretofore, to make war in the name of the King of Spain: in such strong places as he still held the natives were disarmed, the Spanish governors replaced by Frenchmen: the army was broken up and distributed among the fortified towns. Hainault, Namur, and Luxemburg alone remained in the hands of the French.

Thus on three sides, in Spain, in Italy, and the Netherlands, the fortunes of the Bourbon King waned before those of the Austrian; it looked as if the year 1706 had been decisive as to the whole Succession-question. Philip V was an outcast from

his capital; his richest provinces at home and abroad had revolted or were wrested from him; his fleet was unable to keep the sea; his commerce had perished.

Two things saved the Spanish monarchy for the Bourbons; the one, the personal character of Philip, who displayed throughout these evil days a cool and unshaken firmness and tranquil energy, which rejoiced the hearts of the Castilians; the other, the bitter feeling which raged between the two portions of the Spanish monarchy. Castile, the loyal, the Catholic, would never accept a foreign sovereign from the hands of Aragon: the fervour of religious feeling also entered in;—though Charles III might be Catholic, his friends were all heretics: the English, the Dutch, the French refugee-regiments under Cavalier, were all so many offences against their deepest feelings. There sprang up a new enthusiasm in central and western Spain, on the crest of which Philip was borne back to Madrid in triumph: he re-entered his capital at the end of October 1706. Early in the following spring (April 1707) Marshal Berwick, with a fine force of French and Spaniards met the allies under Ruvigny at Almanza on the borders of Murcia and Valencia: the battle was severe and long, the French refugees fighting with most determined bravery, until Cavalier's regiment of Camisards perished almost to a man; at the end the Spaniards and French won a complete victory: the allies lost everything and fled into Catalonia. Valencia submitted; Aragon and Catalonia were reduced, and the Bourbons were finally and firmly established in the Peninsula.

Soon after the battle of Ramillies Louis began to treat with England and Holland separately: success seemed likely to loosen the coherence of the allies; divergences of opinion arose as to the government of the Spanish Netherlands; jealousies against Marlborough sprang up: the Tories in England became the mouthpieces of all the dislike for the war and its burdens. The Emperor Joseph I drew towards Louis XIV and made a Treaty of Neutrality for Italy, which released a strong force of French and Spanish troops.

In spite of all the disasters of 1706 France showed still a bold front in 1707, and equilibrium seemed to be restored between the combatants. The allies were paralysed by the appearance in Germany of a new and incalculable element, the young Charles XII of Sweden, who for a large part of the year 1707 seemed to hold the balance entirely in his hands. Would he ally himself with France, and become a kind of dictator in central Europe? or would he follow out his earlier schemes, and in conjunction with his friend the new King of Poland, Stanislaus Leczinski, resist the growing power of Russia? Would his policy be Northern or Southern? As he stood with his army in Saxony, meditating these questions, all Europe watched him anxiously: Louis sent him an embassy; Marshal Villars, who was in command on the Rhine in 1707, crossed that river, stormed the lines of Stolhofen, and pushed on as far as Höchstett:—what if Charles XII were to join him, and, renewing the old alliance between France and Sweden, unite with him in a fatal attack on Austria? The age, however, had changed: France was not what she had been in the days of Richelieu and Gustavus Adolphus. Charles XII distrusted the political attitude and hated the religious views of Louis: he deemed himself, like his great predecessor, above all things a champion of Protestantism, and had claimed for the Silesians that liberty of conscience which Austria was not very ready to grant. On the other hand, Joseph I had conceded what he asked, while Louis had been crushing his Protestant subjects: how could he ally himself with the Jesuit-led intolerant King of France? Marlborough also paid the young hero a visit in his camp at Alt Ranzau. It is said, and the thing is not unlikely, that the splendid presence and high military renown of the English Duke dazzled Charles XII, who felt a young man's reverence and enthusiasm for the greatest soldier of his age; at any rate all thought of alliance with France came to an end, and Charles marched for Poland with his fifty thousand men, where he met his ruin at Pultawa in 1709.

About the time that the Swedes marched eastward, Villars'

army was weakened by the orders he received to detach a strong force to the south of France, to relieve Toulon, now invested by the allies, who were compelled to withdraw. Villars also fell back to the Rhine. In the Netherlands nothing was done. Vendôme stood securely on the defensive against Marlborough, and the year ended much as it had begun, except that the confidence of the French armies was somewhat restored, and Villeroy at last had been deprived of his command, though he did not cease to enjoy his master's confidence and favours. He was one of the few personal friends of Louis XIV: born in the year of his master's accession, he had passed a brilliant youth at Court as 'the charming Neufville': delightful in the salon, in command of an army he was nothing less than a national disaster: he was the most striking example of that tenacious belief of the King, that his choice, his friendship and his advice, could stand in the stead of military talents. The battle of Ramillies and the clamour that arose after that great blunder compelled the monarch to withdraw his friend from scenes of war. The French ships, half men-of-war, half corsairs, still inflicted very severe losses on Dutch and English commerce; they sallied forth from their two strong harbourages of Dunkirk and Brest, and harassed their enemies on every sea: great was the indignation in England when, in September 1707, Dugnay-Trouin defeated a fleet of ships of war which had been sent out to check him.

In 1708 Louis proposed to restore the fortunes of the war on every side. Five fine armies were set afoot; an expedition was planned for Scotland, where the Union of 1706 was by no means popular. James III was to sail from Dunkirk, surrounded by a swarm of corsair-ships, carrying six thousand troops. The expedition failed lamentably; the Jacobites could only show themselves in the Firth of Forth, and, being unable to land, returned to the French coasts. The attempt had done the King's cause much harm and no good; men saw that he had abandoned nothing of his old determination to restore the Catholic dynasty in Great Britain: he aroused the old antipa-

thies, and led men to think it useless to negotiate with him;—that so long as he had any strength he would be a menace to his neighbours.

With incredible efforts, and by means of a sort of military press-gang, a large army was gathered for the Netherlands; and the command given to the Dukes of Burgundy and Vendôme. Once more Louis defeated his object by his choice of commanders: it was impossible for the irregular and idle libertine Vendôme, with his sudden dashes of vigour and genius of war, to work harmoniously by the side of the decorous the virtuous and unenterprising Burgundy. To this unhappy combination the disasters of 1708 are due. The position of the allies was not very secure in the Spanish Netherlands: opinion in those districts had once more declared itself strongly for Philip V; the cities were eager to open their gates to the French¹. In fact, the French were welcomed as deliverers; had they but reduced Menin on the Lys, and Oudenarde on the Scheldt, they might have secured their position almost without striking a blow. Marlborough had fallen back to the Dyle, and there awaited Prince Eugene; after deluding Berwick and the Elector of Bavaria on the Rhine, he crossed the Moselle at Coblenz, the Meuse at Maestricht, and then joined his friend at Brussels. The French were now moving on towards Oudenarde, which was still in the hands of the allies: Vendôme was reluctant to go forward, and, whether from indolence or fear of Marlborough and Eugene, could not be prevailed on to advance, though the Duke of Burgundy warmly urged him. The allies took advantage of this indecision, and marching westward from Brussels crossed first the Dender and then the Scheldt at Oudenarde; then turning northwards along the left bank, they fell on the French just as they also were slowly getting across at Gavre, below Oudenarde (11 July, 1708). The French were in the utmost confusion; their artillery, with the exception of

¹ 'The states,' said Marlborough, 'have used this country so ill, that I no ways doubt that all the towns . . . will play us the same trick as Ghent has done.' Coxe's Marlborough, ii. 467 (ed. 1818).

four guns, had not come over; the regiments came up, one after another, in disorderly style; the generals issued contradictory commands. The Danes and Dutch got round the right flank of the French, and finally decided the battle. Fortunately for the conquered, night came on: but for that friendly darkness hardly a man could have escaped. Marlborough says that ninety-five standards were captured, seven thousand prisoners; scarcely any pieces of artillery were taken; for there were few to take. The remnants of the French force fell back to Ghent.

Hereon the allies decided on a great step. They crossed the frontier and sat down before Lille: it was destined to be the greatest siege since that of Ostend in 1601; half Europe was represented within or under its walls. Lille, the southernmost strong place in French Flanders, covers the whole frontier of Artois, and is the bulwark of Paris: in these days it was what Amiens used to be in the time of the Dukes of Burgundy, to whom Lille belonged. When Duke Charles perished at Nanci, Louis XI laid claim to it; in the Treaty of Madrid it was ceded to the Austro-Spanish power by Francis I. The Spanish Kings held it till it was seized by Louis XIV, and secured to France by the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle in 1668; from that time till now it had remained quietly in his hands. The fortifications were regarded as one of Vauban's masterpieces. Marlborough had proposed to mask Lille, and with the main body to penetrate boldly into France, showing thereby that his views were in advance of the time, and that he was a modern tactician; but the Dutch would not hear of it, and Prince Eugene doubted. So they sat down to reduce the place; and Marlborough commanded the protecting army, doing it so well that no serious attempt to relieve Lille was made, though the French armies were stronger than those of the allies. At the end of the year the perilous enterprise was crowned with complete success; the town yielded in October, the citadel in December. Nothing could have been more feeble and divided than the counsels of the French commanders:

Boufflers had made a noble resistance; unaided and exhausted he was obliged to capitulate: his regiments marched out with honours. Thence the allies passed on to Ghent, and captured that city with all its stores and munitions, then took Bruges and the whole of Flanders. Their parties overran Artois and the coast of Picardy. How deep must have been the vexation at Versailles and Paris, when news came that a party of Dutch soldiers, guided by some French refugee officers, had suddenly swooped down on Sèvres, so close to Versailles, in hopes of seizing the Dauphin, who only escaped them through an accident¹. The memoirs of the time breathe the bitterest sense of humiliation and dejection. Berwick himself says that Louis fell in with all Vendôme's suggestions, and rejected all reasonable plans: the generals quarrelled incessantly: the campaign was far more unfortunate than it need have been: 'we committed folly on folly².'

And so ended the year 1708; over the glory of the sun of Louis XIV had rolled cloud after cloud; but none so dark and ominous as this of the capture of Lille, and the insecurity of the capital itself.

As though her other sufferings were not enough, the seasons now fought against France: the winter of 1708, 1709 was very severe³, and added the horrors of famine and cold to the despondency of defeat and insecurity. Disturbances broke out on every side: all France, with curses and violence, accused Louis of being the author of her misery; the government seemed powerless to succour the starved and dying; the King issued edicts, which were chiefly based on an ignorance of all economic rules. The Parliament of Paris offered to assist in an enquiry as to the hoarding of corn; this offended Louis, who bade that august body attend to its own business of hearing lawsuits. The conclusion drawn by all France was that Louis feared to allow an independent body to look into matters;

¹ Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV*, ch. xxi. (p. 266, ed. Louandre).

² *Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick* (A. 1708), (Michaud, III. viii. p. 404).

³ Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, iv. p. 331.

for, they argued, 'if things had been all right, the proposal could have only been agreeable and useful to the King.' All articles of value seemed to disappear: men wondered what had become of the coin of the realm: there was no money to pay for goods: commerce was at a stand-still, confidence had perished: a new coinage, with the value of the coins arbitrarily raised by a third, gave a momentary relief to the King: it was the last stroke which completed the ruin of trade.

Then Louis decided again, and more seriously than in 1706, to make endeavours for peace. After the battle of Oudenarde he had sent Rouillé to the Hague; but Heinsius had made reply that no negotiations could even begin till Philip V was withdrawn from Spain, the two Electors of Bavaria and Cologne dispossessed, the fortifications of Dunkirk ruined and her harbour blocked up. Even this hard stipulation did not prove a bar to further dealings: the King declared himself willing to make any sacrifice; above all, in April 1709, he consented to treat on the base of the cession of Spain, and the retention of Naples only for his grandson Philip: the conditions as to the two Electors he evaded: he declared himself willing, if Lille were restored to France, to fill up the port and dismantle the walls of Dunkirk.

Louis showed throughout great firmness and dignity, and a real willingness to yield. But he clearly regarded it all as a personal matter, not as the affair of his country: he had so long been accustomed to be omnipotent, that public questions only showed themselves to him in one light. So in the very document¹ in which he yields so much, he treats it all as a divine chastisement inflicted on himself, and as a sacrifice demanded from himself; he loftily declares, with grand humility, that 'he forgets his glory,' and stoops to consent to a resumption of the old basis laid down in the Treaties of Westphalia.

This lofty resignation did not hinder Louis from making his best endeavours to evade the necessities of his position, and to lessen the bitterness of the terms proposed by the allies.

¹ It is preserved in full in Torcy's *Memoirs* (Michaud, III. viii. pp. 586-588).

These terms were needlessly harsh: the counsels of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, who felt no trust in the monarch's faith, and honestly believed that nothing but absolute exhaustion could quiet his old ambition, pushed the allies into extravagant proposals which Louis could not accept. He was asked not only to withdraw all help from Philip V, but actually to assist in driving him out of Spain, a bitter humiliation which he surely ought to have been spared. They more reasonably insisted on the cession of ten towns in the Netherlands as a substantive barrier between Holland and France; they also demanded the cession to the Empire of Strasburg and Breisach, and the abandonment of all claims on Alsace, beyond those sanctioned by the Peace of Westphalia. In vain did Torcy, who managed affairs in Holland, try to bribe Marlborough: venal as he might have been and shifty between English parties, he was not to be bought by France. The allies stood firm; and over the ejection of Philip V from Spain the negotiations finally broke down in June 1709. Then Louis XIV, for the first time in his life, addressed himself to his people, by Torcy's advice, in a letter to the governors of the provinces, explaining the grounds on which he had broken off the conferences at the Hague, and calling on the nation to make fresh efforts on the renewal of war¹. The appeal was answered by an outburst of patriotism; for even in her deepest troubles France is ever brave. Villars, whose good luck was still unbroken, was sent to the Netherlands, and found himself at the head of a fine army; all supplies and money that could be raised were sent thither: 'the lack of coin,' says Berwick, who commanded at Grenoble, 'was still a sore embarrassment: the Court did not send us the very smallest help; all it could gather was instantly despatched to Flanders².'

Villars could not save Tournay, which fell before the allies: but, when Marlborough pressed on to invest Mons, he set himself to bar his way at Malplaquet, a little town between Valenciennes

¹ Torcy, *Mémoires* (Michaud, III. viii. p. 634).

² Berwick, *Mémoires* (Michaud, III. viii. p. 405).

and Mons. There he skilfully took up a very strong position, with the two wings of his army sheltered behind two woods, the right extremity resting on Malplaquet, and the left on the village of Blangies. Marlborough commanded the left of the allies, opposite Sars Wood, behind which lies Malplaquet; Prince Eugene was on the right, with Blangies wood before him. It was the 11th of September, 1709. The battle was begun by Prince Eugene, who seized the wood, and pressed through it till he came out in front of the French left: Marlborough with repeated and determined efforts could make no impression on his side, till Villars, seeing that his left was likely to be overwhelmed, weakened his centre to support it. Then Prince Eugene slanting to his left, struck the enemy on the flank, while Tilly and Cadogan with the English and Dutch rushed in for a final attack on the weakened centre. At last the French gave way, but not before both Eugene and Villars had been wounded: they drew back in good order under the skilful command of Marshal Boufflers, who had honourably consented to serve under Villars.

It was a victory for the allies, though very dearly bought: the carnage had been greater than in any previous battle. The two armies were nearly equal in numbers, each about ninety thousand strong; but the allies suffered far more than the French, as they were the attacking side. As has been remarked, of twenty accounts of this battle none agree as to the losses on the two sides; Villars declared that, while France lost only six thousand, the allies had thirty thousand killed or disabled. That is an extreme exaggeration; the truth seems to be that the loss of the allies was nearly if not quite double that of the French¹. After this great battle Mons did not venture to hold out, and became the prize of the victors: with these three successes, Tournay, Malplaquet, and Mons, the allies were satisfied, and the campaign came to a close.

It is a singular fact, though quite intelligible, that although it

¹ Lord Stanhope is probably not far wrong when he puts the French loss at 12,000, the allies at 20,000.

was a distinct defeat for them, the battle of Malplaquet did much to restore the spirit of the French: the soldiers, before disorganised and without confidence in their leaders, once more began to think that the terrible Malbrook might be faced and fought. On the other hand the victory was received with the gloomiest ill-will in England. Men asked what could be the use of such fearful carnage, and why the war did not come to an end. The tide of opinion, which was destined so soon to raise the Tories to power, was already rapidly turning throughout England.

Negotiations were renewed in 1710 at Gertruydenberg, and Louis made offers which went far beyond all he at last conceded at Utrecht. He would recognise Charles III as King of Spain; refuse all aid to his grandson; give four cities as hostages for his good faith; cede Strasburg and Breisach, and renounce all claims to Alsace, except the prefecture of the ten imperial cities; raise all his fortified places from Basel to Philipsburg; fill up Dunkirk harbour and destroy its works, and lastly give to the Dutch a chain of barrier-cities. Yet these great withdrawals from his earlier power were not enough: the allies, guided by Heinsius, Marlborough, and Eugene, still insisted that the King should promise that, if necessary, he would eject his grandson by force: and Louis, treating that point as the point of honour, firmly refused to make the promise. The negotiations therefore failed; and war must go on as before.

In the Netherlands Marlborough and Prince Eugene directed all their efforts to break Vauban's inner line of defences for the northern frontier of France by the capture of Douai, which fell after a vigorous siege of nearly two months: detachments of the allies traversed all Picardy, and even reached the Seine: next, Bethune, Aire, and Saint-Venant fell, though the losses of the allies in these sieges were not inconsiderable. Villars, who did not venture on a battle, covered Cambrai and Arras; the allies did not feel strong enough to attack them this year, hoping, next year, to push on into the old Provinces of France and to

threaten Paris itself. The military strength of the kingdom seemed to have suffered entire collapse: all the old conquests of Louis had slipped out of his hands; it was thought he would after all be compelled to accept the hard terms of the allies: it might be heroic to say, 'If I must fight, I will fight my foes, not my children;' but the power of fighting seemed at last to be passing away, and ruin to impend over France. How changed from the days of the Peace of Nimwegen was the position of the great Monarch: his home-provinces were now insulted by his foes; he himself no longer fit to go out to war, his people in the last agonies of want, the glory departed. It was the general opinion in 1710 that if the allies did but hold firmly together, the overthrow of the French power was imminent¹. With an Austrian Prince at Madrid, with the passages of the Alps closed, with the Rhine-frontier thrust back again, with a new and close line of barrier-fortresses across the level country to the north, with Dunkirk rased and closed, and the sea-powers omnipotent on the ocean, France, it was believed, would never again be a menace and a danger to Europe.

'What a terrible distance,' says Michelet², 'from Sully's *Economies* to Vauban's *Dixme Royal*, so melancholy a picture, and then from that again to the grim despair of Boisguillebert's book' (1695, 1707). Louis, however, could not bear the truth: Vauban had fallen into disgrace; his patriotic book was condemned to be pilloried; Boisguillebert was actually exiled for speaking out too plainly. What could be hoped from a King who felt nothing for his people, and resolutely shut his ears to their complaints?

Yet before the year closed things had already shown signs of change; and, just as all appeared hopeless for France, new light began to dawn. In Spain, though the fortunes of Charles III had again been in the ascendant, and he had defeated Philip in Catalonia and again under the walls of

¹ L. von Ranke, *Franz. Geschichte*, iv. pp. 198, 199.

² *Henri IV et Richelieu*, p. 474, note.

³ See Martin, XVI. p. 528.

Saragossa: though all Aragon recognised him as King, and he once more entered Madrid in triumph, yet the Castilians were more attached than ever to Philip, the sovereign of their choice. When he retired to Valladolid they rallied round him in crowds; and Vendôme was sent to command a fresh army of Spaniards favourable to his cause. With these he followed Charles, who had again been obliged to abandon Madrid, and coming up with his retreating force, first defeated and captured the English rearguard under Stanhope, and then completely overthrew the main army at Villa Viciosa. Charles with the ruins of his force fell back behind the Ebro; by the end of the year Philip V was once more firmly seated on his throne.

It was from another side that the changes came which saved the aged King. Those who watched the movement of party-spirit in England had seen already that the Whigs were losing strength, while their antagonists gained at every step: even the brilliancy of Marlborough's career, which in 1706 had secured a great majority to the war-party, was ceasing to dazzle England. Men were growing weary of the war: the Sacheverel trial, the feeling that Malplaquet had been an unnecessary carnage, the belief that the allies were pushing Louis XIV too hard, and that the terms he offered were fair and just, the growth of the Tory-party in the country, the unlucky proposal to make Marlborough Captain-General for life;—all these things combined to undermine the rule of the Whigs.

It is almost an axiom of English politics that a war is never closed by the ministry which begins it. Accordingly as England was becoming very desirous of peace, it was clear that the Whigs, the old antagonists of France, the declared enemies of the Stewarts, the friends of Marlborough (who, though not himself a Whig, had been in closest union with them, and had been rewarded with their hearty support), would have to give place to men not so strongly opposed to Louis XIV, and not committed to the extreme policy expressed in the terms insisted on by the allies. Queen Anne herself, who, though she professed great dislike for party, was distinctly friendly to the

Anglican Tories, was quite prepared for the change: the elections of 1710 went strongly against the Whigs.

Nothing shows so clearly the frivolous character of Voltaire's work on the Age of Louis XIV as his treatment of this crisis of English politics. The change had been coming on very gradually; the overthrow of the Whigs and the war-party was one side of a general movement which could not escape notice and had its roots very deep in the tendencies of English political life; yet Voltaire can see nothing in it but a miserable Court-intrigue between two rival favourites. A few trivial anecdotes seem to him to give a sufficient account of the shifting of the balance of politics: 'Some pairs of gloves of a strange cut which the Duchess refused to give the Queen; a little water dropped by her on Mrs. Masham's gown—these things changed the face of Europe'.¹ The fall of 'great Sarah' and the rise of Abigail Hill at the beginning of 1711 were but the outward symptoms of the complete change which had already been wrought within.

Nothing fell in so closely with these changes, which led to the ascendancy of the Tories, and threatened Marlborough's overthrow, as the unexpected death, in April 1711, of the Emperor Joseph I, who fell a victim to that much-dreaded scourge of Kings, the small-pox. As he left behind him daughters only, his brother Charles gladly turned his back on Spain, where his affairs were very gloomy, and returning to Germany was elected King of the Romans, and then (in December, 1711) Emperor, as Charles VI. He was the only hope of the House of Hapsburg; and how could English statesmen desire that on that one head should rest the four crowns of the Empire, of Hungary, of Bohemia, of Spain? All the old objections to the close union of Spain and France were at once transferred to Austria; if Louis would but give sound guarantees that the crowns of France and Spain should never be worn by the same Prince, England would be completely satisfied.

Even before this great change took place in the balance

¹ Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV*, p. 284 (ed. Louandre).

of opinion, secret communications had been opened between England and France. The Abbé Gautier, formerly attached to the French Embassy at S. James', and a close friend of the Poet-Diplomatist Prior, appeared in January, 1711, at Versailles, and asked Torcy whether he wished for peace? adding that he was authorised to tell him that he might, if he would, make peace with England independently of Holland and her other allies. 'It was as if he had asked a man long ill of a dangerous disorder if he would like to be cured';¹ no prospect could have been so welcome to the harassed and worn-out King of France.

The campaign of 1711 seemed to feel the changes in the air. Prince Eugene was recalled to Germany, to protect Frankfort during the Imperial election: Marlborough was still in command, with Villars again opposed to him. The French Marshal refused to fight, and carefully watched his great antagonist in the plains about Lens, boasting that he had brought the Duke to a 'ne plus ultra,' and had completely checked his advance. Marlborough proposed great things, though not for 1711, as Prince Eugene was gone. He intended to pass, by masterly manœuvres, through the French lines, to take Bouchain and Le Quesnoy; to camp for the winter thereabouts, and then early in 1712, in combination with Eugene, to press forward into the very heart of France. In preparation for this 'grand project' as it was termed, Marlborough successfully broke the French lines and invested Bouchain, which capitulated in September. The next step should have been the reduction of Le Quesnoy: but the Germans were still absent, the Dutch very backward, the English intent on their separate peace: and the Duke could not venture on any farther operations. The whole of the 'grand project' resolved itself into the capture of Bouchain, which was the one and only result of the campaign. Bolingbroke says with a sneer that Bouchain cost England seven millions of money. Doubtless the campaign came in for much criticism of this kind.

¹ Torcy, *Mémoires* (Michaud, III. viii. 666).

By the end of the year a kind of coup d'état at S. James' brought about the ignominious dismissal of the Great Duke from all his offices and dignities; the triumph of the Tories was complete. His fall coincided in time with the actual election of Charles VI to the Imperial throne. In vain did the new Emperor send Prince Eugene to England to support the cause of the falling Duke: it was too late; the peace-party was omnipotent. Eugene was insulted, and could make no impression; Marlborough was the great obstacle in their path, and could not be left in power.

Before this, the secret overtures made by the Abbé Gautier had been carried on more than one stage. Prior the poet had been sent over to Versailles, as an accredited agent of the English government, and by October 1711 things had gone so far that it could be openly announced by the Ministers that they were about to treat for peace, and that Utrecht was to be the place of conference.

It was agreed, between England and France, as a base for negotiations, that (1) there should be no talk of dislodging Philip V from the Spanish throne, on condition that England should keep Gibraltar and Port Mahon, and that the union of the two crowns of Spain and France should be made impossible; (2) that England should be placed on the footing of 'the most favoured nations'; in other words, that France should concede the utmost commercial privileges to her; that the waters round the English coasts should be the British waters and inviolable, and that, to secure her against corsair-raids, Dunkirk should be rendered harmless; and (3) that France should make certain cessions to England in America.

Louis hereon offered Philip V an alternative; either Italy, with the reservation of all his rights in France, or Spain and America, with an absolute renunciation of all claims to the French throne. He chose the latter without hesitation. Spain had declared for him and had shed her blood in his cause; he would not abandon her: and if the needs of peace, and the security of the European balance of power, demanded the

resignation of his rights in France, he was willing to make that sacrifice. At the time he thus decided he was not aware how very near he stood to the succession, or he might perhaps have hesitated. Weak and easily guided by family influences as he was, Philip had in him a good portion of his grandfather's character. When things were at their worst, he had shown a gravity and dignity which delighted the Spaniards; he did not occupy himself too much with the ungrateful task of reforming them, or of reducing the frightful abuses under which the realm was perishing: in his better and his worse qualities alike resembling Louis, he also resembled him in being a monarch suited for a despotic order of things; he ruled with propriety over a falling nation; to him Spain owed such independence as she afterwards still possessed. The belief that Spain would always act in harmony with France, or that she would add strength to the greater monarchy, was never realised: so long as she depended on France she was a constant source of weakness, and as time went on she developed interests of her own, and followed lines of policy which diverged widely from those of France.

Thus the negotiations between France and England had begun with overtures which, as von Ranke says¹, were 'like a backstairs intrigue in a comedy,' carried on by an adventurer-abbé, and an English second-rate poet, in profound secrecy. They were however destined to be successful, thanks to the great changes in the western world, and by the end of 1711 it was clear that the long quarrel of Europe was really drawing to its close. The Congress of Utrecht opened in January 1712.

While these new hopes of peace were shedding the first rays of comfort on the deep gloom of France, a terrible disaster befell the aged Monarch, and one which, selfish and heartless though he was, by its reiterated strokes, and by the prominence it gave to the Duke of Orleans, added a weight almost of despair to his heavy burdens. In April 1711 Monseigneur, the

¹ Französische Geschichte, iv. p. 205.

Dauphin, a man of fifty, was seized with the small-pox¹, and died: whereby the Duke of Burgundy, the hope of France, now became heir-apparent to the throne. The Court very speedily consoled itself; for the Dauphin was a man of no character or intelligence, lazy, uneducated, timid to cowardice; he had been insignificant at Versailles, where the King treated him almost as a child, and all his life the Dauphin had 'lost the father in the King.' Louis regarded him as a kind of necessary evil, as his inevitable successor, who was to be kept as long as possible in tutelage. His son the Duke of Burgundy was a very different personage: choleric and impetuous, obstinate, determined, and intensely proud, his passions and vices in his earlier days were always in excess. With these qualities he joined great vigour, wit, and ability; his intelligence was remarkable, he grasped at all kinds of knowledge: his Bavarian mother must have been a very clever woman. On this vigorous but difficult nature, as a rich and germinant soil, the teaching of Fénelon worked wonders. The young man turned entirely towards his tutor. He became affable and gentle, humane and patient, modest and a penitent. His whole energies, curbed not destroyed, were now concentrated on religious matters: 'the day was ever too short for him': his austerities alarmed and almost scandalised the Court; 'the King with his skin-deep devotion and regularity soon saw, with secret anger, that the life of so young a prince was an unconscious censure on his own.' After a period of such unwonted exaltation and pious exercises, came a time when the Duke returned to the ordinary duties of Court-life, though his religious impressions by no means faded away: he was sent into the Netherlands; and might have done fairly as a general, had he not been constantly thwarted and his influence under-

¹ Those who love scandal should read Saint-Simon's account of his long conversation with the Duchess of Orleans, and their frank lamentations when the Dauphin's illness seemed to take a favourable turn and to threaten no danger. *Mémoires*, v. pp. 425, 426. Saint-Simon's picture of the illness and death of the Dauphin is among the most powerful and the most ghastly efforts of his genius.

mined. The old King, never very fond of him, was now quite alienated from him; 'it became odious and dangerous to say a word at Court in his favour.' His patience and admirable temper overcame this ill-will: and at last he was completely reconciled to his grandfather and to Madame de Maintenon: the whole hopes of France were centred on him and on his lively spouse, the daughter of Victor Amadeus, who would have seconded him to the best of her power in his schemes of government: she was the light of the Court, and the only person who could divert the stiff gloom of the King and amuse his weary soul. Early in February 1712 she was seized with fever, and died after a week's illness. 'With her, joy, pleasures, even amusements, everything gracious, disappeared from court; darkness brooded there. . . . Never princess so much regretted, never one so worthy of regret¹.'

Before men had recovered from their consternation at this sudden blow, the Duke of Burgundy also sickened of fever, and in a few days he too died: then their elder boy, a child of five years, followed them: their younger child, Louis, Duke of Anjou, a babe in arms, was barely saved by most vigilant care and nursing: he was preserved to rule over France as Louis XV. The hand of Death was hard on France both in what it took and what it spared.

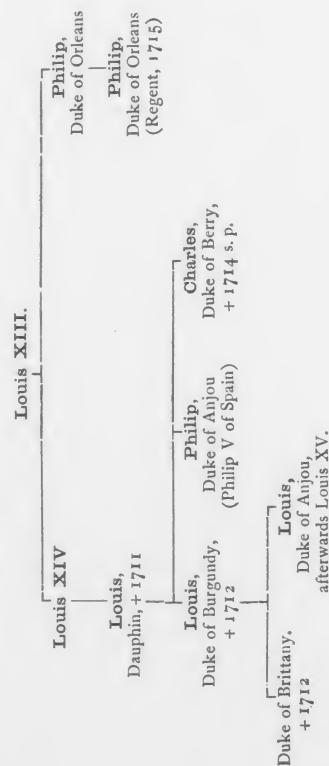
There spread at once a persistent rumour of poison: some whispered that the Duke of Maine had determined to rid himself of all the King's legitimate descendants and to seize the reins of power²; others thought that Maine's rival, the Duke of Orleans, now heir after the Duke of Berry and the one delicate child of the Duke of Burgundy, had swept away the royal line³: as he went with his spouse to sprinkle holy-water on the coffin of the Duchess of Burgundy, the crowd, with no measured voice, accused him of the ghastly crime: the

¹ These descriptions are all from Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, vi. ch. xv. (ed. Hachette).

² Saint-Simon, in his hatred for the King's bastards and the Jesuit-party, does not hesitate to support this slander.

³ See Table on p. 332.

TABLE VI.—THE FAMILY OF LOUIS XIII.



anger, disappointment, and sorrow of France, seemed to find solace in the unfounded charge. The old King himself could not endure the sight of his nephew: to this, and to the intrigues of the Jesuits and Madame de Maintenon, is due the monstrous blunder which he committed, of trying to force his illegitimate children on France, and to entrust her destinies to the Duke of Maine.

Early in 1712 the English government had sent the Duke of Ormond to the Netherlands in Marlborough's stead, with orders to do nothing, which he was capable of fulfilling punctually. The Emperor, the Princes of the Empire, and the Dutch were still keen for war; for they believed themselves strong enough at least to hold their own till the great revolution, which all men expected daily in England¹, should overthrow the Tories in favour of the Duke of Hanover, and reversing their policy, restore the war-party once more to power. Accordingly, though the English signed a separate truce in May 1712, the Dutch and Germans insisted on going on with the war. Prince Eugene proposed to take Landrécies, and to march into France, occupying Picardy in force. But it was soon seen that the master-mind was gone. Prince Eugene had none of the Great Duke's power of management: he did not know how to overcome the ineptitude of the Dutch; and when he sat down at Landrécies, he placed his chief magazines at Marchiennes on the Scarpe, a town six or seven leagues distant, midway between Landrécies and Lille, leaving to his Dutch allies the task of defending the long and open line of communications. To secure these, Denain on the Scheldt was essential; and the Dutch had placed a considerable force there, on which Prince Eugene reckoned as being strong enough to hold out, till, in case of need, he could come up to the rescue from Landrécies. Villars, however, skilfully and boldly made a feint, as if he would relieve Landrécies, then turning sharply off for the Scheldt, struck suddenly and hard at Denain (24 July, 1712). The Dutch soldiers posted there fled headlong,

¹ Torcy, Mémoires (Michaud, III. viii. p. 721).

leaving their defences intact, undefended: Prince Eugene came up just in time to see them driven headlong into the Scheldt, and all his plans ruined in an instant. It was a vast reverse: Marchiennes with all its huge supplies fell at once into Villars' hand; Eugene raised the siege of Landrécies; the brilliant and successful stroke at Denain was followed by the fall of Douai, of Le Quesnoy and Bouchain. The campaign was infinitely disastrous to the allies; it restored the spirit and confidence of France, and hastened on the negotiations at Utrecht. Villars returned in triumph to Paris. The Dutch, completely cowed, abandoned all thought of farther war, and accepted the truce already agreed on between France and England: Prince Eugene also betook himself to Utrecht, and the princes of the Empire came in as well. Matters now went on speedily, though the interests were very many and complicated: in a solemn session of the Spanish Cortes, and in the presence of the English Ambassador, Philip V renounced the crown of France, and the Cortes formally ratified and guaranteed the act. The Dukes of Berry¹ and Orleans, for themselves and their heirs, did the same for the Crown of Spain. Hereon arose a curious and very significant discussion. The English ministers, still distrustful of Louis XIV, and remembering how little store Mazarin and he had set on the renunciations of 1661, and how completely throughout his life he had acted in defiance of all he had promised in that direction, naturally asked what guarantee they might have that the engagements thus entered on would be held sacred. Louis declared that his own royal word was enough: the English on the other hand intimated that his word had been already tried and found wanting; and proposed that as the Spanish Cortes had ratified Philip's act, so the States General of France should be convoked to ratify his promise. To their minds, familiar with constitutional life, this seemed the most natural thing in the world: but Louis was infinitely offended: the very thought of any constitutional power in France was an

¹ Third son of the Dauphin; he died in 1714.

insult to his honour and dignity; he resented the idea that there could be found in his subjects an authority to confirm his own. The allies at last gave way, and contented themselves with seeing the renunciations received and registered by the Parliament of Paris¹.

At last the whole sheaf of treaties was complete; and on the 11th of April, 1713, the Peace of Utrecht was signed by all the powers, save the Empire and the Emperor, who stood out, and purposed to continue the war, rather than agree to stipulations which abandoned all their interests. The House of Austria was to lose all chance of the crown of Spain, even of the friendly Catalonia; the older Franco-German frontier was not to be restored; not even was Strasburg to be given back: the English openly declared that they took as the basis of the peace, not the Peace of Westphalia, but that of Ryswick.

The Germans, however, serious as were their grievances, and ill as the Tories had treated them, soon found that war was out of the question. They speedily lost Landau again, after having had to abandon Speyer, Worms, and Kaiserslautern. After this Villars crossed the Rhine at Strasburg, stormed the German lines before Freiburg, and, in spite of all Prince Eugene's efforts, took the town. At last, the Emperor recognised that he must yield: negotiations went on at Rastadt for the Austrians, at Baden for the Princes of the Empire; and in the course of 1714 two more treaties, named after those two towns, completed the long series, closed the war, and finally gave peace to Europe.

One may readily believe that Louis was very sincere, when, writing to Madame de Maintenon, in February 1714, he says, 'Peace is not yet made, but will soon be signed. Prince Eugene is gone back to Rastadt, and Villars returns thither; all is agreed on, and I have ordered Villars to sign. I thought you would not be sorry to hear this good news a few hours before the rest of the world: but say nothing about it, only that

¹ See the account of the difficulty in Saint-Simon, vi. p. 320.

Prince Eugene has returned to Rastadt, and that the conferences are going on again. I am sure of peace, and rejoice at it with you. Let us thank God with all our hearts¹.

Ten treaties in all emerged from the diplomatic forge on which so much hammering had been going on. These were between (1) England and France; (2) Holland and France; (3) Savoy and France; (4) Portugal and France; (5) Prussia and France; (6) England and Spain; (7) Spain and Savoy; (8) Holland and Portugal; all these signed at Utrecht: finally (9) at Rastadt between Austria and France; and (10) at Baden between the Princes of the Empire and France.

1. Of these the first was clearly the leading treaty²; and England was the power which, as it had provided the greatest general in the war, obtained the greatest advantages in the peace. The Protestant succession to the Crown of Great Britain, through the House of Hanover, was secured, and the Pretender would be compelled to leave France; the English diplomats obtained the permanent severance of the crowns of France and Spain, so far as engagements could secure it; Dunkirk was to be dismantled; Newfoundland, Acadia, and the Hudson's Bay territory were ceded to England, France reserving only Cape Breton and her share in the great fisheries off the coast; equal colonial trading rights were agreed on for France and England, and a more favourable commercial treaty drawn up (11 April, 1713).

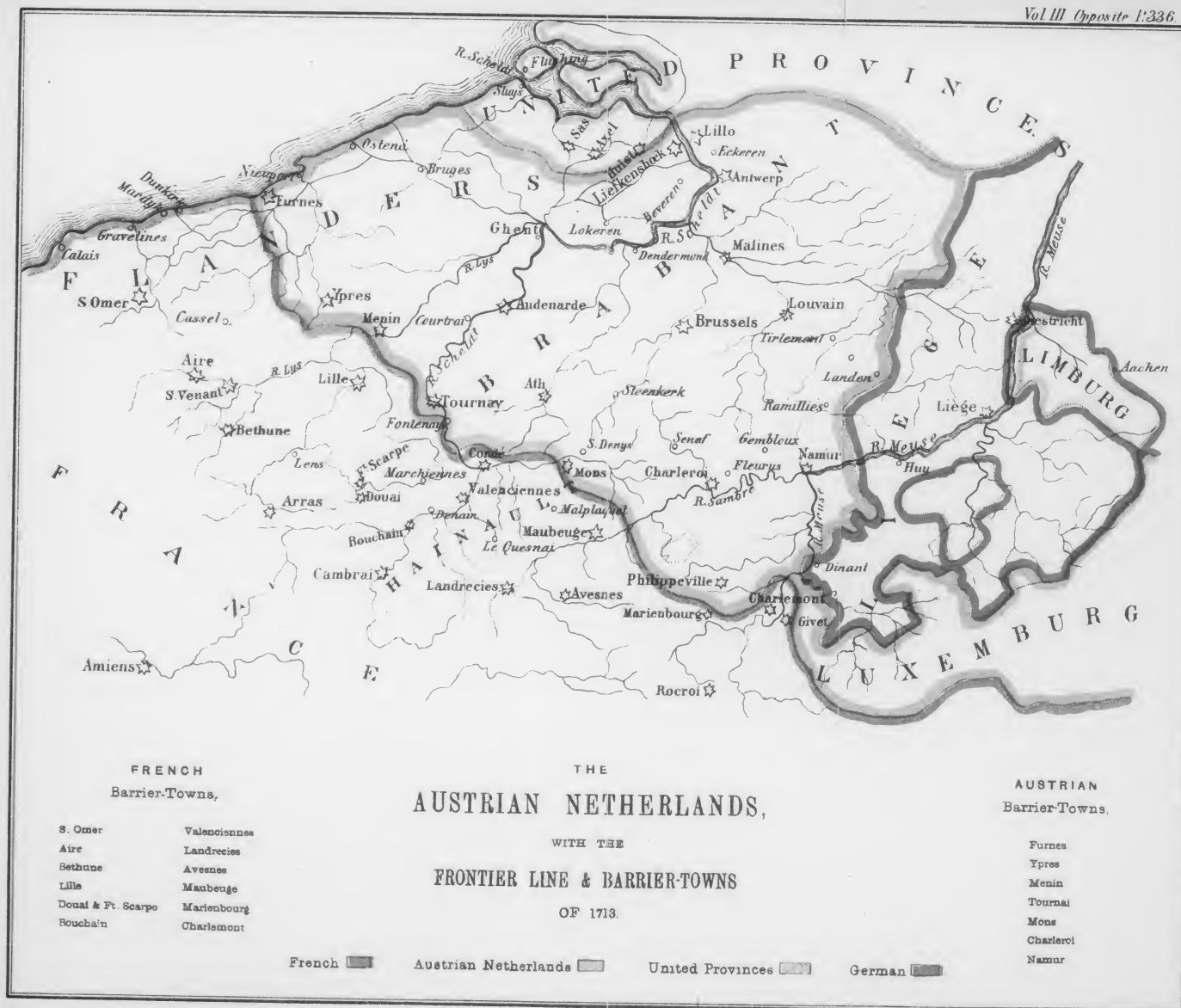
2. The Dutch succeeded in establishing a really strong barrier between the Provinces and France³: the Spanish Netherlands were handed over to the Republic, which bound itself to pass them on, after conclusion of a satisfactory barrier-treaty, to Austria; Lille was given back to France, as the nucleus of her barrier, on the south side of the frontier; and a favourable commercial treaty was also drawn up between France and the United Provinces (11 April, 1713).

¹ Œuvres de Louis XIV, vi. p. 220.

² Dumont, Recueil des Traités, VIII. pp. 339, sqq.

³ Ibid. pp. 366, sqq.





3. The Treaty with Savoy¹ involved a rearrangement of boundaries favourable to Savoy; and the Duke received the Island of Sicily with the title of King: he also reserved all his rights to the Spanish crown, if the Bourbons failed there (11 April, 1713).

4. The Treaty with Portugal² was a small matter, and referred only to her boundaries in South America (11 April, 1713).

5. The Treaty between France and Prussia³ was also comparatively slight: France recognised the royal title of the King of Prussia, and his rights over Neufchâtel; on the other hand Prussia ceded to France all her claims to the Principality of Orange: Upper Gelderland was handed over by France, in the name of Spain, to Prussia (11 April, 1713).

These were the French treaties of Utrecht: the Spanish followed a little later, and were—

(1) Spain with England⁴; whereby Spain ceded to England Gibraltar and Minorca; under an 'Assiento⁵,' or contract signed at Madrid (26 March, 1713), certain much-prized rights of slave-trading had been granted to the English; lastly Spain bound herself not to grant to France or any other power commercial liberty of trade with the Indies, and promised not to alienate any of her possessions (13 July, 1713).

(2) The Treaty between Spain and Savoy⁶ (13 August, 1713) in fact only carried out the cession of Sicily promised in the Treaty between France and Savoy; it also recited the other terms agreed on by France. The Treaty between Holland and Spain⁷ (signed 26 June, 1714) was also unimportant, and little but a repetition.

Later, the Peace of Rastadt, between Austria and France, compelled the Emperor to take the good things reserved for him by the English in their negotiations, advantages which, when they had previously been offered him, he had rejected with anger.

¹ Dumont, VIII. p. 362.

² Dumont, VIII. p. 356.

³ Dumont, VIII. p. 330.

⁴ Dumont, VIII. p. 427.

⁵ Dumont, VIII. p. 353.

⁶ Dumont, VIII. p. 393.

⁷ Dumont, VIII. p. 401.

⁸ Dumont, VIII. p. 415.

These were the Spanish Netherlands, after the settlement of the barrier-question; the confirmation of the Austrian position in Italy; Naples, Sardinia, the Milanese, and the Stati degli Presidii being guaranteed to her: the Emperor undertook to replace the two erring Electors of Bavaria and Cologne in their territories and rights, and to withdraw the ban of the Empire from them, on condition that France recognised the ninth Electorate, that of Hanover (6 March, 1714).

Lastly, the Empire acceded to such a 'status quo ante bellum' as was in all important points agreeable to the provisions of the Peace of Ryswick; that is, Freiburg in the Breisgau, Breisach, Kehl, and all places held by France on the right side of the Rhine, were given back to Germany; Alsace and, above all, Strasburg were kept by France. The stipulations of the Treaty of Ryswick, by which the Roman Catholic faith was re-established in all places in the King's dominions, even in Strasburg, were retained in full force¹. (Baden in Aargau, 7 September, 1714.)

If we may sum up these results in a few words, it comes to this:—the ancient grounds of quarrel were at last given up, and the older powers ceased to be predominant in Europe, while new states entered in, changing entirely the conditions of the balance. Thus Philip V was recognised by all Europe, as King in Spain and over the Indies, though the power of Spain was immensely reduced, and things came very nearly to that position which had been sketched out in the second Partition Treaty: on the other hand the wishes of England were gratified by the full recognition, not only of the Revolution itself, but of that Hanoverian succession which was its natural outcome.

England is the great gainer by the Peace: she steps into the arena as the chief power of Europe; full of vigour on every side, she begins to pass from her narrow insular limits to a world-wide empire: Gibraltar and Minorca, the great acquisitions in North America, the implied superiority involved in

¹ Dumont, VIII. p. 436.

the overthrow of Dunkirk,—these things are the beginnings of that astonishing development which makes the eighteenth century the most splendid period of English history.

Two kingdoms emerge, destined, with very different careers, to become great, and to be the centres round which nations will cluster and reconstruct themselves: these are Prussia and Savoy, the absolutely new elements in the balance of power. And in the far North the Russians are conscious of a new life, destined soon to make itself felt in Europe.

Holland is made secure and comfortable: her part in European politics becomes ever less prominent. The great losers, in fact, are the old antagonists, Austria, Spain, and France. Austria seems to gain in Italy: but her strength is really lessened, while North Germany passes entirely from under her power and influence: Spain loses most of her outlying possessions: that however would not have weakened her, had she retained any virtue and vigour at home.

For France it was a great withdrawal from her high position. She had suffered and bled almost to the death, and in the end had lost ground in Europe: her pretensions had not been allowed: her grand schemes had proved too much for her strength, she too was on the downward path: the absolute monarchy had had its glories, had done its natural work, and was on the rapid slope, which before the end of the century led it to a dishonoured grave.

A small war went on for a short time in Spain; for Barcelona, in the hands of the insurgent inhabitants, refused to recognise Philip V: Berwick, in the autumn of 1714, reduced the place after an obstinate resistance, and in the ruins of the city lay buried the last of the old Catalan liberties; it was the last sacrifice of freedom to the spirit of centralised monarchy.

Thus in 1713 and 1714 came peace, much longed-for and needed, to Europe: men criticised it, and were dissatisfied with it, especially in England, where the days of Tory rule were already numbered: it was thought that the treaties had permanently endangered the equilibrium of Europe, and that they must lead

to another war. On the contrary, the results justified those who made the peace; for it lasted for nearly a generation; Europe remained on the whole quite tranquil, until there arose in Prussia a new power, which found due expression in the reign of Frederick the Great: fresh wars in new quarters then heralded the incoming of another age of European politics.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LAST YEARS OF LOUIS XIV.

A.D. 1713-1715.

THE opening years of the eighteenth century had been a time of great suffering for France. She had been weak, impoverished, and backward at the end of the previous century; yet she must have been a smiling garden in comparison with the France of 1713. John Locke, travelling for his health, and in pursuit of the study of medicine attracted to Montpellier in 1675, 1676, traversed the whole of France, and has left us in his Diary some very graphic touches, which give us no little insight into the state of the country. After telling us that all the land seemed to be under tillage, he says that the 'rent of lands in France is fallen one half in these few years, by reason of the poverty of the people. Merchants and handicraftsmen pay [in taxes] near half their gains¹.' On the Loire he sees that the country is in a miserable state: in the wretched little towns through which he passes the houses are but one story high and very poor; and many of these in ruins: the cabins of the peasants in the country-districts are yet worse; there is no glass in the windows; they are mere clay-hovels. In the Grave district, a rich country, he talks with a field-labourer, and learns that out of his pittance of seven sous a day the taxgatherer takes three: that his food is 'rye-bread and water: flesh seldom seasons their pots;'—and this they reckon to be a flourishing

¹ Fox Bourne's Life of Locke, i. p. 350.

condition, for in many parts the case of the peasant is far worse¹.

In comparison with this testimony of an independent eye-witness we may set the account of France which we find under the trustworthy hand of Vauban, who travelled through some portion of France in order to get at a true view of the state of the country by personal inspection. It shows us how much a quarter of a century had done to increase the misery and ruin: a period which coincides with the time of the highest triumphs and splendour of the great Monarch's reign. He gives us a picture of the Vézelay district, as it stood in 1699; it should be remembered that it had a naturally poor and hungry soil, though otherwise it is well-placed in point of climate and position, being part of the rich vine-growing Duchy of Burgundy. 'Three-fourths of the people,' he says, 'lived on barley or oaten bread; and as for clothes, no one had a crown's worth on his back: hence followed emigration, beggary, death, and a very notable diminution of population: every seventh house was in ruins; one sixth of the arable land'—in Locke's days all had been cultivated—'was thrown out of tillage; the remainder is ill-farmed, and covered with straggling woods, hedges, briars, and bush².'

It was believed that there had been about fifteen millions of Frenchmen before the Succession War, and that this number had fallen to thirteen millions by 1707. The state of families is also remarkable. Vauban's tables give us in one large district an average of less than three persons to a house, and of only two children to each family: the thirty-five houses of one village could muster only forty-three sons and daughters: one labourer indeed, and he must have been a kind of phenomenon, had six children: two had three, a few had two, all the rest one or none. These miserably small families prove that even in prosperous times population must have increased very slowly;

¹ Life of Locke, i. p. 402.

² Vauban, *Dixme Royale*, pp. 162, 163, ed. 1707.

under the actual circumstances of France, a rapid diminution was taking place.

Vauban also draws a most melancholy picture of the state of these poor folk, a prey to disease, thanks to bad food and exposure to all weather¹. 'The high-roads of the country,' he says, 'and streets of towns and burghs, are full of beggars, whom famine and nakedness have driven forth².' It was said that even some of the King's valets mingled with the hungry crowd and begged their bread: when the Dauphin died in 1712, it was a pitiable thing to see his servants, who on their bended knees saluted the aged King with howls and cries; they declared that they were now doomed to perish of famine. 'One tenth of the whole population,' Vauban adds, 'were actual mendicants; five-tenths do not absolutely beg, but are on the very verge of starvation; three-tenths are ill at ease, embarrassed with debt and lawsuits; and even of the one remaining tenth,—the army, the bar and clergy, the high noblesse, the distinguished noblesse, the officials in bureaux, the good tradesmen and burghers having property,' perhaps a hundred thousand families in all,—not more than a tenth part are really quite in easy circumstances: and this pitiful few are chiefly taxgatherers, agents and their officials, dependents on the King's court, a few tradesmen, and a small number of other persons. What can be a gloomier picture than this of absolute destitution in all classes except the unproductive wasteful few? Vauban's reflexions led him to urge on the King the establishment of a Royal Tithe: of the concentration, in fact, of all taxation on the King himself, and the abolition of all existing partial taxes—the Taille, the Aide, the Douane from province to province, the Tenths of the Clergy, the extraordinary affairs, and all other onerous and involuntary taxes: this would involve the equal assessment of all society, and (as his title-page says) 'would bring in to the King a revenue, certain and sufficient, without cost, and without being a charge

¹ *Dixme Royale*, pp. 96, 97, 214.

² *Ibid.* pp. 3, 4.

to any one of his subjects more than any other¹. For Vauban saw that the two bleeding wounds of France were first the army of taxgatherers, and the mismanagement and confusion of their business, which ended in a terrible oppression of all honest workers; and secondly, the 'prodigious number of exempts,' the army of privileged persons who claimed exemption from the ordinary taxation of the realm². Yet how could Louis XIV take so great a step as this? The reign of Louis XIII had taken from the nobles all political power, and had left them their privileges; the withdrawal of their privileges might make them claim back their power. The wholesome belief that all are equal before the law, all equally bound to contribute to the state, was not compatible with a despotic monarchy: it continued to be a dogma of the philosopher, not a practical truth of the politician, till France had shaken off the worn-out vestments of her monarchy, and had erected a new Imperialism, built up on the equalisation of all society. The monarchy stood, as on a pedestal, on a hierarchy of nobles and privileged persons; the Empire gathered round it its own Court, composed of men raised by it, distinguished not by birth or hereditary privilege, but by merit or the Imperial favour.

Vauban's plan therefore was not tried, though about two years after the death of that great soldier and statesman, in 1709, the finance-minister Desmaretz ventured to borrow and apply it, in spite of the vehement resistance of the privileged orders, to the possessions of the clergy and the noblesse. It was this reasonable tax, which brought in forty-five millions of livres, that enabled Louis XIV to struggle through the last years of the Succession War and to conclude at last the Peace of Utrecht on far better terms than he had actually offered in 1709.

This tax, however much it may for the moment have relieved the heavy pressure on the industrious classes of society, could do nothing for the real prosperity of the country; for its proceeds were all absorbed by the expenses of the war. It was,

¹ Vauban, *Dixme Royale*, 1707, Title Page.

² *Ibid.* p. 3.

in fact, a great triumph for the principle of autocratic power; for it declared emphatically that all the property of France, in whose hands soever it might be, was really the King's, and that he had absolute right to tax it at his pleasure. The Duke of Burgundy saw the matter from this side, and was one of the most vehement opponents of this simple but significant impost¹. The misery went on as before: the taxgatherer and the privileged consumer steadily ate out the vitals of France: as one has seen in insects, the wings and brilliant exterior remained after the body was gone.

It was this general wretchedness which made the great winter of 1709 so terrible: the destruction of trees, vines, and growing crops, was caused by the fact that up to January the weather had been so warm that all was budding and bright as if spring had come; then followed sharp frost, lasting for some weeks, then a warm week came, succeeded in turn by a fresh burst of cold, as severe as before. Yet the cold, as Michelet shows², was by no means extreme, though severe for France: it was such a sharp winter as is often felt without the slightest harm in Germany, and even sometimes in England. The terrible thing was, as he adds, that 'France had been stripped to her shirt' before it began: Vauban's saying, 'that the peasant did not wear a crown's worth of clothing,' wins a dreadful significance: the countryman dressed, then as now, in a cotton blouse; but then, not as now, it was almost his only upper garment. The houses too were all tumbling down; no one had heart for repairs: the unglazed windows let in all the cold³: the cattle had all been eaten up, so that people had not even the resource⁴ of living among their beasts, and getting the solace of their warmth. So it came about that a severe winter was terribly fatal, numbers perishing of cold: the produce of the

¹ Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, v. 366.

² Michelet, *Histoire de France*, xiv. p. 307.

³ Arthur Young noticed, three quarters of a century later, in many places, that there was no glass in the windows.

⁴ Still practised in the Engadine and other high-lying parts of Switzerland.

earth was all frozen and killed; famine set in, with its inevitable accompaniment of disease; the government, as usual, either did not interfere, or interfered only to aggravate the evil, as when it forbade the sowing of spring-corn¹. The most ominous stories were abroad: Madame de Maintenon was accused, wrongly enough no doubt, of trafficking in grain, and of making a fortune out of the miseries of France: the King charged himself with the supervision and punishment of hoarders of corn;—and did nothing. 'Starved skeletons' clamoured round the gates of Versailles, and could hardly be kept out of the royal presence; the King turned a deaf ear to their misery, though he was unusually attentive to his religious duties. He had also a very robust appetite, and ate so much that his courtiers were sometimes quite alarmed.

The peasantry fell into a savage state; and finally attacked whatever came in their way. Madame de Maintenon herself had the misery of the people sharply brought home to her notice; for she was mobbed by the crowd when they saw her one day in her carriage. One does not know what effect so eloquent an appeal had on her smooth and placid nature; but there is no record of any serious attempt on her part to lessen the popular misery. The whole nation was starved, and became dreadfully thin: from this time onward for a century the caricaturist draws the Frenchman as a thin, tall, lantern-jawed creature: Europe became very familiar with the contrast between the walking skeleton of a Frenchman, and that gross overfed animal, John Bull.

We can hardly imagine anything worse than Fénelon's ghastly picture of France in 1693 or 1694², 'they die of famine: the culture of the land is almost abandoned; towns and country districts are being depopulated; all trades languish, and find no sustenance for the artisan; commerce is annihilated³'. Yet after 1709 it must have been still worse⁴.

¹ Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, iv. p. 332.

² In the famous anonymous letter addressed to Louis XIV, and undated.

³ Fénelon, *Œuvres*, iii. p. 427 (ed. 1845).

⁴ Saint-Simon, iv. 331 sqq.

There was no lack of edicts and ordinances¹; but mostly in the wrong direction: prohibitions to do this or that; spasmodic bounties to set manufactures, chiefly useless ones, afloat; doubled tolls on the roads, which finally extinguished the flickering commerce of the country; vexatious douane-taxes at city-gates or between province and province; ridiculous tariffs on bread-stuffs, which only aggravated the difficulties, without really reducing the price. Food-riots took place in many towns; even in some garrisons the troops revolted, and had to be brought back to their duty by presents of money.

To complete the significant and fearful picture of the desolation of France, one touch yet remains: out of the hill-country of Auvergne, the wolves came down in troops on the plainlands about Orleans; in 1712 their ravages were so alarming that Louis sent his hunting-equipage thither, and was obliged to authorise the people of the districts 'to take arms in their own defence, and to make a quantity of great battues²'.

It hardly need be said that the finance of the country had also fallen into hopeless disorder. All Colbert's great institutions and efforts had ceased to work. Society was overwhelmed with debt, from the government downwards: and the interest of the old debts, if paid at all, was only paid by means of fresh loans: expedients dating from the worst times of the feudal monarchy were tried again: the value of money was tampered with, to the utter paralysis and ruin of any commerce that remained. The miserable makeshift of 'promissory-notes' instead of payment, was attempted: all possible sources of revenue were pledged or anticipated for years: the receipts of 1712 were in large part payments in advance for the year 1717. There was no credit, no revenue, no circulating medium, no freedom of commerce: these years were a time of state-bankruptcy and ruin. In the midst of it all Louis would not abate his large expenditure: the charges for the Court remained untouched, even if the army was left unpaid: to reduce the

¹ *Anciennes Lois de France*, tom. xx. pp. 453-648.

² Saint-Simon, vi. p. 317.

Court would be a 'kind of sacrilege against the monarchy¹;' even the little Court of S. Germain must be fully kept up.

To such shame and misery at home had the long and exhausting glories of the great King led his country: the extravagance of his Court, his reckless waste in buildings, his all-devouring wars, the ignorance and blundering of his administration, had all joined in bringing France to this: the State was like a ship which lies slowly settling down, motionless and doomed, before she makes the fatal plunge, and disappears for ever.

The Treaties of Rastadt and Baden were not signed too soon, if France was to have peace and rest: for the revolution in England which the Germans had been daily expecting, took place in the autumn of 1714²: the intrigues which aimed at the restoration of the Stuarts failed signally; the country had no wish for a Jacobite and Catholic sovereign, and both Whigs and Anglican Tories accepted the Protestant Succession. This Succession now placed on the English throne a German prince, who had fought on the side of the allies against Louis XIV, and was known to be friendly with the Whigs: their heads were lifted up again. Moreover the old suspicions against the ill-faith of Louis had sprung up again, and not without ground. The Pretender was still in France; the stipulations as to Dunkirk were not fulfilled; and Louis was busily engaged on a new harbour for his cruisers hard by at Mardyck: the Dutch and the Empire had not yet agreed as to the barrier; things looked ominous on the Continent; the English believed themselves disgraced by the Peace of Utrecht, and thought that Louis meant to make sudden war on them, and to try to place the Pretender on the throne. Nor were these fears altogether without foundation: though the utter exhaustion of France was perhaps a sufficient guarantee for peace.

The two years between the Peace of Utrecht and the end of the reign of Louis XIV were very dark and desolate. After

¹ Martin, *Histoire de France*, xiv. p. 595.

² The Treaty of Baden was signed 7 Sept. 1714.

the death of the bright but somewhat silly and flighty Duchess of Burgundy, gloom settled down permanently on the Court, and even Madame de Maintenon could hardly endure the dull monotony of her dreary duties at Versailles. She, utterly weary of the King, and he unchangingly faithful and attached to her; she complaining of her hard lot, he still lavishing tokens of affection on her—this is one of the saddest pictures of the sad time.

There are few incidents worthy of record in these last years: beside the change of dynasty in England, which affected the relations of the two countries, there are only the persecution of the Jansenists, and that attempted revolution in favour of the Duke of Maine and the Count of Toulouse, to which the King was persuaded by the influence of Madame de Maintenon and his Jesuit confessor, Father Le Tellier.

This attempt to continue into the next reign the dominant principles of the past, by the exclusion of the Duke of Orleans from all power, was another branch of the same Court-intrigue which had much to do with the overthrow of the Port Royalists: and this, again, was an outcome of the influence of Le Tellier, who had in reality been nominated by Fénelon to the post of the King's Confessor. So that in a way these dark acts of the King's last years can be traced back to that saintly prelate the Archbishop of Cambrai.

The old good-will towards the Jansenists (as their foes called them; they objected to the name) still survived in France, though the stress of public affairs kept it out of sight. In Church matters men were divided into a Gallican, or quasi-Jansenist, party and a Jesuit party: the great bulk of the clergy, notably the bishops, were friendly to the former, as were also the lawyers: they were regarded as the true supporters of the Gallican Liberties. On the other side, the King, the Court, and the Ministers were decidedly with the Jesuits, and formed the dominant party in the administration. The Jansenists, to their Augustinian tenets and high views as to the grace of God, joined a dislike for the omnipotence of the King, and the

dogma of Papal infallibility: the Jesuits joined to their Molinist opinions as to free-will, which came nearer to the ordinary temper of mankind, and gave them a firm basis for their casuistry and management of consciences, a profound respect for the King's arbitrary power, and for the Pope's infallibility.

The Jansenist party was in fact approved of or acquiesced in by a very influential section of French society: Pontchartrain, Chancellor in 1699, and the more famous Henri d'Aguesseau, the Procurator-General, were both of them friendly to that party: it seemed to them to have in it the germ of an independent Gallican Church, for the liberties of which the legal profession in France had ever been very jealous. It was, in fact, one side of the opposition to the government of Louis XIV; vaguely and under-ground its criticisms on the royal life, the royal policy, the wars, the state of France, were a constant protest against that implicit obedience, that unreasoning unity, which was of the essence of the absolute monarchy.

It was the glory of Louis XIV that his life was coherent: that his fixed ideas impelled him ever in the same direction; and this direction involved an instinctive hostility to the Jansenists. It is not therefore astonishing that he filled up the short and tranquil remainder of his days not with attempts to solace the distress of his people, but with one more vigorous onslaught on opinions he disliked. His last public acts were acts of destruction; of destruction aimed at Gallicanism, and at the principle of pure hereditary succession.

There was one spot in France where the struggle which had been quietly going on throughout late years had not come to an end by the implicit subjection of the opponents of Jesuit predominance. The ladies of Port Royal aux Champs, those gentle nuns, who carried on the traditions of the place, with its high literary memories of Pascal and Racine and many an other name of note in the world of letters, were still felt to be a power opposed to the dominant views of King and confessor: it was with a feeling of special gratification that they forced the Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal Noailles,—who, without being

himself a Jansenist, had sheltered them,—to be the instrument of the overthrow of the famous nunnery in 1709, 1710. Le Tellier told the King he could never be at rest 'while that house so famous for its rebellions' still stood. Then the ladies were ejected by the lieutenant of police, and scattered about in different convents; the buildings were pulled down, the cemetery ruined, the whole place turned into arable land. The violent and reckless destruction of Port Royal is one of the worst blots on the King's reign.

But this was not enough: Madame de Maintenon persuaded herself that the opposition was aiming at the overthrow of all she held dear: she and Le Tellier urged the King on to a more general persecution of Jansenism: Quesnel's harmless book of his 'Moral Reflexions on the New Testament,' which Cardinal Noailles, whose influence and position as Archbishop of Paris were very great, had protected at first, was found to provide a suitable pretext for action: Pope Clement XI was led, though not without much pressure, to issue his 'Constitution' or Bull, the famous 'Unigenitus,' against the book. It was a declaration of war from the Papacy: the doctrines and positions condemned seemed to most men quite reasonable and pious; a considerable ferment sprang up in France: the Parliament of Paris modified the document before they would enregister it: Noailles with eight bishops refused to accept it, or to publish it in their dioceses. Those who adopted the document, or supported it in any way, by their writings or by publishing it in their dioceses, got the nickname of 'the Constitutionists': unfortunately this was the only constitution that monarchical France could boast.

A general attack was made by the government and the Jesuits on all who refused to acknowledge the Bull: the persecution went on 'in the dark'; for the dominant party were too clever to make open martyrs: innumerable 'lettres de cachet,' warrants of arbitrary arrest, were issued; priests, magistrates, nobles, leading men of the opposition, were seized and shut up: it is said that thirty thousand persons suffered. The Jesuits wished to coerce the Parliament and even to make short

work with Cardinal Noailles; but the King hesitated, and they had to content themselves with harassing the Prelate. He owed his safety to the warm friendship of Madame de Maintenon, who, pitiless for others, never forgot or abandoned her friends; and the Cardinal's nephew had married her niece.

The 'obscure and ignoble malignity'¹ of persecution was felt to be a distinct sign of the decadence of the absolute monarchy. To persecute by intrigue, to strike in the dark, to stifle the least germs of independence, seemed worthier of the East or of the later days of Rome than of the reign of a great and splendid monarch, who if he must destroy ought at least to destroy in the light.

The popular disfavour, based on the misery of the country, and aggravated by this wretched persecution, was swelled by the one remaining act of the King's life. In July 1714 Louis issued an edict giving to his two natural sons, the Duke of Maine, and the Count of Toulouse², the honours and position of Princes of the Blood; it also declared them heirs to the throne in case the direct line failed. It was a scandal in the eyes of all France; the disorders of the King's earlier days, which surely ought now to have been decently put out of sight, were thus paraded openly before all. France, the land of hereditary right and direct succession, was offended and insulted in the tenderest point: indulgent as to the sins of the monarch, she resented the attack on her customs: it seemed as if the King, through his dislike for the Duke of Orleans, was determined to treat the Crown of France as his private property.

Soon after this, at the urgent instance and almost coercion of Le Tellier and Madame de Maintenon,—who since the death of the Duchess of Burgundy had made the unworthy Duke of Maine her friend, and hoped by his means to prevail against Orleans,—the King made a last will, to regulate the regency of his great-grandson Louis, the heir to the throne. The Duke of Maine, an intriguer, clever, weak, and false, had

¹ La Vallée, *Histoire des Français*, iii. p. 426.

² Sons of Louis and Madame de Montespan.

risen, step by step, nearer to the throne, as one after another of the legitimate offspring and descendants of Louis XIV had perished in these sad years: the King drew nearer to him, and he fanned his resentment against the Duke of Orleans, setting the King's mind against him;—no hard task;—as a man of scandalously loose opinions and even looser life.

This last will and testament, extorted from the King's¹ failing strength by sheer persistence, arranged that Fleury, Bishop of Fréjus, should be the child's preceptor; Le Tellier, his confessor; the Duke of Maine, his guardian; and Villeroi, his governor; the Duke of Orleans, who could not be altogether passed over, was named Head of the Council of Regency, a post without any real power. All the authority, had the will been carried out, would have rested with the Jesuit-party, with Maine and his ally Le Tellier. The King scarcely believed that his will would be observed: he had not forgotten the story of his father's last testament.

There now remained nothing for Louis to do, save to bid farewell to the scene on which for so many years he had been the chief actor. When one remembers that he was born in 1638, and had come to the throne in 1643; that his reign covers a large tract of European history, in which he ever played a striking part; when one surveys the state of France herself at the time of his death;—two opposite currents of feeling occupy the mind: we feel that after all he was a great monarch, though a very bad King; and also a man of petty soul beneath an imposing exterior.

In the last scene of his life he retained the dignity of his demeanour; and his death brought out the nobler elements of his nature. He showed little consciousness of the terrible burden his life had been to France, or of the miseries of his people. The most striking sayings attributed to him at this time were his remark when he saw his domestics in tears,

¹ Martin, *Histoire de France*, xiv. 611, 612: 'J'ai fait un testament; on a voulu absolument que je le fisse; il a fallu acheter mon repos.'

'Why weep? did you think me immortal?' and his little speech to his great-grandson, which was afterwards painted at that monarch's bed-head, whence Voltaire himself copied the words exactly². 'You are soon to be King of a great realm. What I commend most earnestly to you is never to forget the obligations you owe to God; remember that you owe all you are to Him. Try to keep peace with your neighbours: I have been too fond of war; do not imitate me in that, nor in my too great expenditure.' He commends to the child moderation, and the duty of solacing his people; a phrase which re-echoes the dying words of that great and terrible monarch Louis XI. When in one of his last interviews with Madame de Maintenon he said, with wistful fondness, that their parting would not be for long,—that they should soon meet again in heaven,—she took the affectionate and pious wish much amiss, and did not at all like to be reminded of her age: yet she was older than Louis by about three years; for she was born in 1635, and was now just eighty years old. Her letters show that she was utterly weary of him, and certainly felt no eagerness to hasten the time of their reunion in another world. Soon after this, in her impatience to be free from what was a burden almost too hard to bear, she forgot her duties as a wife, and withdrew to S. Cyr, instead of smoothing her husband's dying pillow. It is true that Louis was almost senseless, and that S. Cyr was not very far off; still, as actually was the case, he might recover consciousness at any moment, and look in vain for her whom he loved to the last. To pray at S. Cyr in comfort seemed to her better than to watch by the aged partner of her life: and so, when the King feebly awoke and called for her, longing greatly to see her once more, she returned reluctantly from S. Cyr, and was with him for a little while: as soon as she could, she slipped away

¹ Massillon, *Oraison funèbre de Louis le Grand*, Œuvres, xii. p. 231.

² *Siccle de Louis XIV.*, p. 371 (ed. Louandre); also quoted by Massillon, *ib.* p. 234, but with the chief points omitted, as became a courtly preacher.

again, and left him to die alone. If S. Simon may be trusted, those who ought to have been nearest him left him at this time: even his confessor, Le Tellier, neglected him: the Duke of Maine, for whom he had done so much, showed no sorrow, and came very little to the bedside. The King bade farewell to the Duke of Orleans in words which carried in them at least the germ of untruth: for he told him that he had left affairs in such a way as would be quite satisfactory to him. It was a courteous and pleasant manner of parting with a kinsman whom he had never liked: and perhaps the King thought that the position of Head of the Council of Regency was really all the power that the Duke was entitled to have. At the end, Louis took his leave of this world with a solemn dignity which was worthy of the manner of his life. The warmth and assurance of his religious feelings; his want of consciousness of the short-comings of his reign; the constant urbanity and dignity of his bearing; all contributed to make his exit from life remarkable and even grand. In the presence of the great power which levels all Louis seemed to abate naught of his high bearing: the egotism and selfishness of those around his dying bed, the neglect of those who should have been there and were absent, in no degree shook his firmness or called forth either passionate remonstrance, or the anger of a powerless despot. He died as he had lived, a splendid and dignified monarch. On the 1st of September, 1715, he left the crown of France to his little great-grandson Louis, then but five years old: a being whose reign for fifty long years was a satire on those last words of the dying monarch which night and morning he had before his eyes.

Neglect and selfishness around the death-bed;—and outside, who wept? The whole of France, which had waited long for this moment, burst out into cries of joy. Grand as the reign may have been, all grandeur is heavy for those who have to bear it; and the death of Louis XIV seemed to take the terrible burden off the shoulders of fainting France.

In the half-delirious joy of the country, and in the shameless orgies which followed, we see forecasts of the excitement and excesses which at another death-time of the monarchy will accompany Louis XVI to the scaffold.

The absolute monarchy had passed its zenith: even long before the death of Louis XIV it had been gradually going downwards; and the universal gladness which greeted the tidings of the King's decease may be taken as a measure of the heavy price paid by France for his wars, his glories and splendour. Yet that price was but the earnest-money of payments still to come: throughout the century we shall trace, in the steady descent of the country and the crown, the heavy penalty paid by a generous and powerful nation for the error it committed when it gave itself over, bound hand and foot, to Absolutism. For the sake of central uniformity, it stifled all freedom of life and thought, contented itself with the factitious glories of reckless royalty, permitted the monarchy to swallow up the free institutions, the commerce, industry, literature, of the land; in a word, it flung away all those precious things which are the true sum of a nation's wealth. When all Europe was ringing with cries of fresh life, sometimes extravagant, sometimes sentimental, always humane and ambitious of human good, France awoke to find herself falling behind in the race of European national life. Her waking came with great throes and efforts: her institutions, some disused and forgotten, others decrepit and tottering, proved unequal to the strain; and France, after sweeping away the whole of the venerable ruins that encumbered the land, found herself face to face with the gigantic task of the construction of a new society from its very foundations. It was a state of society in which logical conclusions and the reign of sentiment prevailed over ancient custom and absurd privilege: a movement which enlists many sympathies, and which, in spite of all that disfigured its career, was a lesson and a benefit to Europe. It was also one which, thanks partly to its own oscillation, but still more to the pressure of

opposition from the surrounding monarchies, lost confidence and faith in its own stability and power of ruling, and passed at last with a sigh of relief into the strong hands of a great military despot.

BOOK V.

THE DECADENCE OF THE MONARCHY.

A. D. 1715—1793.

INTRODUCTION.

'DIEU seul est grand, mes frères.' With these words, so simple, yet so loud-ringing, so full of contrast and significance, the famous orator Massillon, the chosen mouthpiece of the French pulpit, began his great funeral sermon on the death of Louis XIV in the Sainte Chapelle at Paris¹. 'This King, the terror of his neighbours, the amazement of the universe, the father of kings; this King, greater than his great ancestors, more magnificent than Solomon in all his glory, has also learnt that all is vanity².' The great contrast, however, between royal splendour and omnipotence one day, and the dust and ashes of the next, is the obvious property of every ethical orator of every age: the ideas underlying Massillon's opening words, which give them the startling sound of a trumpet-call in the night, win a clearer significance if we regard them, as we fairly may, as a first expression of that craving for equality and brotherhood which marks the eighteenth century. They announce the essential equality of all men, where God alone is great, and the fraternity of all under His fatherly care, a truth too much lost sight of in the pride and privilege of the reign now past. Yet religion speaks of the equality of all, while she seems

¹ Massillon, *Œuvres*, xii. 187 (ed. 1770).

² *Ibid.* p. 188.

to belie herself at every step. Her view is that in the presence of the eternal, the finite is as nothing: and that compared with the Almighty we are so immeasurably small that all human rank shrinks into nothingness. In the eighteenth century a new rendering of these terms seized on the popular imagination: and the Church of France, which had, at the beginning, helped to proclaim it, was in the end powerless to find any solution of the wants, any answer to the demands, of the people; and she also for the time fell prostrate before the storm.

At first, however, the reaction which followed the death of Louis XIV had in it no element of popular life: it is true that the Regent was 'strong-minded' and had embraced opinions far from the decorous and accredited faiths of the late reign: but these things do not appear on the surface. The changes, wide-reaching and deep as they were, halt ere they reach that 'lower stratum,' as men chose to call it, which was, in fact, the French nation: ideas, aspirations, discontents, a mighty popular force, were left neglected and unheard; and once more the oscillations move from monarchy to aristocracy, and back again. The solid foundations of constitutional life, in the hearts of a people sharing in power, interested in public affairs, responsible for the direction of opinion, had never been laid in France. As the monarchy and the nobles steadily lose strength and credit; and as new ideas with menacing rapidity spring up beside them, and other forces gather power, we discern the coming on of an inevitable struggle; for the different elements of national life are neither happily welded into one, nor coerced into enforced tranquillity by the predominance of an all-powerful monarchy.

Yet the reaction seemed to cover almost all the branches of national life. In her foreign politics France at once broke with all the dearest traditions of the late reign: the whole efforts of Dubois were directed towards an 'entente cordiale' with England and Holland: the Jacobites dropped into the shade or disappeared; the government of King George had no reason to fear a renewal of the attempt of 1715. Instead of being the

humble henchman of her great neighbour, protector, and master, Spain at once aspired to independence, and under Alberoni's guidance even sought to impose her monarch upon France: the French Court ceased to be jealous of the Papacy, and refused to carry on that singular policy which had marked the latter years of Louis XIV, a policy which, while it repressed freedom of thought at home, resisted any increase of Papal authority over France. In home affairs the Regency was even more distinctly opposed to the past: it was proposed to break up the unity of administration under the sole eye of the monarch, and to substitute in its stead a system of Boards, presided over by and composed of great nobles, who hereby hoped to recover their influence in the State: the attempt to turn all France into governments like those of the Pays d'Etats was a step in the same direction: the 'holy maxim,' as it was styled, that 'all government must be for the good of the people,' was once more proclaimed, in opposition not to 'government by the people,' but to the centralised selfishness of the late reign. The overthrow of the baseborn Princes, the presence of a Cardinal in the Council, the restoration of the older system of government by a first minister,—all these things showed how far men had departed from the principles by which the reign of Louis XIV, from end to end, had been guided.

In social matters also, as well as political, the change was very great. The strict and solemn Court was gone; the pent-up impatience of a corrupt society broke loose at once: the change from the stiff etiquette of Louis XIV to the easy abandon of the Regent, was as great as that from the devout propriety of Madame de Maintenon to the orgies of the Palais Royal.

And lastly the ecclesiastical world also suffered change. Cardinal Noailles came forth from the obscurity to which the Constitutionalists had doomed him; the Jansenists lifted up their heads again; Le Tellier was exiled from Court; the Jesuits suffered eclipse.

Thus all the elements of society and opinion which had been sternly repressed found themselves free and popular: we natu-

rally expect considerable results to flow from this new condition of affairs. Yet, except in finance, the permanent effects were not great: the long and steady course of the late government had told on the vitality of the opposition. When a great stone is moved away from the spot on which it has been lying, the blanched plants that were under it again lift up their heads: still, their growth is weakly and pale; the sweet and tender grasses had in them less power of endurance than the rank weeds, which boldly spring up above the turf, and mark the spot where the crushing weight had long forbidden wholesome growth.

CHAPTER I.

THE REGENCY: PHILIP OF ORLEANS, DUBOIS, AND LAW. A.D. 1715-1723.

HAD the Duke of Burgundy survived his grandfather, is it clear that his anxious meditations on the welfare of France, on the errors of the late government, on the policy to be pursued at home and abroad, would have borne fruit in a regeneration of society, a golden age, in which a happy country should be governed by a wise and virtuous prince? The century saw more than one attempt to give life to the more humane and large ideas which with striking uniformity seemed to find welcome in the breasts of all European kings, excepting those of England. These attempts to give fresh life to society from above were not happy. Russia, Austria, Portugal, the Papal See itself, tried what could be achieved by 'enlightened despotism'; the essays all failed, and to the outer eye seemed to lead only to a tighter riveting of the chains of autocratic power on the struggling limbs of Europe. The direction along which Pombal and Joseph II and Pope Clement XIV tried to draw society was that in which the modern world has since endeavoured to move; but till the French Revolution had changed many of the conditions of the political world, the efforts for the most part proved abortive. So many of these enlightened princes were slaves to their own passions, that the experiment had no fair chance; still more, the reforms they projected were theoretic rather than practical; they failed to interest the main body of society, while they angered and alienated the old possessors of power.

This too would have befallen the Duke of Burgundy: the

parties at Court, the ambitions of the old noblesse, the interested opposition of those clerical bodies, the clergy and the lawyers, the profound indifference, perhaps even the dislike of the bourgeoisie, and the dangerous passions of a wretched peasantry, would all, ere long, have endangered the projects of reform: nor was the Duke himself, noble and pure and clever as he was, a man of sufficiently commanding soul to have succeeded in ruling as a beneficent despot, in spite of angry resistance or dull inertia.

Death, however, spared him the heroic and doubtful labours, fit for more Herculean shoulders than his; and his views and plans became the heritage of a far inferior man, his cousin Philip, Duke of Orleans. Not Fénelon but Dubois stood at his right hand.

The death of Louis XIV left France to the guidance of one of two opposite parties. If the King's will was observed, the legitimatised princes and the party of the Jesuits, headed by the Duke of Maine, were destined to act, through a long minority, on the principles which had guided the government of the late King: on the other hand stood the Duke of Orleans, the King's nephew, and next heir to the throne if little Louis XV were to die; he was supported by the bulk of the noblesse, chafing under their long exclusion from power, and insulted by the prominence given to the illegitimate offspring of Louis XIV. It was bad enough to have bowed the neck so long and low while he lived; should they be compelled to do so yet before his dead hand? With Philip of Orleans were the lawyers, a large portion of the clergy, the general favour of the people.

Two days after the King's death, the Parliament held a solemn session to hear the reading of the late King's will and its codicil. The Princes of the Blood were there, the Peers of France, the Presidents and Councillors of the three Chambers¹, and the members of the Parliament of Paris. When this ceremony had been performed, the Duke of Orleans rose, and after

¹ The Grand Chambre, Enquête, and Requête.

the needful courtesy of a few words of regret for the late monarch, went on to say that he highly approved of all that they had heard as to the education of the young King, and as to the arrangements for Madame de Maintenon and for S. Cyr. This said, he came to close quarters; he could not reconcile what had now been read to them with the solemn words which Louis had addressed to himself just before his death; the King could scarcely have understood the force of what in his last moments he had been compelled to do; in birth, attachment to the late King, love for and loyalty to the state, he deemed himself the right person to fulfil the duties of Regent, and should consider it a grave blow to his honour were he passed over; and lastly, he hoped all present would agree in entrusting that office to him, together with the nomination of the Council of Regency.

After this a discussion, long enough, ensued: the general will, however, soon made itself quite clear; and by a kind of popular 'coup de main,' the King's will was set aside, and Orleans was declared Regent, with full power to appoint the Council. The world outside gladly ratified the judgment of the assembly, and the party of the Duke of Maine shrank at once into complete insignificance.

The Duke of Orleans who thus grasped the reins of power, was yet in the prime of life¹; he was perhaps the most conspicuous example of that combination of high intelligence, a wavering will, and an idle and degraded moral nature, of which we have so many marked illustrations in French history. His might have been a splendid career, had he been virtuous. There was so much that was noble about him, so much that was winning; he was in all ways so well-placed to carry out the Duke of Burgundy's plans for the welfare of France, that we mourn over him as over one of the greatest wrecks of life. He might have been the ever-honoured hero of the political regeneration of his country; he chose instead to leave behind him only the ill-odoured dregs of mad debaucheries.

¹ Born in 1674.

For Philip of Orleans was a man of unusual intelligence; intelligence both wide-grasping and sound. All pretty things in art and life were dear to him: he was a finished musician, and even composed an opera: he had that natural discernment of things beautiful which, under due restraint, makes the brightest culture and happiness of life. For science, philosophical or natural, he had both taste and insight: in speculation he was daring, and perhaps more bold than sound; Leibnitz was his teacher here: he set up a laboratory in the Palais Royal, and was a pupil of the great Hoffmann. To political discussions he brought a keen mind, free from trammels of prejudice and custom; he was an eloquent speaker, able to expound clearly the ideas which welled up abundantly in him. So far as his uncle's jealousy permitted, he had proved himself a ready and capable soldier, eager to emulate the splendours of the military career of his great-grandfather Henry IV. Such a nature is capable of the highest enjoyments that this life can provide; the pleasures of imagination, of taste, of enquiry, of pure intellectual speculation, were all his to take, if he would. Yet of all these he would take none to his heart, but chose instead the pleasures of sense, that shameless courtesan; and in the orgies of Apician banquets, in surfeiting, drunkenness, revellings, and such like, he drowned the better portion of himself.

Such as he was, the Duke of Orleans, with Dubois at his elbow, set himself to the task of governing France. His weakness lay in his indolence and distaste for work, and in his easy temper, which enabled the unworthy creatures round him to sway him as they would. On the other side, he had two powerful supporters;—the ghost, if we may so say, of the virtuous and earnest Duke of Burgundy, whose plans and papers became the guiding-line of the new administration¹; and secondly, the real ability and fidelity of Dubois. This adventurous churchman has not had justice done him. We must abandon all attempt to defend his moral character: he was debauched, avaricious, extravagant also, and intensely ambitious; his ideas

¹ Saint-Simon, viii. p. 207.

as to the difference between truth and the lie seem never to have cleared themselves;—‘he exhaled falsehood from every pore.’ All this must be allowed, and allowed without much set-off, though we might urge that we know most evil about him from the malicious pen of his bitter foe Saint-Simon, who hated him as only an intensely proud noble could hate a low-born adventurer and a churchman in power¹. A poor and clever student, son of a small apothecary, he tended the chambers of the Principal of the College in which he lived²: then he was tutor in gentlefolk’s houses; always supple, willing, ready, trustworthy; then engaged to educate the young Prince, who was afterwards to be Regent;—in all he displayed excellent intelligence and good business-qualities. His grand career began in 1715, when we are told he had entered on cordial relations with England even before the death of Louis XIV: Saint-Simon says he had accepted Lord Stair’s promise of help for his master, if he found any difficulty in wresting the Regency from the timid hands of the Duke of Maine. His scheme of foreign politics was based on the known antipathy between the Duke of Orleans and Philip V of Spain. That monarch, inheriting much of his grandfather’s character, disliked the Duke for his ungodly opinions, his free and easy manners, his opposition to the Spanish-Jesuit party; above all, he seems to have actually believed that the Regent had poisoned the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy. Dubois saw that no friendship could exist between these princes, and looked out for other allies: the new Government in England seemed to him just what he wanted. Friendship with the Whigs and George I therefore formed the base of his policy; he is said to have enjoyed a large pension from England³. Philip of Orleans willingly went with him in a kind of Anglomania, professing loud admiration for the land ‘which sent no one into exile, and had no “lettres de cachet.”’

¹ If any one would read a pretty bit of invective, they should turn to Saint-Simon’s character of Dubois, *Mémoires* xiii pp. 48. sqq.

² Which gives Saint Simon a chance, not missed, of calling him a valet.

³ £40,000 a year.

With these guiding-lines,—the principles of the Duke of Burgundy at home, and the views of Dubois as to foreign policy,—the Regent set himself to recast the government, and to rearrange the relations, of his country.

The late King’s will had nominated the Duke of Orleans President of a Council of Regency, composed of the Duke of Maine, the Count of Toulouse, the ministers, the heads of the bureaux, and five Marshals of France. All matters of business, all promotions, were to be decided by this body. The Duke would have had no initiative and no real power; for the Council would have been entirely in the hands of the friends of Madame de Maintenon; it was a machine so constructed as to secure the continuance of the policy and principles which had crushed France for the last forty years. Not only was a Council of Regency thus nominated; but the private charge of the little King was also to be entrusted to the same party, and indeed to the most vigorous among them: the Duke of Maine should have the tutelage, guardianship, education of the child in his hands; and to aid him, Villeroy, stoutest of the supporters of the Jesuit-party, was named the King’s governor, and Fleury, the Bishop of Fréjus, most virtuous and narrow of prelates, his preceptor. Louis XIV himself had never been deceived into thinking that such an arrangement had any chance of standing; he knew that as the reaction after the death of his father had set aside the testament then made, so probably the party opposed to the ‘dominance of the royal bastards’ would never now allow those contemptible personages,—contemptible by reason of character as much as birth,—to hold the reins of power.

All this was swept away almost before it saw the light. Philip of Orleans at once appointed his Regency-Council; he named the Duke of Bourbon¹, representative of the legitimate Princes of the Blood, as its President: then he placed on it the two legitimatised Princes, the Duke of Maine and the Count of Toulouse, and the ministers of the late King. The

¹ Louis Henry, Prince of Condé, was grandson of the great Condé, and afterwards first minister, 1723–1726.

true power was clearly not to reside in the Council. Then began a great reconstruction of the machinery of Government. Under the late reign, as we have seen, the King had aimed at keeping all administration in subjection to himself. The system was one of seven departments or bureaux; four old ones from previous reigns, and three new ones added in his time. The old ones were Justice, War, Finance, and the Royal Household, each with its 'chief-clerk' rather than minister; for the King aimed at fulfilling all the ministerial duties himself. The three new departments were Foreign Affairs, the Navy, the Colonies. It is significant of the state of the relations between the governor and the governed at this time that there was no Home Office, no 'Ministry of the Interior.' Things pertaining to this all-important branch of good government were divided between the Finance and the Household Departments; no wonder that between them the welfare of the French people received scanty attention. As usual it was,—we have seen it again and again in French history,—the Court and its extravagant pleasures first, then the war-power, then the people last of all, regarded as important only as being, not the objects for which governments exist, but the patient and all-bearing beast of burden which brought in supplies to the master.

Out of sight, under all and above all, had worked Louis XIV, laborious, and dull, swayed by his mistress, then by his minister, then by his wife. He always thought that he himself judged and ruled, believing innocently that all appointments were his own simple choice, while, as a fact, there was a well-understood system of 'forcing the card' on him, which rarely, if ever, failed to make him name the person whom Madame de Maintenon, or whoever was in power, might wish to see appointed. There was no independent action in all the state; not even were the grants of provincial Estates or of the clergy free; the Parliaments were humbly subservient, the States-General never convoked.

It was this system of organised deception that the Duke of Orleans proposed to reform by shifting the management

from the monarch to the noblesse. Following the lines laid down by the Duke of Burgundy¹, he now appointed six Councils (beside that of the Regency), each composed of ten men, chiefly persons chosen out of the old noblesse: the 'robe and pen,' law and literature, were to be kept down; the great feudal Houses should once more govern France. These six Councils occupied the ground taken by the old ministries, to a great extent. There was a Council of Finance, one of Foreign Affairs, one of War, one of the Navy; none specially for Justice, or for the Royal Household, or for the Colonies: instead, there was a Council of Conscience, which regulated all church-matters, and one of Home Affairs or of 'Despatches,' as it was styled, which was, in intention at least, a great improvement on the old system of leaving the internal welfare of the state to chance. Cardinal Noailles was named chief of the Council of Conscience,—a nomination which was in itself a revolution; for Noailles was known to be opposed to the domination of the Jesuits and 'Constitutionists'; and as theological unity had been the backbone of the system of Louis XIV, any relaxation in that direction was eminently significant. The partisans of the 'Constitution Unigenitus' were furious.

France, however, demanded more vigorous remedies than a system of somewhat feeble Councils could possibly give her. It may be true, as Saint-Simon avers, that the idleness of the Regent, who lived from hand to mouth, and the ambition of the Duke of Noailles, who wished the Councils to fail, even as Sully had laughed at a similar attempt under Henry IV, tended to render the whole system a failure. The reason of that failure, however, lay deeper down; it lay in the impossibility of securing vigorous reform and good prompt

¹ Saint-Simon claims for himself (viii. p. 214, 215) the honour of having first suggested this scheme of government. It is not improbable; so vehement a partisan of the noblesse might well have been pleased with imagining some such a scheme. He says the Duke of Orleans did not follow it out: 'Il n'en prit que le plus faible écorce.'

government out of a number of Boards composed in large part of noblemen untrained to anything like public business. Government by Boards is never a very satisfactory way of facing the difficulties of administration; even in quiet times and with well-ordered bodies, their action is slow, hesitating, lacking in bold initiative, feeble in execution: in such a state as France in 1715, and with Boards composed as these Councils were, there was nothing possible except failure: no besom could have been made so incapable of sweeping away abuses.

In other matters, the action of the Regent at the outset was humane and beneficent. The Jansenists, taking courage from the elevation of Cardinal Noailles, flocked back to Paris; there was talk of the convocation of a general Council, and of the independence of the Gallican Church. It was among the consequences of these halcyon dreams that Archbishop Wake was tempted, a little later, to enquire whether any basis could be found for the union of the two national Churches of France and England, in joint resistance to the ecclesiastical authority of Rome. The English Church, whether it would or not, was at the time penetrated with ideas of constitutional life; her bishops took prominent part in political affairs, and were accustomed to regard the established Church as an integral member of the state of England. On the other hand, the Gallican Church, attached as it might be to its 'liberties,' was wont neither to stand up boldly in the presence of her King nor to behave with independence towards the Papacy. Her share in the States-General, though more splendid in theory, had nothing of the practical importance enjoyed by the Anglican Bishops seated in Parliament.

The literary world revived; the Regent ordered Fénelon's *Télémaque* to be published at last; Voltaire's earliest efforts date from the Regency¹; the Press teemed with attacks on the 'Constitution.' The Parliament recovered its rights of registra-

¹ Voltaire born in 1694, had been brought up by the Jesuits, and gave early signs of singular brilliancy. His *Œdipus* was first played in 1718.

tion; the legitimisation of the Duke of Maine and the Count of Toulouse was annulled; the Jesuits were rendered powerless; Le Tellier, the true author of the 'Unigenitus,' was exiled. A sad troop of victims, immured for years, for causes known or unknown, for Jansenism, for opposition to the 'Constitution,' for resistance to the late King or his ministers, were set free: those only remained in prison who were there for crimes or really treasonable acts. Many a sad tragedy came to light; 'the victims of the hatred of ministers, or of the Jesuits and the heads of the Constitutionist party, horrified society by the condition in which they came forth from prison; their state lent credence to the terrible tales of cruelty which they related, when they once more breathed the air of liberty¹.' The Regent was with difficulty turned aside from his wish to recall the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and to throw open the gates of France to the exiled Huguenots: there were too many interests involved in their exclusion, and his good wishes remained unfulfilled.

In the provinces reigned a terrible depression and hopelessness: the institutions, which for a long time had kept alive the original and characteristic differences of the various parts of France, had decayed, and were become often worse than useless. There was however still a great distinction to be drawn between the 'Pays d'états²' and the 'Pays d'élection': the former were provinces in which the local Estates still had some authority; voting freely the amount to which they would be taxed by the Crown, calling it a 'gratuitous gift,' and arranging the incidence of it; also voting their local taxes, to cover local expenditure: the 'Pays d'élection,' had

¹ Saint-Simon, viii. p. 212.

² The Pays d'États were Languedoc, Brittany, Burgundy, Provence, Artois, Hainault, the Cambrésis, Béarn, Bigorre, Foix, Gex, Bresse, Bugey, Valromey, Marsan, Nébouzan, the four valleys of Armagnac, and a few others. They were mostly the frontier districts, which had come late into the kingdom, and so doing had retained somewhat of their ancient rights and liberties. See Saint-Simon, vi. p. 247, note; and note in Hachette's ed. ix. p. 431. on the way in which the monarchy steadily encroached on the provincial liberties.

no such local right, the government being altogether centralised. These later were by far the more numerous. The scheme of the Duke of Burgundy had been to make all districts 'Pays d'états,' and as in these provinces noble immunities were strongest, the step would in fact have been another movement in favour of the aristocracy: while the uniformity of government arrived at would have simplified matters, a result dear to the French mind. From these newly established local Estates deputies should be sent up to Paris, and should form the basis of the States-General: in this way the Regent hoped to arrive at a real Parliamentary system. He hoped it: but it all ended in hopes.

Finally, we must add that this great revolution was entirely bloodless: the temperament of the Regent was against severity and vengeance: not even was Madame de Maintenon molested in that pretty nest she had so softly feathered for herself at S. Cyr.

Then began the period of the scandalous orgies called the 'Regent's little suppers': there, surrounded by his lively and abandoned comrades, his 'roués,' as he called them, giving a new name with which vice might mark her scorn of virtue, he spent the night in revelry, in which all that was immoral, impious, and blasphemous, surged up to heaven in loud and reckless tones. Here was no man to regenerate a sunken society: it may be true that he never let the unworthy companions of his debauches interfere with, or indeed know anything about, public affairs; yet it was soon seen that indolence, excess and drunkenness, were quickly making it impossible for the Regent to attend to the necessary business of the realm. Men soon found that he had no patriotism, no care for the public weal, that he was without any fixed plans as to government, that he was indifferent as to his country's troubles.

Two things, however, pressed, or would soon press. The first, which embarrassed everything from the beginning, was the state of the finances: the other, the foreign policy of the

country, which soon demanded attention, thanks to the unfriendly attitude of Spain, and Alberoni's grand ambition. For the first, the financial difficulty, the Regent tried first the plans of the Duke of Noailles, and then the schemes of the far more famous Law: for the second, the Regent had at his suppers a man destined to face the peril with a skill and suppleness worthy of Mazarin, with an utter contempt for political honesty, and with a keen eye for the security of the Regent. Dubois, as yet little but a boon companion, will soon prove himself more than a match for Alberoni: in the struggle between these adventurer-ministers, the two 'valets' who swayed Europe, we shall see the reactionary policy of Spain shattering itself against the obstacles raised by the Triple Alliance of 1717.

It is needless to say that the finances of the kingdom were in the utmost confusion. There was scarcely ready money enough to pay expenses from day to day: the 'Dixme Royal,' as imposed by Desmarets, had not been, as Vauban had proposed, a substitute for other and less uniform taxes; it was an addition to existing burdens, though levied from classes which had hitherto escaped. All that it brought in was thrown at once into the insatiate gulf of army and Court. There was a huge debt, over two thousand millions of livres, or more than eighty millions of guineas, at their then value: the collection of the taxes was a gigantic and wasteful business; the floating debt, in government paper, had fallen to about one third of its nominal value; the outgoings mounted up to two hundred and forty-three millions of livres, while the incomings were only one hundred and eighty-six millions; and moreover the revenue of the country had been anticipated by at least two years, after a fashion not unknown to modern spendthrifts drifting swiftly towards bankruptcy. All society was embarrassed; the sources of revenue and wealth were drying up, by the ruin of commerce, and the gradual return of the cultivated lands to waste. Nor had any one the least knowledge of the true sources of a country's wealth, or of sound and sensible

principles of finance. We shall soon see France a prey to a most tremendous and suicidal financial madness.

The Regent had to face difficulties and problems not unlike those which met Sully, when he brought the State through its difficulties by dint of strict severity with officials, and by encouragement to thrift and industry. Now the evils were far greater, the country more exhausted, the scale of expense more extravagant, the temper of the ruler very unheroic and self-indulgent. At his first accession to power he set the Duke of Noailles over the finance-council; and the Duke, well-meaning and ambitious, was scarcely strong enough to grapple with the evil. As Saint-Simon says, 'it would take great knowledge of finance, a vast and correct memory, and huge volumes written on this subject alone, to fit one to describe all that was now attempted, that failed, or that succeeded at this time'.¹ The proud Duke himself had his own plan, a simple one: he begged the Regent to convoke the States-General, and by means of them to declare what was in fact a national bankruptcy: he argued that the only sufferers would be those wealthy financiers, so hateful to all, who, having become rich through the embarrassments of the State, might now fairly be made poor by the State's action: this would wash away the crushing debt, and an equilibrium in finance would follow. The Regent, however, had no desire to hamper himself with the States-General; his pride revolted from the thought of a bankruptcy; and he called on Noailles to come forward and leap into the yawning gulf of a deficit. The Duke was willing; and the town rang with terms and phrases worthy of Colbert's days. There should be retrenchment and rigid economy: the system of tax-gathering, the rate of interest on loans, the title-deeds of holders of the national debt, should be looked into; a 'Chambre ardente,' keen and searching, should take cognisance of the evil practices of financiers, and bring the culpable to justice. Offices created under Louis XIV, and purchased by their holders,

¹ Saint-Simon, viii. p. 255.

were swept away without compensation; it was an unjust confiscation, though it checked an offensive custom: the value of money was once more changed, an operation with which ignorance always hopes to relieve its necessity: the national debt was largely reduced by the vigorous care of the four brothers Paris, who now first appear; they were men of ability and probity, and the chief of the family, Joseph Paris-Duverney was found useful and trustworthy by the Court, now and often afterwards. The interest on the debt was arbitrarily fixed at four per cent; the 'Chambre ardente' struck terror into all hearts by its severities; the scaffold¹, the galleys, imprisonment, the loss of all property, were the penalties it delighted to inflict on these unhappy financiers, the scapegoats of national misconduct. Informers were encouraged; all who had had money-dealings with the government were stricken with terror. A great system of bribes sprang up; for the *roués* and their friends were always in want of money; and the wealthier financiers were able to shelter themselves under the wing of the Regent's associates.

At first these measures were popular, for society enjoyed hunting down those under whose hands it smarted, the wealthy money-lenders: after a time their pleasure cooled, when the severities passed all bounds, and it became clear that these stupid measures only increased the embarrassment of the State without for a moment relieving the pressure of taxation. Each step that had been taken had been an attack on the credit of the State: things went from bad to worse; and it was evident that the Duke of Noailles had failed.

Just at this time there presented himself to the Regent at Marly a Scot, by name John Law, the son of an Edinburgh jeweller and money-changer. His character was that of an immoral adventurer, who had lived by gambling, had fought his duels, had passed from capital to capital of Europe, hoping to gain acceptance for the schemes of finance and banking which occupied his busy brain. Repulsed elsewhere, he made

¹ Only in one case, however.

his way to Paris; and unhappily succeeded in gaining the Regent's ear, at the moment of the greatest anxiety and depression respecting the financial future of France.

Though there had long been a great and somewhat mysterious Bank at Amsterdam, still Scotland was the home of banking in the west of Europe. Paterson, who established the Bank of England in 1694, was a Scot; the Bank of Scotland was set up in 1695. We may regard Law as representing the adventurous cleverness of a Scot, who has got hold of some half-truths respecting the value and use of money and currency, and as to the relation a circulating medium bears to the actual wealth of a country. We must remember that the commercial system of the eighteenth century was still in its infancy, and that political economy was as yet unknown. The real value and use of paper-money, the natural limits of its safe issue, the effect of it on trade and national prosperity, were as yet things strange and untried. To these new points Law's attention had been directed: he thought that he had discovered the true Philosopher's Stone, which by doubling a nation's capital would enormously multiply its wealth and resources. Why, he argued, is Holland, with its wretched soil and dangerous shores, the wealthiest country in the world? Because of its immense circulating-medium. And other nations, by proper use of credit, and by establishing banks, may give to paper the value of coin, and enter on a new era of prosperity¹. This great fallacy sank deep into Law's mind: he preached and urged it at all the capitals of Europe. At last poor drowning France, as at a straw, clutched at the flattering hope, and after a short delirium of fortune, which was utterly baseless and delusive, found herself worse off and more heart-sick than before.

Law saw clearly that paper issued without guarantee would fail; he therefore proposed to establish his bank on the basis of all the actual property of the state. The state has lands; let it issue paper up to their full value. In 1716 he received authority to establish a private bank, which won no small

¹ Thiers, *Histoire de Law*, pp. 14, 15.

credit, its bills being accepted by government, and the easy accommodation apparent. This Bank was dissolved in 1718 by the Regent, as the Government had now determined to take the whole affair into its own hands; Law was appointed Director-General of the new Royal Bank.

Then began the second period of Law's career. He was by no means satisfied with the great success his schemes had hitherto obtained: for he believed that there could be no limit to the expansion of credit and of the new paper-circulation. If with a capital of six million livres he had safely floated nearly tenfold that amount in notes and bills, why should he not, when backed up by the resources of the whole of France, be able to issue a sum of notes, as readily taken up, as firm in credit, and so large that it would enable the government to wipe away its debts and to set France once more in the way of prosperous life and rich productiveness? So he entered on his more gigantic and speculative schemes; he aimed at uniting all the wealth of France under one great management, and using it all as a basis for his issue of notes.

Hence sprang the famous Mississippi scheme, which was only one portion, and by no means the chief portion, of his plan. He desired to gather together under one vast company all the existing trading companies, all the great 'farms' of revenue, the royal Mint, the receipts of the royal income, and lastly the Bank. By this means he hoped to get the receipts and issues into the same hands: then with this vast basis of wealth, he would utter notes at will, more than double the circulating-medium, quicken trade and industry, replace the national debt with paper.

This was his great 'Company of the West,' with its two hundred thousand shares of five hundred livres each. He obtained a grant of Louisiana, which was rumoured to have unlimited mineral and agricultural wealth. The interior of North America was all but unknown: the Chevalier Lasalle, returning from his travels, had penetrated from Canada through Illinois, till he came to the grand stream of the Mississippi, and

had descended that river to the Gulf of Mexico. In the name of the French King he took possession of the territory through which he passed; giving it, in honour of Louis XIV, the name of Louisiana. It was described as marvellous in fertility. A colony sent thither failed: then Law, needing just such a dazzling and vague bait for his scheme, obtained a concession of the district in 1717; in 1718 the capital of Louisiana was founded, and named after the Regent, New Orleans. Law doubtless had something of the temper of his Scottish brethren, who had ventured all at Darien not so long before, and seemed to belie the proverbial coolness and shrewdness of their race by these far-reaching flights of reckless enterprise.

His shares were greedily taken up: his notes seemed to flush all France with instantaneous prosperity: the Company lent the King twelve hundred millions of livres, to pay off the debt. Paper money to the value of one hundred and ten millions of pounds sterling was struck off and circulated. In vain did the Parliament of Paris set itself against the stream: it was overborne at once, and as von Ranke says, 'an expansion was given to the centralised supreme power which Louis XIV had never possessed. Law even desired the abolition of a body which ventured to stand in his way: he was, as Montesquieu said of him, one of the greatest promoters of despotism that have ever lived¹.' A letter-writer in Paris at the time, who kept Archbishop Wake informed of the state of things, says that 'all the town was in convulsions over the shares: 'the capital is thrown into a kind of state fever,' 'we see the debt diminish before our eyes, private fortunes are made out of nothing².' All sorts of tales had currency: one man ate a bill for a thousand livres at his breakfast: another, who had been a servant, bought a splendid equipage, and when it came to the door, from habit jumped up behind, as he had been wont to do. The Quincampoix street, in which the head-quarters of the

¹ L. von Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, iv. p. 335.

² Girardin to Wake, Aug. 1719. Wake Papers, Christ Church Library, Oxford.

Company were, was witness to every excess of excitement and delirium. Law himself reaped a colossal fortune in paper, and turned it into land as fast as he could: in all he bought fourteen titled estates in France, a fact which testifies to his sincere belief in his own schemes; for had he been a mere swindler, he would have placed out his gains in other countries, certainly not in France. He was regarded as a great power in Europe: from England came his pardon; from Edinburgh the freedom of the city.

This, however, could not last long: the inexorable laws, which govern currency as well as every other thing, refused to be forced or set aside: it was observed that prices rose immensely and that there was a drain of specie from the bank; it disappeared from sight, hoarded or sent abroad. In vain did the government issue edicts against hoarding; it went on all the more. The shares which had fluctuated in a dangerous way now began to go steadily down.

When the Company first showed signs of being in difficulties, in February, 1720, it was attributed to Law's indisposition:—when he was well again, all would come right. But Law recovered, and the Company did not. Then the Government interfered; the Council decreed that the value of the Company's notes should be reduced one half: and that the shares should remain stationary at five hundred livres, as they had been issued. Such absurdities could only hasten the crisis. All credit gave way at once: Paris gave way to rage and desperation; the Regent's life was in danger. Forthwith the Bank stopped payment; and France awakening from her delirious dream, looked drearily out on the ruin that had befallen her¹. Law, though threatened, remained in France to the end of the year;

¹ As usual all was tempered with epigrams:—

'Lundi, j'achetai des actions;
'Mardi, je gagnai des millions;
'Mercredi, j'arrangeai mon ménage;
'Jeudi, je pris un équipage;
'Vendredi, je m'en fus au bal:—
'Et Samedi, à l'hôpital.'

then began once more his wandering life. His vast estates were all confiscated; he went from place to place neglected and deserted: in 1729 he died, with faith in his schemes and commercial principles unshaken, almost a pauper, at Venice. Nothing was done to repair this misfortune by careful finance. The Regent thought of calling together the States-General; but Dubois dissuaded him on the ground that the importunate griefs of the 'cahiers de doléance,' the 'quires of complaint,' 'had in them something sad, which a great King ought always to keep at a distance. . . . the army might put down a recalcitrant Parliament;—how could it deal with a nation's remonstrances made through the States-General¹.' The States-General would have endangered Dubois' ascendancy; might have thwarted his political schemes: all his instincts of government were opposed to their convocation. The general result of this great disaster was a decided immediate increase of the despotic power of royalty, while, as naturally followed, it undermined the real authority of the Crown by making it virtually bankrupt: nor were the clergy unhurt by it; it also struck a heavy blow at the noblesse,—for it both destroyed what wealth they had, and fed with driest fuel their natural taste for extravagance, licence, and splendour. The effects on the trading classes is not so easy to be appraised; they probably gained as much as they lost.

While the 'Company of the West' was running its exciting and disastrous course in France, England was equally convulsed by the grand bubble-scheme of the 'South Sea Company²;' and both countries found the year 1720 an unhappy epoch in their financial history. In France the ruin seemed far more thorough than in England: the whole state was involved in the affair; the credit of all was shaken. In England government

¹ Introduction au Moniteur (quoted by La Vallée, *Histoire des Français*, iii. p. 453, note 3).

² Law's Bank was made national in 1718, and the crash came early in 1720; Sir John Blunt's South Sea scheme was adopted by Mr. Aislabie, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in 1719, was at its highest in the summer of 1720, and burst in that September. France, therefore, set the example, and the English mania was, to a large extent, based on the French.

had been more cautious; and when the crisis came, there were institutions able to bear and to relieve the strain. Walpole also was a good master of finance, and had been prudent both before and after the crash. In short, England was a rich country, and France, at this time, a poor one. The steps also taken by the two countries to meet the disaster were very different: while France only added to the confusion by grasping at and confiscating what she could of ill-gotten gains, Sir Robert Walpole used the solidity of the Bank of England and the East India House to stay the course of the ruin, by grafting a large portion of the South Sea stock on those institutions; there was also an honest enquiry; and as the assets, after all, were considerable, a dividend of one-third of the capital did something to mitigate the losses of subscribers. For all this, the ruin and misery spread very widely in both countries: it was an ill-omened beginning of the wonderful commercial expansion of this century.

In these years of financial experiment and trouble the French government had been far more successful with its external affairs. Under the sagacious guiding of Dubois, the Regency had not merely reversed the ancient policy of Louis XIV, but had united the chief powers of Europe in alliance against the ambitious plans of Spain, guided by Alberoni. That astute and successful adventurer reached the zenith of his power in 1715: he was a low-born Italian, and owed his advancement to his wit and to the patronage of the Duke of Vendôme, whom he followed into Spain: there he became agent to the Duke of Parma, and negotiated the marriage of Elizabeth Farnese (who afterwards became heiress to the Duchy) with Philip V. This alliance was a revolution for Spain; the Princess des Ursins, hitherto all-powerful at Madrid, received orders to leave the country: and Alberoni rose immediately to the highest favour with his countrywoman the new Queen. She got him the red hat, the splendid position of grandee of Spain, the post of First Minister of the Crown. Nothing now seemed too hard for him: he formed the most splendid plans for the restoration of the influence of

Spain in Europe; he aimed especially at seating Philip V or his infant son, Don Carlos, on the throne of France. All the world believed that the puny little Louis XV had not long to live:—how could the Regent look on, and run the risk of exclusion from the succession?

To countervail the plans of Alberoni the Regent needed a minister, trustworthy, unscrupulous, fearless, resolute in action, capable of taking in the whole situation at a glance. And such a man was Dubois, his old preceptor. He had been with Tallard in London, and while there had drawn close to Secretary Stanhope, who was now at King George's right hand. Friendly negotiations between the Courts of France and England went on at Paris, between Dubois and Stair, and were transferred to the Hague, when the English King went thither with Lord Stanhope. Dubois under a feigned name, giving out that he was gone to collect pictures and books, joined them there. Then began the negotiations for the new Triple Alliance of England, France, and Holland: the Regent agreed to exclude the Pretender from France, and to abandon the new works at Mardyck: England agreed to guarantee the Succession-Articles of the Peace of Utrecht; certain commercial advantages were secured for Holland. The alliance was finally concluded early in January 1717. It was a first check to Alberoni, who had strained every nerve to win over George I to his side, while it enabled France to breathe freely, alarmed as she had been by the warlike tendencies and Italian expedition of the Spanish Court. Nothing was so much dreaded at Paris as a fresh war: the horrors of those twelve years of the Succession-War had left what seemed an indelible mark on France: the Regent would not join Spain in an assault on the Italian outworks of the Imperial power. On the contrary he saw in Philip V his most decided foe: their interests clashed, their views were opposed: the Spanish King befriended the Duke of Maine, the Pretender James, the relics of the old Court, the whole of that high Catholic party which in the last years of Louis XIV had been all-powerful in France.

Therefore he was determined by all means to secure both peace for France, and shelter from Alberoni's ambitious schemes. For this end he despatched Dubois again to England, who with such extraordinary skill and suppleness handled matters that he even succeeded in inducing the Emperor to join the allies: Charles VI agreed to the terms of a new convention, by which he was left free to attack Spain and take what he could from her. In the latter part of 1718 the Quadruple Alliance was signed, and Alberoni's projects at once fell with him. He had, just before this, been detected in a plot against the Regent's life: the Spanish ambassador, Cellamare, was conducted out of France; the Duke of Maine, Cardinal Polignac, and other leaders of the high Catholic party were imprisoned¹.

This was the moment at which the abilities of Dubois had fullest sway: his instincts were all despotic, his ambition aimed at complete power for himself, at dominance over France, in church and state, and after that, possibly, at the Papal throne. In 1718 having persuaded the Regent that the famous Councils were not working well, he got rid of them, by a kind of coup d'état, and seized for himself the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Things now were ripe for war, little as France desired it. Alberoni's schemes had taken the form of a seizure of Sardinia and Sicily; Austria, thanks to the Peace of Passarowitz (21 July, 1718), which relieved her from fear of the Turks, was at liberty to attend to her menaced interests in the Mediterranean. In vain did Alberoni try by means of the Pretender to neutralise England, and through the malcontents in France to stop the Regent: in vain had he even negotiated,—strange change!—at Constantinople, hoping to retard the signature of the Peace with Austria: in vain did the old Court-party resist the

¹ 'The late vigorous proceedings of the Court against the D. du Maine, who is at the head of the Sp. Faction and the Jesuits, and against the petulance of the Parliament have stirred up the enemies of the present government, and so hath the British Squadron in the Mediterranean, whose success they will not as yet believe.' Wm. Beauvoir, in *Wake MSS.*, Aug. 1718.

proposal to declare war with Spain, d'Huxelles, the Duke of Maine, Villeroy, all alike protesting strongly against it; though they were numerically the larger party in the council, Dubois carried all before him: war broke out all along the line.

Before this the English fleet under Admiral Byng had been sent into the Mediterranean to protect Italy. Without a declaration of war, he had crushed the Spanish navy at Syracuse (11 Aug. 1718): now, at the very end of the year, and by February 1719, war had been declared by England, France, and Holland against Spain. Marshal Berwick, who in former days had set Philip V on his throne, was now sent to dislodge him: he fought with as much fidelity against him now as he had shown on his behalf in the Succession War. He crossed the Pyrenees at their western end, and took Fontarabia and Saint Sebastien, while the French fleet, acting on the wish of England, destroyed the Spanish dockyards at Port au Passage near the Bidassoa, and at Santona. Byng in the Mediterranean and the French fleet in the Bay of Biscay, utterly ruined the Spanish naval power, and cleared the way for the dominance of England on the seas during this century. Meanwhile the Imperialists, transported in British ships, recovered Sicily.

The war was barely begun when all felt the need of peace: it was idle for Spain to struggle against the allied powers; the war was unpopular in France, and the costs of it very heavy; England had gained largely; Austria had recovered her Italian possessions. While Alberoni remained at Madrid peace was not possible; and the current of affairs accordingly required his fall: in the end of 1719 he withdrew into Italy, where he died forgotten. Spain then came in to the terms of the Quadruple Alliance: the Treaty of London (17 February, 1720) closed this brief splash of European war. Sicily was secured to the Emperor, Sardinia annexed to Savoy. With Alberoni's fall, all his great plans for the revival of Spain came utterly to an end; and that ancient monarchy once more folded its hands in sleep.

All through these days the great 'Constitutionist' quarrel

had gone drearily on; the Constitutionists for a time lost ground; their antagonists, the 'Appellants,'—those, that is, who appealed to a general council of the Church, against the imposition by the Papacy of the 'Constitution Unigenitus,'—were able to establish a considerable number of bishops of their party in France; and so long as the Court supported them, all sorts of dreams were dreamt: men talked vaguely of a Patriarchate, of the independence of the Gallican Church, of union with the Church of England. The ambition of Dubois changed all this; while he was in opposition to Rome he could not hope to resemble Richelieu, as he fondly thought he might, both in policy and in honours; and in presence of this ambition, the face of Church affairs was forced to change. Dubois became a warm supporter of the 'Unigenitus': Archbishop Noailles, a man opposed to all partisan-measures and persons, was actually reconciled to the Constitutionists early in 1720.

And now the acute and eager Minister of Foreign Affairs took his first step in church dignities: by the mediation of George I. who certainly owed much to Dubois, the Regent, not a little amused at the contrast between the character of the immoral statesman and the saintly virtues which seemed necessary for the prelate who should sit in Fénelon's seat¹, granted to Dubois the Archbishopric of Cambrai, which now again was vacant. He was only a deacon, and had therefore to be ordained priest, the great Massillon himself vouching for the purity of his morals and his theological knowledge! Then followed unwearied intrigues and plentiful corruption at all courts and at Rome: the new Archbishop's purse was full and overflowed: threats, hypocrisies, blandishments were lavished on his old foes the Jesuits, severities dealt out to his old friends the Jansenists; the friendly interference of the Protestant George I; the prayers of his Catholic rival James 'the Pretender'²; the good

¹ He had died in 1715.

² It is said that the guineas of George I were actually used to purchase the Pretender's help!

word of the Emperor who was intent on his own interests; the good offices of the King of Spain:—all Europe was enlisted for this red hat¹; never had a hat cost so much in baseness and in money; it is said that its price in hard cash amounted to eight million of livres. Yet Clement XI held out; he escaped the scandal only by dying²: then Dubois' influence obtained the tiara for one of his creatures; the long-expected hat was sent in return (July, 1721). It was said that one Pope had died to escape the scandal of making this appointment, and that his successor, Innocent XIII, died of a broken heart after making it³. 'The rejoicings at Brive-la-Gaillarde, the place of the Cardinal du Bois' nativity, on account of his being advanced to the purple, have proved fatal to the church of that place—which was set on fire by some of the fire-works, and was burnt to the ground. I need not add that this is looked on as a sort of Omen by the superstitious⁴.'

The omen did not fulfil itself in any way: the last two years of Dubois' life were splendid and successful. He had a fine field on which to exercise his special gifts, and this copper Richelieu was as bright as if he had been of gold. He grouped all powers and interests around the Regency: his personal ambition now fully gratified, all disadvantages of birth and early avocations cloaked by his high dignities in Church and State, his scandalous immoralities forgotten, Dubois aspired to be the great minister of a reviving State. He had checked Spain, and had overthrown his rival Alberoni: like Reynard after his supreme struggle with Isengrim, he seemed

¹ The uncertainty about it paralysed the world: 'The chief reason why all the affairs of Europe stand as it were still by the delay—that Prelate not being willing to have them settled before he has gained his point, lest the Princes concerned, who have now some occasion for his good offices, should then be less zealous to promote his pretensions.' Wake MSS.

² He is reported to have replied to one application, 'Que cette affaire-là méritait bien qu'on y pensât avec maturité; que le Sacré Collège étoit farci de gens sans naissance et sans mérite.' Girardin, 19 July 1721. Wake MSS.

³ Clement XI died March 19, 1721; Innocent XIII died March 7, 1724; so that he took nearly three years over this broken heart.

⁴ Ayerst, Wake MSS.

to have the whole world at his feet. England and Spain, George I and the Pretender, Constitutionists or Appellants, were all to be reconciled through him. In August 1722 he was named First Minister of the Crown: the French Academy elected him to one of its august chairs; the clergy in convocation made him its president.

He had the most exalted ideas as to the dignity and power of First Minister, 'an authority,' as he said, 'which seems to have no bounds in itself; on the contrary it appears to be the same with that of the Prince, for the First Minister is his organ in all things¹.' He removed Louis XV to Versailles, to free him from Parisian influences: he got rid of the obstinate Villeroy, the King's preceptor and last relic of the old opposition to the Regent, and banished him. When in February 1723 Louis XV, at the age of thirteen, attained, according to French usage, to his majority, the authority of Dubois seemed absolutely established: the lazy Duke of Orleans was well-content that it should be so. The system of 'despotism without glory' seemed likely to last for years².

Thus Dubois reached the topmost pinnacle of his high ambitions, and all seemed straight and smooth before him. No man however can cut himself off from the consequences of his earlier career; and death seems to lay his snares with humorous attention to the contrasts life provides. It seemed good to the Cardinal to review the Maison du Roy, the King's body-guards: a slight accident befell him, and he was carried to Versailles. To a healthy man it would have been nothing: but the Archbishop's debauches had ruined his constitution; an attempted operation brought him suddenly to the grave.

The Duke of Orleans, so closely bound up with him, now accepted the vacant post of First Minister: his health was gone; and his excesses, mere habit now,—there could have been no days of pleasure left him,—were fast leading him

¹ Quoted, from a MS. Memoir, by L. von Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, iv. p. 345, note 1.

² Martin, *Histoire de France*, xv. p. 116.

also to the tomb; four months after Dubois' death, he was smitten with the apoplectic stroke from which he never rallied.

These eight years of the Regency were unfortunate for France: financial disorders, moral scandals, the want of public spirit, vice seated in highest place, the foreign policy of the country subordinated to that of England:—these things form the vestibule to the long reign of Louis XV.

CHAPTER II.

FLEURY. A.D. 1724–1740.

THE death of Philip of Orleans marks the beginning of a new period. Monarchy, wellnigh effaced before, is still left in obscurity; it has destroyed all wholesome political life in France, only at last to be overwhelmed beneath the ruins. Louis XV sincerely mourned the Duke of Orleans, who had treated him with much respect, had watched over his political education with great care, even teaching him, as far as he could, the theory of government and its branches: Massillon had been employed to give the boy those splendid lessons in morals which could scarcely have come well from the Regent's lips. To what end? The young King was a hopeless subject; cold-blooded, timid and hard at once,—no uncommon combination,—of a dry and soulless nature, with low and vulgar tastes, and a character which passed from a cold indifference to a still colder libertinism. He loved retirement, not for contemplation's sake, but first for indolence, then for vice. Indolence and selfishness in their most ghastly developments were not the qualities which France, now brought so low, needed in her absolute Prince.

For about three years Fleury, Bishop of Fréjus¹, who had

¹ There were two Fleurys, to be carefully distinguished. The elder, the Abbé Claude (b. 1640, d. 1723), was sub-preceptor to the royal children, under Fénelon's eye; in 1717 he was made Confessor to Louis XV. He was an Academician, and a voluminous writer. His chief work is his Ecclesiastical History, which he carried down only to 1414. The younger, André Hercule (b. 1653, d. 1743), was the Minister and Cardinal with whom we have to do. He had been almoner to Louis XIV, then in 1698 Bishop of

been the young King's preceptor and possessed his fullest confidence, allowed the Duke of Bourbon, 'Monsieur le Duc,' as he was styled, an ugly one-eyed personage, of brutal mind and manners, a man of no character, greedy, debauched, narrow-minded, the slave of his mistress the Marquise de Prie, who, in her turn, was a pensioner of Walpole, to fill the post of First Minister. It is an obscure and dreamy time, marked only by the overthrow of the marriage-scheme planned to obviate the dangers of the Quadruple Alliance. The Infanta was harshly sent back to Spain¹; and the Marquise de Prie set herself to find a more useful Queen for her purposes: the daughter of the ex-King of Poland, Stanislaus-Leczinski, who was now living in obscurity at Weissenberg, was her choice. Her the young King married in September, 1725.

The rule of this Bourbon clique was soon seen to be vain and odious. In June 1726, Fleury, feeling the time come, ejected them from power, and himself grasped the reins. The duke and the mistress were exiled.

The ministry of Fleury may be regarded as a counter-reaction from the principles of the Regency towards those of the later days of Louis XIV. The Jesuits had been restored to France by Dubois, when it suited him to conciliate the Church abroad, and were close friends with the elderly Bishop of Fréjus; under their guidance the old strife of Constitutionist and Appellant was ere long settled against the Jansenists, who were after all only the somewhat degenerate descendants of the old followers of Jansen. The strife of the parties, worn-out squabbles over extinct questions, roused the pitiful derision of France, and strengthened the growing forces of unbelief.

Among the portraits of the new minister is one which was doubtless engraved with an eye to the late ministers, Dubois, the Duke of Orleans, and the Duke of Bourbon. Diogenes, in search

Fréjus, then nominated by the dying King as preceptor to Louis XV. In 1726 he became First Minister and Cardinal.

¹ She was only six years old.

as ever for the honest man, has found him, has had his portrait taken, and with lantern in one hand and picture-frame in the other, presents Fleury to our admiring gaze. There is enough of truth to justify it. The old minister was upright and disinterested; he worked hard and was careful over the nation's expenditure. He makes it his boast that in bringing up his royal pupil he had ever told him the truth, however unpalatable it might be. His accession to power was welcomed by all France, which trusted him and believed in his honesty.

And yet his home-ministry has remained obscure; for the old man was narrow and of limited horizon, and had no general grasp of politics or government. Though he got all power into his hands, with unbounded influence over the young King,—so much so that the Princes of the blood, and even the Queen herself, had to take their orders from him,—still his career is not great. With his keen knowledge of the world came a certain timidity; for age had brought not wisdom but wariness. He undertook no reforms, and was content if he could quiet the evils of the state without attempting to destroy them: his rule was not strong for good or evil; if no great reforms mark it, still it is free from exacting tyranny. The people were relieved from some burdens of taxation; the credit of the state recovered itself; it was in Fleury's days that the fluctuation in the value of coin at last came to an end; the well-known brothers' Paris reappeared, and with their great financial skill did good service to the government. Trade and commerce revived with amazing quickness; the flag of France was seen in every Levantine port; her East India Company flourished again.

It was in his foreign relations that Fleury, made a Cardinal in 1726, has left his mark on his country's history. It is true that even here his policy and diplomacy were of the 'hand-to-mouth' order; and as an Italian of the day¹ remarks, 'the knowledge of circumstances is the true way of governing and of advancing kingdoms; and the Cardinal knows how to recognise

¹ Fr. Venier, *Relazione*, 1740, quoted by von Ranke, *Franz. Geschichte*, iv. p. 365, note 1.

the moment for it.' Dexterously to catch the movement of the day, and to turn it to the gain of France was his gift: neither higher statesmanship, nor a grasp of general principles, nor lordship over circumstances, formed part of Fleury's administration; he watched the balance of the states, and, adjusting himself accordingly, took and gained advantage from that middle position which France can hold so well.

The characteristic of the time is the great advance in the power and influence exerted on European politics by the Northern Courts. The rapid rise, first of Prussia under the great Elector, next of Russia under Peter the Great, completely altered the balance; Sweden dropped back, Poland became of the first importance, Austria had to adjust herself to new conditions, and to find interests as important in Silesia and on the Polish frontier as in Naples or Milan. Her relations to France and Spain change during this time. The interests of England are similarly affected and complicated; she finds her Hanoverian connexion embarrassing; she has to choose between Prussia and Austria, to watch over a thousand changing conditions of commerce and navigation. She is called during this half century to begin a new period of life; she rises, by the exhaustion of Holland, by the concentration of France on her continental interests and her general weakness, by the destruction of the Spanish sea-power and commerce, thanks also to the undeveloped ambitions of Russia, to a decided supremacy on the high seas, to broader aims, to imperial enterprises in the eastern and western world. Now begins the age in which she dominates in America, founds her empire in India, discovers a new world in Australia, until, at the beginning of this present century, she becomes possessor of the Cape, and begins her great career in Africa.

In the southern world of politics the period may be held to begin with the struggles of the Emperor Charles VI to impose his 'Pragmatic Sanction'¹ on Europe. In 1725 the Congress

¹ The world-famous Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI was first issued in 1713; in it he declared his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, heiress of all

of Cambrai was held, under mediation of France and England, to adjust outstanding differences between Spain and Austria, which had divergent interests in Italy. There a curious whirl of political groups suddenly took place; Charles VI was angry with England, because she refused to guarantee the solemn 'Sanction,' and Philip V with France, because of the slight put on him by the sudden and almost contemptuous breach of the marriage-compact: it was also offensive to think that France cared more for Polish than for Spanish interests. These two powers, thus moved by a common irritation, Austria against England, Spain against France, made an unexpected union¹, and drew out far-reaching plans. They would tear off all the accretions of France from every frontier; the Empire should recover Alsace, Franche-Comté, Lorraine, the Netherlands; Spain should have Roussillon, Brittany, Lower Navarre. All Europe at once grouped itself round the two parties; with France and England went Holland, Denmark, Sweden; with Austria and Spain were Russia and Prussia². The English fleets put out to sea; Philip V at once besieged Gibraltar; a general war seemed imminent.

Europe, however, was in no real humour for war; peace-ministers ruled at Paris and S. James'; and prudent Fleury, 'pulveris exigui jactu,' by the simple action of diplomacy, stilled the fervid minds of the antagonists, and brought back peace. The Congress of Soissons in 1729 arranged the points at issue: Don Carlos, Philip's son, was declared heir to the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza; this was the signal that Spain had detached herself from Austria—their Italian rivalries proving too strong a solvent for their new-cemented friendship,—and on the

his states: it was to obtain the guarantee of the European powers to this document (which was soon shown to be powerless after his death) that all the Emperor's efforts were directed.

¹ Negotiated by another adventurer, this time a Dutchman from Gröningen, Ripperda; after his fall he became a Mussulman.

² Prussia sided at first with France and England (League of Herrenhausen, 1725); she soon, however, withdrew and joined the two Emperors (Treaty of Wusterhausen, 1726). This is the beginning of the many treaties between these three powers, Austria, Prussia, Russia.

death of the last Farnese duke, the Emperor seized the Duchies. England and France then interfered, and offering, in concert with Spain, to guarantee the great Pragmatic Sanction, Charles VI could not resist the bait; he accepted their terms, surrendered the Duchies to Don Carlos (A.D. 1731), and went away rejoicing with his worthless paper-guarantees. Fleury had the satisfaction of appearing as mediator and umpire in the quarrels of Europe.

No sooner was the South of Europe thus quietly settled, than a far more serious trouble broke out in the North. We must go back a few years, and trace the progress of events; for this period was one of the highest importance to the northern nations; new relations mark the movements of the South of Europe, while new creations characterise the North. Charles XII and Peter the Great had striven for the mastery; the old lords of the Baltic being jealous of the new invader. The plans and views of Charles were colossal, romantic; they evoked unheard-of energies and drove Sweden, as with the sting of some mad enthusiasm, to attempt great things far beyond her strength: the true power and greatness of Peter lay in the fact that, grand as were his projects, they all were within his reach, and all were realised, so as to affect Europe thenceforward for ever. Charles therefore led Sweden to her fall: Peter roused Russia to new life, and set her in her great European career. We may well regret the fate of war and politics, which deposed the hardy Scandinavians from their command of the Baltic, loosened their hold on European politics, and gave to Russia her chances of unlimited expansion.

In 1718, but a few months before Charles XII met his fate at Fredrikshald on the Norwegian frontier, Sweden had made a secret agreement with Russia under guidance of Baron Goertz, by which the Swedes were to be indemnified for their losses to Russia at the expense of the weaker states, Norway and Hanover. The death of Charles, and consequent execution of Goertz, entirely changed the aspect of affairs: a rupture took place with Russia: Sweden now allied herself with England,

and with her help made peace, at no small sacrifice, with all her neighbours except Russia: treaties were signed with Hanover, Denmark, Poland and Prussia.

France and England were, in a way, engaged to help Sweden to make a moderate peace with Russia: Peter however was too swift and strong for them. England had secured Bremen and Verden for Hanover, and took little trouble to defend her weakened ally; the British fleet left the Baltic, and Peter, invading Sweden, inflicted unheard-of sufferings: atrocities of the worst kind were committed with barbaric fury; towns burnt, hundreds of villages destroyed, women and children horribly massacred, the whole wealth of the kingdom sacked by these Oriental barbarians: all Europe stood aghast at so great a crime perpetrated against a Christian and civilised people; France interposed her mediation, and Russia had the satisfaction of seeing her brutal vigour rewarded with full success at the Peace of Nystadt. Sweden there ceded to her all she possessed on the Gulf of Finland, that is, Liefland, Esthland, and Ingermanland on the south of the gulf, Carelia, part of Wiborg on the north, together with the great islands Oesel and Dagœ, outside the gulf, and all other islands from the borders of Kurland to Wiborg (Sept. 1721).

From this moment Russia becomes an important factor in the affairs of Europe. Peter's new capital of S. Petersburg, founded in 1703, was now seen to be part of a great plan for the command of the Baltic: Russian fleets, the Swedish power being annihilated, henceforth lord it over that sea, so long as they in turn are not conquered by the inexorable powers of winter. It was now that Peter crowned his edifice by proclaiming himself Emperor with fresh solemnity; he stood forth, not only overshadowing all Northern Europe, but as claiming the memories of the Eastern Empire: the old Headship of the Holy Roman Empire in Europe was now confronted with a new and barbarously vigorous Headship, which, though it might not at first make itself much felt except in the north, was destined inevitably, as the champion of Eastern Christendom, to spread

and grow, until Europe and Asia alike should feel the outer movements of its power.

Side by side with this new power rose the state which is destined to become its counterpoise in Europe, Prussia. It was during these years that the young kingdom, with its weak geographical borders and poor and barren soil, organised that powerful monarchy, built up on its thrift and its army, which was destined ere long to startle Europe into a recognition of its great importance. Unity of administration under a strong King is the secret of the triumphs of Frederick the Great, though we must not forget the solid worth of a patient, well-ordered, and brave nation.

Between these states lay the much-afflicted far-extending polity of Poland. Devastated by wars, civil and foreign; torn by religious differences; governed, if the word may be used, under an impossible constitution, administered by most unfit hands; Poland was certain to be an embarrassment and a temptation to all her neighbours. We shall presently see that the old difficulties about her elective kingship will draw France again towards her; not with the feebleness of the days of Henry of Anjou, but with new and far more critical influence on the adjustment of the balance of European politics.

Thus matters stood, when it became clear that before long a struggle would take place for the Crown of Poland, in which the powers of Europe must interest themselves very closely. Two parties will compete for that uneasy throne: on the one side will stand the northern powers, supporting the claims of the House of Saxony, which was endeavouring to make the Crown hereditary and to restrict it to the Saxon line; on the other side we shall find France alone, desiring to retain the old elective system, and to place on the throne some prince, who, much beholden to her, should cherish French influences, and form a centre of resistance against the dominance of the northern powers. England stands neutral: the other powers are indifferent or exhausted. With a view to the coming difficulty, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, made a secret agreement in 1732, by which

they bound themselves to resist all French influences in Poland. With this pact begins that system of nursing and interferences with which the three powers pushed the 'sick man of the North' to its ruin; it is the first stage towards the Partition-treaties.

Early in 1733 Augustus II of Poland died: the Poles, dreading these powerful neighbours, and drawn, as ever, by a subtle sympathy towards France, at once took steps to resist dictation, declared that they would elect none but a native prince, sent envoys to demand French help, and summoned Stanislaus Leczinski to Warsaw. Leczinski had been the protégé of Charles XII, who had set him on the Polish throne in 1704; with the fall of the great Swede the little Pole also fell (1712); after some vicissitudes he quietly settled at Weissenburg, whence his daughter Marie went to ascend the throne of France as spouse of Louis XV (1725). Now in 1733 the national party in Poland re-elected him their King, by a vast majority of votes: there was, however, an Austro-Russian faction among the nobles, and these, supported by strong armies of Germans and Russians, nominated Augustus III of Saxony to the throne: he had promised the Empress Anne to cede Courland to Russia, and Charles VI he had won over by acknowledging the Pragmatic Sanction.

War thus became inevitable: the French majority had no strength with which to maintain their candidate against the forces of Russia and Austria; and France, instead of affording Stanislaus effective support at Warsaw, declared war against Austria. The luckless King was obliged to escape from Warsaw, and took refuge in Danzig, expecting French help: all that came was a single ship and fifteen hundred men, who, landing at the mouth of the Vistula, tried in vain to break the Russian lines. Their aid thus proving vain, Danzig capitulated, and Stanislaus, a broken refugee, found his way, with many adventures, back to France: Poland submitted to Augustus III. Fleury had entirely failed to grasp the importance of these northern affairs.

In his war against Austria, which now broke out, he showed

more vigour: he struck at the Rhine and at Italy, while the other powers looked on unmoved; Spain watching her moment, at which she might safely interfere for her own interests in Italy. The army of the Rhine, which reached Strasburg in autumn 1733, was commanded by Marshal Berwick, who had been called away from eight years of happy and charming leisure¹ at Fitz-James. With him served for the first time in the French army their one great general of the coming age, and he too a foreigner, Maurice, son of Augustus II of Poland and the lovely Countess of Königsmark. He had been first trained under the great Prince Eugene: then he passed into France, and became the French candidate for the Duchy of Courland: thence, not having been recognised by the Empress Catherine I, he returned to France, and began his career in these campaigns. He is best known to us as Marshal Saxe.

It was too late to accomplish much in 1733, and the French had to content themselves with the capture of Kehl: in the winter the Imperialists constructed strong lines at Ettlingen, a little place not far from Carlsruhe, between Kehl, which the French held, and Philipsburg at which they were aiming. In the spring of 1734 French preparations were slow and feeble: a new power had sprung up at Paris in the person of Belle-Isle, Fouquet's grandson, who had much of the persuasive ambition of his grandfather. He was full of schemes, and induced the aged Fleury to believe him to be the coming genius of French generalship; the careful views of Marshal Berwick suited ill his soaring spirit; he wanted to march headlong into Saxony and Bohemia². Berwick would not allow so reckless a scheme to be adopted; still Belle-Isle, as lieutenant-general with an almost independent command, was sent to besiege Trarbach on the Moselle, an operation which delayed the French advance on the Rhine.

¹ The Duke of Bourbon had deprived him in 1724 of his government of Guyenne.

² He clung to this idea, and in the Austrian Succession-war actually penetrated to Prague.

At last however, Berwick moved forwards. By skilful arrangements he neutralised the Ettlingen lines, and without a battle forced the Germans to abandon them. Their army withdrew to Heilbronn, where it was joined by Prince Eugene. Berwick, freed from their immediate presence, and having a great preponderance in force, at once sat down before Philipsburg. There on the 12th of June, as he visited the trenches, he was struck by a ball and fell dead. So passed away the last but one of the great generals of Louis XIV: France never again saw his like till the genius of the Revolution evoked a new race of heroes.

It was thought at first that Berwick's death, like Turenne's, would end the campaign, and that the French army must get back across the Rhine. The position seemed critical, Philipsburg in front, and Prince Eugene watching without. The Princes of the Empire, however, had not put out any strength in this war, regarding it chiefly as an Austrian affair; and the Marquis d'Asfeld, who took the command of the French forces, was able to hold on, and in July to reduce the great fortress of Philipsburg. Therewith the campaign of the Rhine closed.

In Italy things had been carried on with more vigour and variety. The veteran Villars, now eighty-one years old, was in command, under Charles-Emmanuel, King of Sardinia. The old man was rough, boastful, the spoilt child of Courts: three Queens¹, one with her own hand, gave him cockades for his hat. They indulged him and bore with all his rudeness, much in the way in which Englishmen used to put up with the eccentric coarseness of some 'old salt': it was the way of the old school; these oaths and oddities, no doubt, were potent to win great victories.

Villars found it quite easy to occupy all the Milanese: farther he could not go; for Charles-Emmanuel, after the manner of his family, at once began to deal behind his back with the Imperialists, and the campaign dragged. The old

¹ France, Savoy, Spain.

Marshal, little brooking interference and delay, for he still was full of fire, threw up his command, and started for France: on the way he was seized with illness at Turin, and died there, five days after Berwick had been killed at Philippsburg. With them the long series of the generals of Louis XIV comes to an end.

Coigny and the Duke de Broglie succeeded to the command. Not far from Parma they fought a murderous battle with the Austrians, hotly contested, and a Cadmean victory for the French: it arrested their forward movement, and two months were spent in enforced idleness. In September 1734 the Imperialists inflicted a heavy check on the French at the Secchia; afterwards, however, emboldened by this success, they fought a pitched battle at Guastalla, in which, after a fierce struggle, the French remained masters of the field. Their losses, the advanced time of the year, and the uncertainty as to the King of Sardinia's movements and intentions, rendered the rest of the campaign unimportant.

As however the Imperialists, in order to make head against the French in the valley of the Po, had drawn all their available force out of the Neapolitan territory, the Spaniards were able to slip in behind them, and to secure that great prize. Don Carlos landed at Naples and was received with transports of joy: the Austrians were defeated at Bitonto; the Spaniards then crossed into Sicily, which also welcomed them gladly; the two kingdoms passed willingly under the rule of the Spaniards¹.

In 1735 Austria made advances in the direction of peace; for the French had stirred up their old friend the Turk, who, in order to save Poland, proposed to invade Hungary. Fleury, no lover of war, and aware that England's neutrality could not last for ever, was not unwilling to treat: a Congress at Vienna

¹ In 1713 the two kingdoms had been severed by the Treaty of Utrecht, Charles retaining Naples, and Victor Amadeus of Savoy having Sicily. In 1720 Victor Amadeus exchanged Sicily for Sardinia, and the 'Two Sicilies' were reunited in favour of the House of Austria; this was now reversed in favour of the Spanish Bourbons, and continued so till the days of Napoleon.

followed, and before the end of 1735 peace again reigned in Europe. The terms of the Treaty of Vienna (3 Oct. 1735)¹ were very favourable to France. Austria ceded Naples and Sicily, Elba, and the States degli Presidii to Spain, to be erected into a separate kingdom for Don Carlos: France obtained Lorraine and Bar, which were given to Stanislaus Leczinski on condition that he should renounce all claim to the Polish Crown; they were to be governed by him under French administration: Francis Stephen the former Duke obtained, as an indemnity, the reversion of Tuscany, which fell to him in the following year. Parma and Piacenza returned to the Emperor, who also obtained from France a guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction.

Thus France at last got firm hold of the much-desired Lorraine country, though it was not absolutely united to her till the death of Stanislaus in 1766: it secured her eastern frontier, which without it had been vulnerable and weak. Now with possession of Alsace on the one side and the Three Bishoprics on the other, France secured the whole of that woodland mountainous district which commands the plain of Champagne on the one hand and that of the Rhine on the other: how different might have been the fortunes of revolutionary France, half a century later, had the émigrés and the Germans been able to set out on their mission of repression from Nanci instead of the Rhine! The Turks pressed hard on the weakened rear of Austria: it was Fleury's hand which, in 1739, dictated the Peace of Belgrade, a striking admission of the extreme feebleness of the House of Austria.

These things made Fleury appear before the world as the arbiter of Europe²: his successful cabinet-diplomacy had won great and solid triumphs for France. Her borders were enlarged, commerce revived, especially in the Mediterranean and the East; her East India Company grew rapidly³; her population

¹ Sardinia did not come in till 1 May, 1736; Spain not till 15 Nov. 1736.

² L. von Ranke, *Franz. Geschichte*, iv. p. 366.

³ The French settlements in India increased much at this time; the Isle de Bourbon and Isle de France became, the former a rich agricultural

increased. Yet society was no better, nor were the people happier than before; the Court was more and more corrupt; the King was now beginning that ghastly career of libertinism and debauch which crowned the abominable corruption of the age, and have rendered his name a bye-word to posterity. Nor had Fleury's prudence and economy saved France from suffering, though he had succeeded in making the income and expenditure balance, or nearly so. The taxes pressed with ever-grinding severity on the country districts, where revenue-farmers and agents oppressed, unchecked, the simple folk: it was at this time, too, that Fleury introduced that scourge of France, which has left its indelible mark on the popular mind, the *corvée*¹. It is said that to this day the peasantry vote against Legitimist candidates for the Assembly, in the strong belief that were the Bourbons to come in again they would reimpose this most hated badge of servitude. And yet the *corvée* was imposed at first in the interests of the national prosperity: in 1733 Fleury, seeing that the old roads throughout France were in bad condition, and that many districts still required opening up, determined to grapple with so great a task: the state should build the bridges, make the cuttings, lay out the best lines, while the country was to do the rest. The Intendants of the different provinces were quietly instructed to compel the villagers and peasants, along all the lines of road, to give their own labour, that of their beasts, and the use of their carts, for the making, repairing, keeping up of the highways. It was an Egyptian bondage, inflicted by an Egyptian despotism. No formalities of government, even the most absolute, were used, no edict issued, no order in Council, no proclamation: this crushing burden was

colony, the latter the strong naval port commanding the Indian seas. Voltaire tells us that at the close of the reign of Louis XIV France had only 300 merchant ships, in 1738 she had 1800.

¹ The *Corvée* [Low Lat. *corvada*, *corrogata*, from *con-* and *rogare*, *opera corrogata*, work done at command] was an ancient feudal tax levied by the lord on his peasants, who had to give him their gratuitous labour certain days; thus in the fifteenth century 'chasune charrue paierat chasun an trois journées à la crowée de la charrue.' See Du Cange, *corvadium*; and Littré, *corvée*.

stealthily laid on the land, and those entrusted with the charge of it were empowered to inflict arbitrary punishment on any wretched peasant who hesitated to obey¹.

If we would see what the result was, and how the evils grew which at last led to the overthrow of the monarchy, we must read the Memoirs of the Marquis D'Argenson², who draws with unsparing hand a frightful picture of the misery of the peasantry in the three years from 1738 to 1740. The population, which had been increasing, once more fell off; for the *corvée* devoured not only men's labour but their lives. 'At this very moment in which I write,' says D'Argenson, 'in time of peace (1739), with all appearance of an average if not an abundant crop, men are dying all round us, as thick as flies; they are wretched, eating grass³.' The western provinces, the old Huguenot districts, are suffering most: society is so poor that it has no means wherewith to buy anything; food grows dearer, yet no one cultivates: the taxes are exacted rigorously, their amount increased. Look at Normandy, that fine country;—the farmers are ruined, and cease to exist; some squires even set their valets to till their farms. The Duke of Orleans one day threw a scrap of bread made of bracken⁴ on the King's table in the Council room, saying—'See, sir, this is your subjects' food⁵.' The people mobbed the King's carriage as he passed through the Faubourg S. Victor, crying 'Misery, famine, bread!' He had a moment of feeling for his people, and wished to do something for them: on reaching his house at Choisy, he dismissed all the gardeners, by way of retrenchment: they starved, with every one else. Again, in November 1740, D'Argenson writes that the number of those reduced to beggary will soon exceed that of those they beg from: the streets of Paris are unsafe after seven

¹ Martin, *Histoire de France*, xv. p. 215.

² The Marquis D'Argenson writes as a partisan, and possibly sketches only the darker scenes; yet in the main his picture must have been just: he was an honest man, a patriot and a philanthropist.

³ *Mémoires du Marquis D'Argenson* (ed. 1825), p. 322.

⁴ 'Fougère,' the bracken.

⁵ D'Argenson, p. 325.

o'clock—'More Frenchmen have died,' he says, 'of misery in these two years, than were killed in all the wars of Louis XIV'.¹ The King and Fleury seemed incapable of doing anything to solace so great a wretchedness: France was slowly perishing of famine.

¹ D'Argenson, p. 331.

CHAPTER III.

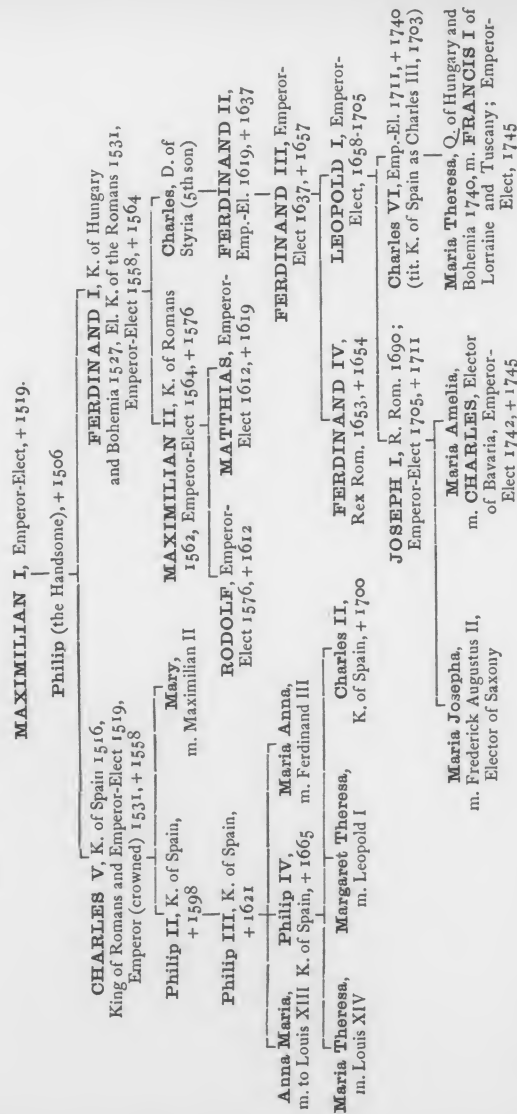
EUROPEAN COMPLICATIONS. A.D. 1740-1748.

THE year 1740 opens a new period of European affairs. The dim and feeble action of the time past gives place to greater affairs; higher interests and far-reaching differences, with men of a new stamp to take the lead, impress on this age a fresh mark of power and influence. France, though far from taking a first place in these affairs,—for her leading men were not strong enough,—plunged boldly, with large schemes of her own, into the arena. Fleury lived just long enough to see his peaceful schemes shattered against new ambitions, and to feel that the power was passing out of his hands into those of the Court-party led by the two Belle-Isles.

Two events, which took place in 1740, the death of Frederick William, King of Prussia, and that of the Emperor Charles VI, brought about these greater struggles and changes: the rivals who succeeded at Vienna and Berlin, Maria Theresa and Frederick, for nearly a quarter of a century will strive for the mastery, and will draw France into the contest now on this side and now on that.

With Charles VI the male line of the House of Austria ends: neither his elder brother Joseph nor he left sons behind them. His eldest daughter, the heroically obstinate Maria Theresa, wife of Francis, formerly Duke of Lorraine, now Grand Duke of Tuscany, was the person for whom the Emperor had tried so hard to get the guarantee of Europe, turning a deaf ear to Prince Eugene, who told him that the only sure guarantee

TABLE VII.—THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA, DOWN TO 1740.



was a stout army to defend his lands. This Charles would not listen to; for he was thoroughly imbued with a belief in strict legality, and died quite content, because by one sacrifice after another he had induced the powers to guarantee his Pragmatic Sanction.

His death proved at once the emptiness of all his hopes: there was a scramble, in which almost all Europe took part. Two objects of ambition were at once thrown before the world; the Imperial Crown, and the vast and scattered territories which paid allegiance to the House of Austria. This latter object was regarded in different ways; Maria Theresa held that it was all hers by the terms of the Pragmatic Sanction; three powers, Bavaria, Spain, Saxony, claimed also the whole inheritance on different grounds¹; the King of Sardinia also aimed at getting his share of the Italian fiefs; lastly, the King of Prussia seized Silesia, claiming on technical grounds four Duchies in Lower Silesia, which certainly gave him no right to the whole province. Francis of Tuscany, Maria Theresa's spouse, and Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, were candidates for the Imperial Crown.

France and England, long under the guidance of two shrewd and peace-loving politicians, the octogenarian Fleury, and Walpole who was now sixty-four years old, had already begun to show signs of a desire for change. Walpole had lost much of his popularity by wishing, against the public voice, to keep peace with Spain in 1739; Fleury had seen a strong party growing up against him at Court, led by the two Belle-Isles, of whom the elder, a dexterous negotiator, had contributed much to the success of the transaction which eventually gave Lorraine

¹ (1) Bavaria claimed by 'a will of Ferdinand I, of which the original did not contain what it was said to do' (Heeren, Political System, p. 229, Engl. Trans.); (2) Spain claimed on genealogical grounds, by a compact between Charles V and Ferdinand, when Charles abdicated his German territories, and by a proviso of Philip III when he renounced the Austrian succession in 1617; (3) Saxony claimed by the rights of Maria Josepha, wife of the Elector Frederick Augustus II, elder daughter of Joseph I (who was elder brother to Charles VI). The last, on hereditary grounds, was important; the main object of the Pragmatic Sanction having been to set her aside.

to France. Now that matters had become critical in Europe, Belle-Isle burned to distinguish himself not only in diplomacy but in arms. He espoused with warmth the candidature of the Elector of Bavaria for the Imperial throne, and urged Louis XV to throw over the guarantees he had given, and by striking a vigorous blow to destroy all that remained of the power and name of Austria.

France had before her two lines of policy; Fleury's, to stand by, watching her own interests, reserving her strength, taking no part in a quarrel not her own; and Belle-Isle's, to enter at once on active warfare, and dictate her terms to Europe at the sword's point. There is no doubt which was the wiser of the two alternatives; unfortunately there could also be little doubt which the Court would adopt. The temper of Louis XV, averse to business at home, was inclined towards an interest in foreign affairs: he was brave, fond of excitement, wont to say, 'Nothing venture, nothing win,' and therefore likely to be tempted into the active line of policy, more especially as Cardinal Fleury's pacific influences were on the wane. The talk of those round the King who sketched a brilliant campaign, and pointed out how the friendship of the Elector of Bavaria opened the door to Austria and Bohemia, was certain to affect him much: in a word, the warlike policy was soon adopted.

On the other hand, what would England, the old ally of France, now do? The House of Hanover had not yet become really English: with the extraordinary want of proportion which seems always to characterise the inhabitants of small states, they thought the Electorate more important than the kingdoms: they allowed Charles VI to reckon implicitly on their help. The English nation, weary of Walpole's sagacious and peaceful rule, was quickly coming to think, on very different grounds, much as the King thought: he for Hanover, they for their commercial interests, were inclined to prefer the Austrian to the French alliance. Above all, England was now at war with Spain: the 'Jenkin's ear' incident had set the country in a ferment, and war had been declared in October 1739. All the better

feelings of the nation were enlisted on behalf of the Austrian Queen: her youth and beauty, the heroism of her bearing, her pride and obstinacy, all delighted the English, who had nothing to gain by her overthrow, and might reap much profit on the sea from a war with France.

Frederick II began the war: seeing so many claimants vaguely floating about, with his intense directness he at the same moment claimed and occupied Silesia. Silesia is the valley of the Oder, from its sources till it has flowed well down into the plain of North Germany; there it touches on Brandenburg and the Lower Lausitz, so connecting itself on its narrow western frontier with Germany. It is driven like a wedge into the heart of those Slavonic and Czech peoples, who have ever been the eastern neighbours of Germany, their risk and temptation: to the north-east lay the Poles; to the south-west Bohemia and Moravia; for a short distance at the extreme point of Silesia it touches on Hungary, the Jablunka mountains forming the border-line between them. For the Prussian monarchy this valley was, in Austrian hands, a constant menace, for it brought the South Germans within a stone's throw of Berlin: without Silesia Prussia would never be safe, and could never take the lead in Northern Germany. The occupation of that Province by the King of Prussia marks the point of time at which the North begins to assert her independence of the South; her predominance comes at a much later moment of history. In the battle of Molwitz (April 1741) Frederick tried his maiden sword and the temper of his father's well-disciplined army on the forces of the ancient House of Habsburg: the new triumphed over the old.

Hereon the league against Maria Theresa sprang quickly into being: in May 1741 Belle-Isle secured the conclusion of a Treaty at Nymphenburg between France, Spain, and Bavaria; it was a Partition-treaty by which the German princes were to divide the Austrian territories, while France, guided by a luminous hero, should have her natural heritage of influence and glory. The King of Prussia wished for nothing better:

he at once acceded to the league, as did also Poland and Sardinia. Though the Palatine princes went the same way, the Empire remained neutral, with the exception of Hanover, which, with Russia, alone supported Maria Theresa in her perilous struggle. The sea-powers offered friendly mediation. Sweden held Russia in check: a French army in Westphalia threatened Hanover and reduced it to neutrality; and thus the Austrian Queen was left to her own resources, to the force of her own determined character and the enthusiasm of her disconnected territories: England, her only remaining friend, seemed only useful for subsidies.

Belle-Isle, persuasive and pleasing, ceaselessly active and ambitious, fertile in schemes and resources, eager to seize the future, dim-sighted as to the meaning of the present, was the man lightly to adventure great things, and gaily to fail for want of solidity. At the head of thirty-four thousand men, he marched to the Rhine, crossed it, joined a strong force of Bavarians, and took Linz and Passau: their horse pushed down the Danube valley, and alarmed Vienna, which might have fallen into the hands of the allies but for Fleury's reluctance to make Bavaria too strong. The Austrian Court took refuge in Hungary, where the spirit and beauty of their young Queen aroused the warmest enthusiasm¹ of her gallant subjects: German Austria was saved by those Huns and Magyars whom she had long coerced. A great levy of Hungarians, Croats, Dalmatians, strange wild creatures with fear-inspiring names, huzzars, tolpatches, pandours; it seemed as if Western Europe were about to undergo a new invasion of Huns or Tartars from the East.

Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, had himself recognised the Archduke of Austria at Linz; then, thinking his work done in the Danube Valley, he left a strong force behind him, and marched into Bohemia. Before a relieving army could come

¹ This was the time of the world-famous (if apocryphal) scene of the 'Moriatur pro rege nostro Maria Theresa.'

up from Moravia, a French adventurer, Chevert, acting under the orders of Maurice of Saxony, surprised and took Prague by a night attack. The Elector on entering the town had himself crowned King of Bohemia; he then left the French with much weakened forces to defend the Bohemian capital, while he passed on to Frankfort, where he was elected Emperor in January 1742. Belle-Isle, who also went thither, was now at the topmost point of his glory: his schemes seemed crowned with complete success: his candidate was Emperor: the allies had menaced Vienna and had taken Prague.

At this very time the tide had turned. The Austrians with their wild levies from the east poured up the Danube valley, sacking and burning as they went. The forces left in Linz under Ségur, had to capitulate after a poor resistance, and the Imperialists entered Munich the very day on which the Elector was crowned Emperor at Frankfort. Belle-Isle was ill, and Marshal Broglie, the mere wreck of an old soldier¹, was sent to relieve him. The worst peril of Austria seemed past: the new Russian government, that of the Empress Elizabeth, now raised to the throne by a revolution, listened to the English envoys, and took the Austrian side, keeping Sweden in check. In England the irritation against Walpole had at last become too strong for that wary minister: his twenty years of prosperity and political corruption now came to an end: the new ministry were very hostile to France, and determined to carry on war with vigour: they even persuaded the Dutch to vote a subsidy for Maria Theresa. Thus crumbled to pieces the political edifice which Fleury had raised with so much pains and trouble: and the old minister must have seen with bitterness that his country, with insufficient arms and incapable officers, was engaged in a struggle which was arraying half Europe against her, and of which no one could foretell the end. Prussia, followed by the Elector of Saxony made terms with Austria in

¹ He was the first Duke, created in 1742. He had served with distinction under the generals of the later time of Louis XIV, but was now incapacitated for active campaigning, having had two apoplectic strokes.

June, 1742; for Maria Theresa, yielding to the advice of England, was willing to cede to Frederick all Silesia except Teschen, Troppau and Jägerndorf.

The result was very serious for the French in Bohemia. Broglie, in spite of Belle-Isle's remonstrances, had stretched his force along the line of the Moldau; the Austrians fell on them, maltreated them severely, took their baggage, and drove the Marshal back to Prague. There they beleaguered the French from June to the end of the year. The energy of Belle-Isle, the fierce sorties and defence of the city and the French camp, wore down both combatants: and it was believed that Maillebois' army from Westphalia would soon relieve the blockaded forces. Maillebois, however, had orders to risk nothing: and instead of breaking through the Austrians opposed to him, he passed aside into Bavaria, where, after driving out the Austrians, he went into winter quarters. Broglie left Belle-Isle to himself in Prague: and orders came from Paris that the city should be evacuated at once. In mid-winter, through the bitterest cold, Belle-Isle succeeded in evading his enemies, and brought back across the Rhine the pitiable remnant of the great army which had marched forth so proudly the year before. Of fifty-two thousand men, only about ten thousand got back¹. The retreat was really made possible only by the soldierlike disposition of Maurice of Saxony who, by seizing Egra², kept the way open for the retreating army. Still, the feat was greatly overpraised: they were the ten thousand of Xenophon again;—though some cynics observed that there was this difference between Belle-Isle and Xenophon, that the Greek general had brought all his army home again, while the French Marshal left his behind³. Chevert, who commanded the garrison left behind in Prague, and chiefly composed of invalids, capitulated shortly afterwards on honourable terms.

¹ It is reckoned that of 120,000 men who crossed the Rhine in 1741, scarcely 35,000 recrossed that river in 1743, and these in great destitution and distress.

² It was at Egra in Bohemia that Wallenstein was assassinated.

³ Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, xxviii. p. 261.

The war thus waged by France against the aged minister's will had become disastrous: the materials were bad, the generals incapable and disunited, the soldiers little used to war. The Emperor, whose election, so short a time ago, had been a triumph, was now an incumbrance to them; his hereditary states were entirely overrun and wrested from him: he retired to Frankfort, where he satisfied himself, as best he might, with the vain show of his imperial dignity. That weathercock, the King of Sardinia, seeing which way the wind blew, also in 1742 had deserted the Franco-Bavarian side. These things embittered Fleury's last days: his policy, safe if obscure, had been cast aside, and France seemed to be descending a rapid slope. While matters were at their worst he sickened and died, having tenaciously held the reins of power to the end. He closed his weary eyes in January 1743, in his ninetieth year.

As Louis XV had regretted the Duke of Orleans, so now he mourned for his aged minister. He sincerely regretted one who took on him all the burden of state-cares, judged for him, saved him all trouble, did not interfere with his royal vices. The King was thirty-three years old; he had been on the throne twenty-seven years, yet no one so unfit to reign; indolent and cold, he hated business; timidly proud, a difficult and dangerous character, he shrank from any open action which would betray his ignorance, and that was great: above all, he was nonchalant and careless, utterly oblivious to the interests and welfare of the great country over which he professed to rule. Yet he declared that he would henceforth have no First Minister, echoing the great monarch's phrase, with a very different temper underneath. The consequence was that his government was subjected to a series of boudoir-conspiracies and female revolutions, worthy of the most degraded of oriental courts.

Early in 1743, King George of England, with the Duke of Cumberland, eager to come to blows with the French whom he hated, had joined the Anglo-German army¹ in Belgium, under command of Lord Stair, the old friend of Dubois. In Holland

¹ Sometimes called the 'Pragmatic Army.'

the Orange-party, the old war-party opposed to France, had prevailed, and the States-General agreed to furnish twenty thousand men; all Europe was turning against France. The Anglo-Germans, some fifty thousand strong, were to make an attempt to capture Charles VII at Frankfort on the Main, then to march southwards so as to cut off Broglie who was in Bavaria. Lord Stair accordingly pushed hastily and rashly¹ on up the right bank of the Main as far as Aschaffenburg, dépôt and supplies being left at Hanau. There he was met by Noailles, who with a splendid artillery had taken up a good position in his way, with strong batteries holding both banks of the Main, while at the same moment he threatened the allied communications at Seligenstadt opposite Dettingen, half-way between Hanau and Aschaffenburg. The allies were now in imminent peril: a little patience and prudence on the part of the French would have secured their disastrous retreat, perhaps their surrender, King and army. All, however, was spoilt by the noble rashness of the Duke of Grammont, Noailles' nephew, who foolishly pushed forward with the French Guards, making the well-placed batteries useless, and turning an impregnable defensive position into a very bad attack. The result was the battle of Dettingen², and the total defeat of the French. The allies only used their victory to secure an unmolested retreat to their supports.

Nor could Noailles advance; Broglie, whose forward movements in Bavaria ought to have left him free to act, had fallen back to Strasburg: and Noailles, unsupported, also drew in towards Alsace: all Germany was now clear of French arms. Charles VII, despairing of his cause, made terms with Maria Theresa; who also, at Worms in the end of 1743, made alliance, through the influence of George II, with the King of Sardinia

¹ Frederick the Great, *Œuvres* ii. p. 22, 23 (ed. 1788), blames Stair's great imprudence.

² France, with characteristically cynical want of seriousness, made very merry over this mishap; it was the '*journée des bâtons rompus*' (d'Harcourt and Grammont had meant to win the Marshal's bâton); the French guards were nicknamed '*les canards du Mein*'; a sword was hung up against Noailles' house, with the inscription '*point homicide ne seras*.'

and the Elector of Saxony. The proud Queen believed that she saw before her not merely the recovery of all she had lost, but even an opportunity of wresting Lorraine and Alsace from France.

With 1744 a new period of the war begins: France awakes from her torpor; her King, who had lately passed from cold indifference and callousness to excess of libertinism and vices fit only for the worst days of the regency, came under the influence of a mistress, the Duchess of Châteauroux, who was both brave and proud, and did her best to rouse him from his shameful indolence. The moment seemed promising: the league of Worms had awakened all the suspicions of Frederick of Prussia; he knew that Austria would recover Silesia if she could, and that the alliance was in fact directed against him: he therefore joined the poor Emperor Charles VII, the French, the Swedes, and the Elector Palatine in a new league of Frankfort (April 1744). Thus Europe was once more divided into two groups; at the head of the one stood France, of the other England: the Court of Versailles decided on the reduction of the Low Countries, as a first step: that might produce a change in Holland; while a fleet and sufficient army were told off to land Charles Edward, 'the young Pretender,' on the coast of Scotland.

This second part of the programme failed entirely for this year; a storm dispersed the fleet, and the landing never took place: on the Northern frontier more was accomplished. Two armies, one under Noailles, with the engineers and artillery for siege-work, the other under Marshal Saxe¹ to protect the first, marched into Flanders: the King and his vigorous mistress accompanied the besieging army. Town after town fell; their defences had been badly kept up, and the new departments of the French army were in full vigour; the Dutch began to tremble, for the French seemed to be securing a safe basis for an advance on Holland. Matters, however, on the other side were not so favourable for them; Charles of Lor-

¹ Made Marshal in 1743.

raine¹, commanding a fine army of Germans, had crossed the frontier of Alsace, and was pushing Coigny, in command there with an allied force, back into France. Thereon the King, with Noailles and the bulk of his army, marched eastwards: on his way he was taken very ill at Metz, and his life despaired of: a terrible struggle for power took place at his bedside, the Duke of Richelieu fighting hard to keep up the influence of the reigning favourite, the Duke of Chartres eager to overthrow her. The King was told he must die; under pressure of religious fears, and the threats of the Bishop of Soissons, he consented to banish the Duchess of Châteauroux, who had tended him with much loving care: she was obliged to retire, and the King made ready for an edifying death. His malady, however, took a favourable turn; and he recovered, to the intense joy of all France, which had watched his illness with the utmost interest and excitement. It is singular how popular this very feeble monarch had become; it had been so from the beginning: after his illness in 1721 there had been amazing rejoicings on his recovery, 'so highly beloved is this young Prince, from what motive I shall not pretend to examine,' as said an English on-looker at the time². It is fair to add that the French people knew little of the private life of their King, and attributed to his quiet character much of the comparative rest and prosperity they had enjoyed during his reign. With his recovery his scruples vanished: his neglected Queen, who had been sent for from Paris, was sent back again with contempt; the ruling mistress triumphed, her enemies all fell from power and disappeared.

During this period Frederick of Prussia had invaded Bohemia, seized Prague, threatened Vienna: Charles of Lorraine thereon abandoned Alsace, and marched for Bohemia: the French did nothing to harass or hinder him: Frederick, thanks to French inaction and incapacity, was obliged to fall back into Saxony.

¹ He was the brother-in-law of Maria Theresa.

² Ayerst, in *Wake MSS.*, 6 August, 1721.

In the south the Franco-Spanish army and fleet, supporting Don Carlos who was hard pressed by the Austrians, won some considerable successes. Don Carlos defeated the invaders at Velletri, and drove them back to Bologna, while the Spaniards occupied Savoy and passed the Var: the fleets from Toulon fought an indecisive battle with the English fleet of observation, and got out to sea. The Franco-Spanish army took Nice and Villafranca, crossed the Alps, invested Coni, and defeated the King of Sardinia who came up to its relief. The winter however was coming on, and they were obliged to raise the siege and retire across the Alps.

In 1745 matters went better for the French: they followed their original plan of reducing the Netherlands, in spite of Frederick's remonstrances, and Louis XV joined Marshal Saxe at the siege of Tournay. The Duke of Cumberland, with sixty thousand men, marched to its relief: then Marshal Saxe with about an equal number, established himself in a fine position across their path at Fontenoy, where, on the 10th of May, 1745, a great battle was fought. The allies, attacking the position, penetrated in a dense column, by a stubborn forward movement, to the very heart of the French army. Had there been a capable general to support the attack, their victory would have been speedily secured; instead, at the critical moment the column came to a stand, not knowing what next to do: the point-blank discharge of three guns, and the vigorous attack of the King's Guards, under the eye of Louis himself, who showed plenty of spirit and bravery, decided the day against the allies: the column was torn in pieces; it broke up, and fled¹. The results were great, Tournay, the prize for which the battle had been fought, fell at once; Ghent and Bruges, Oudenarde, Ostend, Dendermonde, all yielded: the allies could nowhere make head.

In Italy also the French arms were victorious: the battle of

¹ If any one cares to see how history should not be written, let him study Voltaire's account of the Battle of Fontenoy, which D'Argenson (*Mémoires*, p. 446) called 'un morceau digne de l'antiquité.'

Bassignano had laid all Lombardy at their feet. Still, the heart of the war was neither in Flanders nor in Italy, and Frederick said with good reason that a battle won on the Scamander would have been every whit as useful to him: his great foe was gradually developing all her strength; she had obtained the Imperial crown for her husband Francis, Grand Duke of Tuscany (Sept. 1745). Frederick with one hand offered peace, while with the other he won great victories against Austrians and Saxons: at last Maria Theresa, at the urgent request of England, made peace at Dresden with the terrible young King: he recognised Francis I as Emperor, she ceded Silesia (3 Jan. 1746). The lesser powers of Germany at once came in to this treaty, and France was almost entirely isolated.

The vigorous policy of England was now beginning to bear fruit. Her navies grew in strength and size: the independent attempt of Charles Edward (July 1745 to April 1746), which revealed a strange period of torpor in the English mind, during which he was neither holpen nor holden by popular adhesion or resistance, was brought to an end at Culloden by the Duke of Cumberland: the only warm partisans of the young Pretender, the wild Highlanders, were repressed with terrible severity; and the chance of a powerful and very embarrassing division, which the French neglected to seize, passed by for ever. England now began to grasp with no unsteady hand the command of the seas; she covered the home-waters with innumerable ships of war and privateers; she attacked the Spanish colonies, seized Cape Breton, captured French convoys, cut off the connexions of French or Spanish colonies, defeated a French fleet off Cape Finisterre, and took the merchantmen it convoyed with untold spoil.

The French settlements in India, where Pondicherry had become a very flourishing place, were beginning to spread out all over that great Peninsula: two men of ability, Labourdonnais and Dupleix, who, if they could have worked together, might have founded a solid empire there, were unfortunately rivals. When war broke out between France and England,

Labourdonnais equipped a little fleet, defeated the English ships off the coast, and besieged Madras: Dupleix, arriving after he had agreed to a capitulation by which Madras was to ransom itself, refused to accept the terms, arrested Labourdonnais, and took and burnt Madras. The fallen general was sent to France, and ended his days—poor recompense for his gallantry and great services—in the Bastille. The English recovered Madras, and drove Dupleix back to Pondicherry, which they failed to take.

In the autumn of 1746 Marshal Saxe followed up the successes of the past year, and took all the important towns of Belgium; he defeated Charles of Lorraine at Rocoux, and seemed to restore France to something of her ancient glory; this foreign general seemed her only stay. In Italy the year 1746 had been unfortunate for the French: their army under Maillebois, reduced to a shadow of itself, was obliged to recross the Var, and the Austrians even pillaged Provence. Belle-Isle, who showed no lack of vigour at this moment, drove them back into Italy, and helped to raise the siege of Genoa, which was hotly pressed on by English fleet and Austrian army.

In 1747 the Chevalier Belle-Isle, the Marshal's brother, was killed in an attempt to drive the Austrians out of the Apennines; this was the last action fought by the French in Italy under the old régime. They now abandoned all attempts on the Peninsula.

In the Netherlands the war went on, Holland holding firmly to the English alliance: Marshal Saxe in vain attempted the reduction of Maestricht, which was strong, and was also covered by the Duke of Cumberland. Although Saxe defeated the allies at Lawfeld, he could not compel them to retreat, or succeed in completing the investment of Maestricht: he abandoned the struggle, and turning his arms against a less important stronghold, Bergen-op-Zoom, took it after a long and brilliant siege. This ended the campaign of 1747.

Early next year, Marshal Saxe, after some masterly movements, sat down before Maestricht. The allies, weary at last of war, began seriously to think of peace, and a Congress

was opened in April 1748 at Aix la Chapelle. Negotiations went on through the summer: the actual peace was not signed till October, though the preliminaries had been agreed to in April. It excited no small surprise that Louis XV, who was pleased to declare that he would 'make peace as a King, not as a tradesman,' should have obtained so little from the triumphs and sacrifices of the war: in vain had Marshal Saxe secured Belgium, and Belle-Isle Savoy and Nice: the only thing the King seemed to be anxious for was leisure and money, that he might waste both on his infamous pleasures.

So Lord Sandwich and Kaunitz, the great Austrian statesman who here began his diplomatic career, had an easy task: the two chief belligerents, France and England, mutually restored their conquests, France receiving back Cape Breton, England Madras; the frontier-fortresses, for the most part dismantled, were restored to Holland. Don Philip was secured at Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla; to Sardinia came portions of the Milanese; Dunkirk retained its fortifications on the land side only, and was not again to be a refuge for French privateers. Silesia was secured, with Glatz, to Frederick II; on the other side the powers solemnly recognised the Emperor Francis I, and again guaranteed the old Pragmatic Sanction. Lastly, France agreed to eject Charles Edward from her borders, and to guarantee the Hanoverian Succession. Nothing was said about the contested boundaries of Canada and Nova Scotia.

The Peace, which seemed to settle the affairs of Europe, was little more than a magnificent truce. The boundaries-question in America might any day reopen disputes between England and France: the steady and dogged determination of Maria Theresa to recover Silesia would one day lead to fresh complications and war in Germany. The great French scheme for the dismemberment of Austria thus failed; she had lost Silesia, Parma, and Piacenza; yet her solid strength was untouched, and she was still one of the great powers. The gravest result of the Peace was that England, though burdened with heavy debt, had risen to a first place in the councils of Europe;

the next result to be noticed was the fact that, the centre of the political balance being thus shifted, new combinations must certainly follow. In the next war not England and Austria, but England and Prussia, will be friends; while France and Austria, now deadly foes, will reverse the policy of ages by becoming close allies.

CHAPTER IV.

THE AGE OF MADAME DE POMPADOUR.

A.D. 1748-1763.

THERE have doubtless been many worse women than Madame d'Étioles; none, probably, have ever been so mischievous. After the death of Madame de Châteauroux in 1744, in the scramble for the vacant place, in which every beautiful woman in France seemed to court dishonour, the young and brilliant wife of a small official, daughter of an army-contractor, caught the attention of the King in the hunting-field, and won the prize of her ambition. Society was vexed and offended,—not merely her rivals, but the Court generally,—at her rise to favour; for she was not even of the lesser noblesse, and her obscure birth seemed to be a far more heinous fault than her adultery. She was, however, not only splendidly beautiful and vivacious; she was a woman of considerable taste, great power of management, decided cleverness; and, for all her evil life and the misery she brought on hundreds of decent families, she had a kindly heart, and gave lavishly—of what was not her own¹. In her those marked characteristics of the age, the union of personal vice and depravity with strong feelings of humanity, and the love of a high-soaring philosophy, which was contemptuous of ancient creeds and opinions, were very clearly to be seen: she deserves her place among the 'enlightened despots,' the 'philosophic princes' of the eighteenth century.

¹ 'She made a splendid, even a beneficent use of her wealth; she portioned poor girls, assisted old men, repaired ruined villages, followed the impulse of the new philosophy.' Lacretelle, *Histoire de France*, III. lib. x. p. 153.

'The period we have now reached may be fairly regarded as a regency exercised by Madame de Pompadour¹,' for that was the title by which Madame d'Étioles was ennobled and becomes famous in European history. She ruled for twenty years; under her baleful influences, what little vigour the monarch had shown under the guidance of Madame de Châteauroux died utterly away: the King became a mere cypher in the state; men would have forgotten his existence, but for some horrible scandal which now and then, like poisonous bubbles rising on a still and noisome pool, betrayed the foul life beneath. In silence, but none the less surely, corruption and deadly vices were working out the ruin of France.

The difficulty which besets us in these closing pages of the record of the old Monarchy of France is inevitable, though vexatious. We may not seek the living among the dead; we must deal not with the germs of coming life, the changed interests, the newly awakened national powers, but with the gradual progress of that corruption which beset all institutions alike, and brought France down to her lowest point of degradation. We must watch the consuming of the old Phoenix; we may take no note of the young and splendid bird as it rises out of the ashes of the past. We can deal with the 'new ideas' only so far as they tend to subvert the 'official beliefs,' social, political, theological: the constructive work of the philosophers, the philanthropists, the economists, must be set aside for the present. These things must form the vestibule to every attempt to construct a history of the rise, the fortunes, and the fall of modern Imperialism. For the part of the work on which we are now engaged we may use the brilliant pages of M. Taine²; for that of the future we do well to reserve the strong and scientific treatise of De Tocqueville³.

¹ Lacretelle, *Histoire de France*, III. lib. x. p. 152.

² Taine, *Origines de la France Contemporaine*, tome i.

³ 'Ce que la Révolution a été moins que toute autre chose, c'est un événement fortuit,' De Tocqueville, *L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution*, p. 55 (ed. 1856). These words may be taken as the *motive* of the whole of the work; it traces with scientific accuracy the causes which led, by inevitable sequence, up to the great explosion.

The peculiarity of the time lies in this, that there is not only a superstructure of society which is beginning to crumble into ruin, and grows weaker and worse and more dangerous to itself year by year; not only a substructure of the oppressed throughout France, who become yearly more conscious of the evils they suffer and more restless under them; but that there is also a third power, independent of both and above both, though in the outset it may not fully understand its proper functions or always make wise utterances, or even duly translate its own precepts into action. This power, call it mind, reason, public opinion, enlightenment, as we may, which spreads at this time across Europe, which seizes greedily on all knowledge, which is eager to push on physical studies, or to enquire into economic principles, or to strike out the aphorisms of political life, or to speculate on the recondite questions of philosophy and psychology;—this power, as yet little understood in the modern world, is destined, in a way, to be to the eighteenth century what the revelations of the Reformation were to the sixteenth. The Crown and Court understand little or nothing of it; the career of Philip of Orleans shews clearly how a ruler blest with all the necessary ability and tastes, could fall hopelessly back into the slough of moral turpitude out of which neither high moral theory, nor the contemplative life, for all its boasted charms, could extricate him. And it must be remembered that the preachers of these new and exalted doctrines were often men of miserable moral conduct; that the most beautiful precepts came from the pens of those who trampled into the dirt all that was holiest in the moral and social relations of their own lives.

This it is that makes the delineation of the age so painful: it would be bad enough to have to chronicle the heartless libertinism of the polite world, and the starving even to death of the people; the mock simplicity of the idyllic writers, and the hollow falseness of the moralists, fill us with despair.

One of the most definite of the principles practised by Louis XIV was the rule that no great gentleman should be

permitted to live quietly on his estates. He was the parent of a general absenteeism in France, which worked very badly for the country, and was one of the distinct causes of the Revolution of 1789. He centralised all government and all society; in return France looked helplessly up to Paris, and did whatever the capital decreed. It is wonderful how much care Louis XIV took to get his noblesse away from the country: all favour, all offices of honour, all hopes of advancement for a man's family, depended on a sedulous attendance at Court. If the name of any one who lived on his estates was mentioned for preferment, there was always the same answer; 'I do not know him: I have never seen him here;' and he was passed over. The Intendants of provinces were instructed to urge the country-gentlemen to go to town; they were to make it uncomfortable for them if they did not. Consequently, all who cared for society or preferment rushed up to Paris, and swelled the crowd of hangers-on who thronged the salons at Versailles. Several results followed: first, the country was condemned as hopelessly dull and vulgar; to be provincial was fatal; it became one of the worst punishments to be ordered to retire to one's estates; those whom this fate befell filled the air with their despairing cries; Ovid in the Tristia was not more hopeless, as he compared his cold Thracian exile with the sunshine of society at Rome. Next, the cultivation of the estates of the nobles grew rapidly worse and less productive¹: in many cases the land fell entirely out of tillage, and as the returns from it diminished, the lord's cost of living was enormously increased: nothing so much impoverished the country, or tended so much to ruin the noblesse, as this constant non-residence². We are told that about the middle of the eighteenth century all the old

¹ In 1756 the Count of Mirabeau says, 'Il n'y a pas une seule terre un peu considérable dont le propriétaire ne soit à Paris, et conséquemment ne néglige ses maisons et ses châteaux.' *Traité de la Population*, p. 108.

² The lands of religious houses, in which the owners were ever resident, were in marked contrast; they were the best-tilled in France.

families, except two or three hundred, were ruined; often the greater the nominal income the greater the debts. Then, as a consequence of this extravagance, neglect, and poverty, estates frequently changed hands; not only did rich officials, and sometimes prosperous citizens buy up titled lands¹, but even the peasants themselves, hoarding up their life-long savings, with steady purpose and infinite anxieties, purchased the little plots of land on which their humble cabins stood, and which they had tilled from youth. In this way it was reckoned that one quarter of all the land had become the property of the peasantry: it is now well known that the great subdivision of the land in France dates from the half century before the Revolution², not from that time only. A third result of the centralisation was that manners rapidly and ominously grew worse: an idle crowd, with neither learning to interest them nor work to occupy them, had nothing to do but to plunge into dissipations of every kind. The state of the Court under Louis XIV was bad, if decorous: under Louis XV it cried to heaven. The elegant exterior covered a ruin underneath; manners took the place of morals. The nobles were utterly uneducated; they were bad citizens, bad soldiers, bad husbands: if their manners were better than those of Molière's Bourgeois Gentilhomme, their ignorance was at least as great: from childhood upwards they led a false and useless life; pride, privilege, and freedom from moral duties and from civic taxation, were their glory. Vice did not pay 'her last tribute' of hypocrisy to virtue: she stalked unblushing through the town. No one, however, might laugh or criticise or venture on witticisms; for such the ready answer was a 'lettre de cachet,' and a lifetime in the Bastille.

The upper clergy, usually noble also, 'baked of the same

¹ We have seen that Law purchased no fewer than fourteen titled estates.

² Arthur Young, whose travels took place just before and at the exact time of the outbreak of the Revolution, notices this great subdivision of the land.

dough,' were equally non-resident, neglectful of their duties, sycophants to corrupt power, sunk in utter ignorance. Some of them were atheistic and immoral, others devotees and narrowly religious: we find them sometimes combining both characteristics, like the ladies of Bourges in 1754, who were 'bigoted and pretentious, much addicted to gambling and gallantry.' The parish priests, a very different tribe, who had only the one quality of ignorance in common with the dignified clergy, cherished no love for their more fortunate brethren, and went against them, when the time came.

Here then was nothing to purify, to ennoble, or to support the throne; nothing to build it up on a permanent basis, or to strengthen it when in danger. Louis XIV had created a centralised despotism, a form of government which cannot stand unless the despot be strong. Nor if we look at the other super-incumbent classes of society, do we find much hope. The great army of state-officials, most of whom had bought their places, farmed them selfishly and callously: Law, twenty years or more before this time, expresses to D'Argenson his amazement at finding that the noblesse are as nothing in the government of provinces: 'this realm of France,' he says, 'is governed by thirty Intendants. You have neither Parliament, nor Estates, nor governors: only these thirty "maîtres de requêtes" as agents in the provinces'. In other words, the old local authority was dead, the central government alone subsisting: little remained, save the right of administering justice in many parts, and the power to impose certain onerous feudal burdens; even these were become much smaller than of old, while the exactions of the central authority increased yearly. In most instances the peasant who had escaped out of the hands of his lord by purchase of his land, found that he had only fallen into the hands of the Paris government, and that his burdens seemed as heavy as ever, without the poor consolation he might have derived from the

¹ D'Argenson, Mémoires, p. 180.

nearness of his lord, and a feeling that he knew what became of his hardly-won earnings.

Thus then, neither noble nor priest nor taxgatherer seemed likely to be able to do much to sustain the tottering state: still less could men look to the King himself for help. Louis XV had now begun his later period, his time of unbridled self-indulgence. He had long lived only to amuse himself: as the Austrian ambassador once remarked of him, he could not find 'one hour a day for serious business.' Each day came some new party of pleasure; hunting, to him and to Louis XVI, was the business of life: the chase abroad and the salon at home,—this is the day of these weak kings. The world is full of examples of absolute monarchs who prefer to be 'rois fainéants,' do-nothing kings; and we may be disposed to think the log less evil than the stork. Yet if the balance be fairly stricken, the indifferent lazy oppressor has only one point in which we may be inclined to prefer him; he has not the vigour or ability to defend himself successfully, when the suffering world beneath is stirred up to resist him, and when the monstrous and unnatural edifice of which he is the crown and summit begins to totter to its fall.

At the time we are describing, Louis XV, ever cold and reserved, shrank more and more from contact with his people: they had neither interests nor duties in common. No magistrate or burgher could get audience: Louis XIV had been hard of access, his successor was inaccessible. So far did he carry this morbid hatred of the nation entrusted to his charge that he actually had a road built from Versailles to S. Denis, skirting Paris, so that when he went to Compiègne he should not be obliged to pass through his capital and see the glowering faces of his subjects¹. The 'beneficent despot' of the eighteenth century was unknown at Paris, though the King's old father-in-law Stanislaus could have taught him all the humanity of the day. Louis XV, however, was in no mood to listen to the lessons of that charming old man, the 'Bene-

¹ This road was named 'le chemin de la révolte.'

ficent Philosopher¹, as he loved to style himself; and certainly the Court at Versailles had no literary or humane ambitions which should make it wish to rival the charming little group of philanthropists and authors who surrounded Stanislaus and lived with him in a happy comity of letters at Lunéville and Nanci.

And if the King is useless and worse, the court around him will be no better. At Versailles there is no one to raise the State to higher things; if the King will not act, his Mistress will; Madame de Pompadour rules France during these years. The one precept for a courtier in these days was, 'Be civil to every one; ask for every vacant post; sit down whenever you can;' the tribe whose moral and social code is summed up in this sentence is perhaps not yet extinct, we discern one of them now and then, and smile at the resemblance. Then, in the days of this dim waste, splendour, and frivolity, these were the men who succeeded to all places of trust, in whose hands lay the destiny of the French nation². How different was the career of Prussia at this same time; there a noblesse to the full as proud, and one which had retained far more of its power, was being transformed into a 'great regiment of useful functionaries.' All Prussia was administered as if it were an army in the highest efficiency and vigour, at the very moment when France was perishing under the weight of a Byzantine court.³ As to the condition of the army of France, with its officers all noble and its privates all

¹ His works, under the title 'Œuvres du Philosophe bien faisant' were published at Nanci in 1765.

² 'Ce n'est point impunément qu'on transforme une noblesse d'utilité en une noblesse d'ornement.' Taine, *L'Ancien Régime*, II. i. 4, p. 134; to which place we may refer the reader for a picture of the impotence for good of the courtly noblesse.

³ It was about this time that the King of Prussia was seated one day by the side of the French Ambassador at the Play, when by some hitch in the machinery the curtain stuck partly drawn up, and the legs of the actors appeared beneath. Frederick turned to the Ambassador: 'That is a picture of your master's council at Versailles,—legs and nothing else.' And the Minister was equal to the moment, for he replied, 'Perhaps, Sire; yet your Majesty knows by experience that legs are worth something,' alluding to the well-known flight of the King. Mallet du Pan, ii. 469.

peasants, it may be enough to say now that the noble officers were as inefficient and as corrupt in the army as elsewhere, while the private soldier was to the full as wretched as the peasant in his hut.

And if this was the state of the burdening classes, what was the condition of the burdened, of the millions groaning under these gilded thousands, of the bone and sinew of France? The older influence of the Third Estate was entirely gone. The Parliament of Paris might indeed retain some traditions of its old conservative and stubborn spirit, conservative against the unheard-of encroachments of the royal power. It was, however, impotent; its friends and allies among the Jansenist clergy and the burgher-classes, who had become strong and active after the freedom granted them by the Regency, had sunk down again into stupor: when they wake again, the absolutism they had resisted will have become the established order of things, and they will then sedulously defend against the new movements of the world the institution which fifty years ago they had opposed; so doing they will be swept away.

The burgher-class¹ had changed its ground. It had grown wealthier while all the rest became poorer: the financial excitement of Law's day had roused in the citizen the desire to speculate, to make a fortune; he jostled the needy nobleman, who had not a tenth of his money to venture. His losses were doubtless great when the crash came: yet the operations of that time had taught him much and had opened wide the horizon of his ideas. This, true to some degree in other towns, is emphatically true of the Parisian citizen: year by year he advances, his trade grows; the exports of France were nearly doubled in the period between 1720 and 1748: and nearly doubled themselves again between 1748 and 1788: towards the end of the century the progress of commerce was more rapid in France than in England².

¹ I here make much use of M. Taine's work. Liv. IV. c. iii. § 11, pp. 401, sqq.

² So says Arthur Young, i. p. 521 (ed. 1794).

From this class of society naturally came the financiers and lenders, who ministered to the wants of the Court, and filled up the yawning gulf in its accounts. The creditor of the State gets a new interest in, and a fresh power of interference over, public affairs, which become no longer '*les affaires du Roi*,' 'the King's business,' into which no citizen should look; they are now, on the contrary, the affairs of King and creditor; an uncomfortable joint-business, which must in the end lead to unpleasant complications. It does not add to the good man's respect for his Sovereign when he not only lends him money, but finds himself defrauded of his interest. From this class, in large part, come the great writers, whose pens are already busy undermining the monarchy: during all this period ideas spread rapidly among the burghers; they greedily accept theories, which, as they see, are not only new but fashionable: to be atheist, or at most vaguely deist, to be humanitarian, to think that all men are equal;—these are the new ambitions of the solid citizen of France. The soil is well-prepared for the seed which Rousseau, the great prophet of the middle class, is already preparing to sow¹.

While the citizens, basing themselves on commerce and manufactures, were thus advancing rapidly, agriculture and the peasantry were either stationary or even falling back. The drawbacks on tillage were frightful: Rousseau's idyllic pictures had not the slightest resemblance to the truth; you might search from Lille to Marseilles, and never find one single subject for a romantic sentiment. You would find, instead, a starved and brutalised peasantry, living from hand to mouth; ill-fed, wretchedly clad, with wooden tools, the lineal descendants of those of Virgil. Noailles did not hesitate to say in 1745 that 'the situation of the kingdom was more deplorable than it had been in 1704.' If there was less of serfage in France than elsewhere there was far more of misery: the peasant-

¹ 'Dans les classes moyennes et inférieures Rousseau a eu cent fois plus de lecteurs que Voltaire. C'est lui seul qui a inoculé chez les Français la doctrine du peuple.' Mallet du Pan, *Mercure Britannique*, ii. p. 360.

proprietor had lost rather than gained by his freedom. He had evergrowing taxes to pay; roughly speaking, a third went to the King, a third to the Church, on the remaining third he had to subsist: we may judge what befell him when the seasons were bad: and all agriculture was so bad, that in the middle of last century a season which would now occasion no remark was fatal, bringing men to the verge of famine. No capital was laid out on the land: the noble had none: the great Churchman, if he had any, did not care to use it in that fashion; the peasant owner had none. Small farms or large, all were alike starved for want of enlightened outlay: the only check to the diminution of population was the necessity, under the system of infinitely subdivided farms, of hands to till the ground: the farmer who had a son or two to help him being better off than if he had to work alone.

The national result of this want of capital was an ever-recurring inability to cultivate the soil: for directly a short harvest came, all the seed-corn was eaten up, and there was neither store nor money to buy more: it is the yearly anxiety of the Intendants, to see whether the production will suffice to nourish the Province till the next harvest comes. No reserves of any kind existed. The introduction of the potato, towards the end of this period, was like new life to many districts; it seemed to France, as to Ireland, a God-send and blessing, and not, as it really was, a dangerously facile gift: food of a low class, grown with little trouble, is no true boon to a starving population.

If the peasant was miserable and backward, he was still able to understand something of his grievances: above all he was vexed and irritated by the absurd and oppressive game-laws which hindered him at every turn. The more reckless men became poachers; the woods and wild lands, which steadily grew in extent, as field after field fell out of cultivation, and was covered with scrub and thorns, harboured a whole population of outlaws: thither came the discontented, the starving, the criminal; there the weakened central authority seemed power-

less to touch them; they paid no taxes, cared nothing for the curé and his tithes, took their revenge on the game-laws, laughed at the impotence of government. Even close to Paris these wild bands were a terror to the wealthy: brigandage became organised; in 1754 one Mandrin at the head of sixty men defied society, and was with difficulty put down at last; the peasants honoured him as a kind of modern Robin Hood. Nor was his by any means a solitary case; the nomad population increased daily; wherever there was a wild country, there the lawless thronged: the borders of Brittany were full of them; the less bold and adventurous swelled the endless train of beggars and listless vagabonds. They rendered property unsafe; at the first note of the new doctrines they instinctively seized on what was congenial to themselves; they not merely plundered because they starved, but because their teachers preached a new distribution of wealth.

Thus stood the elements of society; on the one side elevated to a politeness and height of artificial good manners, which veneered arrogance and corruption, on the other side descending to the savage state, to all animal crimes and brutality.

It only remains for us to deal very briefly with the way in which the opinions of the day were promulgated, and their influence in still farther undermining the structure of the State.

For, as we have said, literature had become an independent power, the influences of which began a fresh life in the eighteenth century; for public opinion now exerted a new and almost incalculable force, acting on society as it had never done before. That broad-spread classes should have judgments of their own; that they should count for anything in the government and direction of affairs, was a thing little understood. Neither did the ruling powers see how to meet this growing difficulty, nor the people understand in what way they should limit and give practical form to their newly-found strength. Consequently there was no harmony between them: in France at least, it soon came to open war between established institutions

and literature; and as the institutions were all worm-eaten and worn out, they could not stand the new pressure put on them; they broke and fell to the ground. It is not that these writers of the eighteenth century made the evil: we are too apt to think of Voltaire as a great destroyer. The fact is that the evil existed before in very acute and extreme forms; the influence of literature was a consequence not a cause of the giving way of ancient faiths and received opinions and effete institutions.

For a time literature in France had been almost dumb, at the time when it was making a great and fruitful advance in England: as we go on we shall see that the great French writers of the eighteenth century drew a large part of their inspirations from English sources: that Voltaire's sojourn in this country gave him his philosophy, that Montesquieu's admiration for the English Constitution formed the key of his political writings, that Rousseau drank in the sweet draught of his philanthropy from the English humanitarians of the century.

The first note of the new literature was struck by the beneficent 'Abbé of Saint Pierre' as he is called¹, the man who invented, as a keynote to the aspirations of his own spirit and of the age, the word 'bienfaisance,' and, rare excellence, acted up to the word he had introduced. He lived for peace and justice, no doubt an utopist and a theorist: a little in advance of his age, he found no acceptance among rulers, though they respected his sincerity.

Then came the economists, the 'Physiocrats,' who, led by Quesnay, enquired into the material condition of France, and the hope of bettering her miseries. As their name indicates, they proposed to allow Nature to rule; society should be reformed by enquiry into the laws of Nature, and by giving those laws expression in active life. Quesnay had been brought up in the country: he had seen the wretched state of agriculture, and longed to restore it to its proper place of honour

¹ Charles Castel de Saint Pierre; to be kept quite clear of Bernardin de Saint Pierre, who was six years old when his namesake died in 1743.

in the state. Castel de Saint Pierre sought to reform the political world; Quesnay the social life.

The series of great writers of the age may be said to begin with Montesquieu¹, though Voltaire had published his *Œdipus* in 1718, and the *Lettres Persanes* did not appear till 1721. Montesquieu, a man of noble birth, was brought up as a lawyer. We trace in him accordingly an aristocratic and legal tone of mind, which naturally took pleasure in England and the law-abiding conservatism of her constitution, as it appeared to him in the middle of the eighteenth century. Like so many of his fellows, Montesquieu chafed under the influence of a corrupt clergy, and declared against them, with the philosophers. This was almost the only point he had in common with Voltaire, whom he heartily disliked. We may say that he represents the aristocratic and constitutional resistance to the state of things in France, while Voltaire is champion of liberty of thought and tolerance. Montesquieu resists the Jesuit-influences of his day on conservative grounds alone: Voltaire resists them by resting on the enlightened despotism of his time, and appealing to it, rather than to the laws or constitution of his country. Lastly, at a later day, Rousseau, sworn foe to society, from which he had suffered much, the sentimentalist, enemy of aristocracy and monarchy, instinctively antagonistic to the legal temperament, speaks directly to the people, even as Montesquieu had spoken to the educated and the well-to-do, and Voltaire to kings; and they, stirred to the heart by his appeals, elected him the prophet of their cause, believed in him, and at his bidding subverted the whole fabric of society.

Montesquieu's great work, the 'Esprit des Lois,' which followed his 'Considerations on the Causes of the Greatness and Fall of the Romans' (1734), and appeared in 1748, forms an epoch in French prose style. He and Voltaire are the two parents of modern French prose literature. The 'Esprit des Lois' was far more greedily read in England than in France. Society

¹ Charles de Secondat, Baron of Montesquieu, was born near Bordeaux in 1689, and died at Paris in 1755.

there had little taste for so solid a work; they vastly preferred the lively sparkle of the Persian Letters: the book was perhaps too clearly influenced by an admiration for the constitution of England, and by a love for liberty, face to face with the weak and arbitrary despotism which was dragging France to a catastrophe.

If Montesquieu is the advocate of political freedom, Voltaire is the champion of tolerance and freedom of conscience: and that, in his day, and with his surroundings, meant that he was the deadly foe of the established faith, as he saw it in its acts in France. When we regard this apostle of toleration, and watch his pettinesses and vanity, note him at kings' courts, see him glorifying Louis XIV, that great antagonist of all tolerance, whether religious or political or social, we are inclined to think that the most difficult of all toleration is that of having to endure its champion and to try to do him justice.

Voltaire¹ was no deep thinker: he had an amazing cleverness, was very susceptible of the influence of thought, and unrivalled in expression. We shall expect to find him taking colour from what was round him, nor shall we be astonished if that colour is dazzling and brilliant. Five successive influences marked his earlier life. First, his education under the Jesuits, which gave him an insight into their system; secondly, his introduction to the irreligious and immoral society of the fashionable Abbés of the day, which shewed him another side of the official religion of the time; thirdly, the beneficent friendship of the Abbé de Caumartin, who set him thinking about great and ambitious subjects, and led him to write the *Henriade*, and probably also to begin

¹ François Marie Arouet was son of a notary; his mother was noble. Hear with what lofty scorn the great aristocrat Saint-Simon alludes to him: 'Je ne dirois pas ici qu'Arouet fut mis à la Bastille pour avoir fait des vers très-effrontés, sans le nom que ses poésies, ses aventures, et la fantaisie du monde lui ont fait. Il étoit fils du notaire de mon père, que j'ai vu bien de fois lui apporter des actes à signer. Il n'avoit jamais pu rien faire de ce fils libertin.' Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, ix. p. 221. Voltaire was born in 1694; his first publication, these satirical lines reflecting on Louis XIV, came out soon after that monarch's death: it was for these that he went to the Bastille. On being released he took his new name of Voltaire, an anagram of the words Arouet l(e)(eune)—Arouet junior.

projecting his '*Siècle de Louis XIV*'; fourthly, the enforced leisure of the Bastille, whither he went a second time in 1726 for having resented an insult put on him by a coarse nobleman, one of the Rohans; lastly,—thanks to the order for his exile,—his sojourn in England after release from the Bastille, and his friendship for the chief writers and thinkers of this country. Hitherto he had been a purely literary man, henceforth he was fired with an ambition to be a philosopher and a liberator. Certainly, France was unfortunate in the education she gave this brilliant and wayward child of her genius.

There was hardly a Frenchman of eminence in this period who did not either visit England or learn the English language, many doing both. And one so bright and receptive as Voltaire could not fail to notice many things. He could see how free thought was: he could make a contrast between the respect paid to letters in London, and their degradation under Louis XIV and later: he saw Newton and Locke in places of honour, Prior and Gay acting as ambassadors, Addison as Secretary of State: he reached England in time to see the national funeral given to the remains of Newton. Bolingbroke took him in hand; he was astonished to find a learned and literary noblesse: Locke was his true teacher.

He went back to France another man, after three years' absence: above all, he carried with him the then popular English way of thinking as to the supernatural, and became a somewhat cold common-sense deist, opposed to the atheism of some and the dull bigotry of the established creed in the hands of others. God was to him conscious creator of the world; and only faintly, if at all, its ruler: he recognised the need of a Deity as a starting-point for his system, though he did not feel the need of His care and presence in life: not God our Father, only God our Creator.

He brought over with him a great ripening of humane feelings: this is his noblest quality, and parent of his best acts. When we see him as champion of oppressed Huguenots, combatting wrong and ill-doing with all the vehemence of

his fiery soul, we find a common ground, which is lost sight of as we contemplate his equally hot attacks on Christianity, or his dwelling in King's Courts, or his panegyrics on great sovereigns who had so fiercely crushed down that liberty of thought of which he was the life-long defender.

In his *Œdipus* (1718) he had assaulted priestcraft with not undeserved severity; we must always remember what he saw around him. In his *Henriade* (1725), perhaps almost unintentionally, he had glorified Henry IV at the expense of the Great Monarch. After his stay in England we have his *Brutus* (1730), an attack on kingcraft, and his *Zaire* (1732), a Parisian *Othello*, both based on Shakespere. From this time onward he plunges into a supple and dexterous, if sometimes rather disingenuous, strife with a superior power. Throughout, the poet and man of taste struggles against the philosophic free-thinker: he loves the surface-impressions, perhaps the reflexive illusions; 'his sentiments are worth more than his ideas'. The 'English Letters' of 1735, written some years before, and now issued with much hesitation, created a great storm: they boldly attacked the royal power, the clergy, the faith; they were burnt by the hangman: and Voltaire had to go into voluntary exile for a while. There his literary activity was unwearied: many of his works were written, or at least sketched, during the next five years. Strange problem of the human mind! while he here composed his *Mahomet*² and other serious works, he also wrote his scandalous *Pucelle*; as if he could not rest without destroying all nobility of sentiment and faith in heroism. While Joan Darc is the helpless victim of his shameless attack, he is also busy with his *Siècle de Louis XIV*, a hero apparently more to his taste than the great Maid of Orleans.

¹ Martin, *Histoire de France*, xv. p. 388.

² The *Mahomet*, an attack on all Revelation under cover of an attack on Mahomet, was dedicated to Pope Benedict XII, who sent the author a medal; it perhaps suited the Pope to make believe that Voltaire was destructive towards only one form of faith; one can hardly believe that he was duped.

The influence of Voltaire on opinion grew slowly but steadily through these years: no one more sedulously undermined the established faiths. It was in these years that he enjoyed a passing favour at the French Court, whence his febrile energy, his roughnesses, his want of the true gloss of courtiership, soon lost him the good-will of his old friend Madame de Pompadour. He then tried Berlin, finding it equally untenable ground; eventually he withdrew to Ferney in the territory of Geneva, whence he kept up incessant war against all the injustices which touched his heart: his defence of Calas, of Servin, of the luckless Lally, all date from this time. In these days he animated the Encyclopedists with his spirit, encouraging them in their gigantic undertaking¹, the 'Carroccio of the battle of the eighteenth century'.² It was a huge Dictionary of human knowledge, written in direct antagonism to all belief in spiritual powers or religion. It sold incredibly, and the effect of it on society was immense: this great edifice, 'built half of marble, half of mud,' as Voltaire himself said, had as its chief architects Diderot and D'Alembert³. Nothing contributed more to undermine the foundations on which all institutions, and not least royalty, were built.

A little later than Voltaire came Rousseau, 'the Valet who did not become a Cardinal.' His influences are also later, and touched society far more widely. Voltaire had spoken to society; Rousseau spoke to the heart of the people. He was above all things a sentimentalist, this son of a Genevan clockmaker. Society treated him harshly; and he avenged himself by making fierce war on society. The savage state is the best—society being revolting in its falseness and shallow varnish: all men are naturally equal⁴ and free;

¹ The *Encyclopédie*, as far as it went, 28 folio volumes, was published between 1751 and 1772.

² So Démogeot calls it, *Littérature Française*, p. 490.

³ For a good account of it see Géroze, *Histoire de la Littérature Française*, ii. pp. 439 sqq.

⁴ The 'Contrat Social' begins with these words, 'L'homme est né libre.'

society is nothing but an artificial contract, an arrangement by which, in the end, the strong domineer over the weak: the *statè* of nature is divine: there is a Garden of Eden for those who will cast society behind them. Sciences and Arts, Civilisation and Literature, Encyclopedists included, are hateful as corrupters of mankind; all progress has been backward, if one may venture to say so,—downward, certainly. Rousseau embroidered these paradoxes with a thousand sweet sentiments: he shut his eyes to history, to facts, to the real savage, the very disagreeable ‘primitive man,’ as he may yet sometimes be seen. ‘Follow nature’ was his one great precept; then you will scourge away the false and conventional, and life will grow pure and simple; there will be no rank, no cunning law devised to keep men from their rights, no struggle for life, no competition. All France panted and groaned to emulate the ‘noble savage’ :—with what success we know.

These were the chief literary luminaries of this time: and they all helped to pull down the fabric of the old society. That society, however, little understood the tendency of things; to a large extent it became the fashion to be philosophic, to be free-minded, to attack religion: with pride in their rank, and cold scorn for their humbler brethren, and high-bred contempt for their clergy, and ruinous vices sometimes made amusing by their brightness and their vivacious vanity, the French upper classes thought it great sport to pull merrily at the old walls of their country’s institutions, never dreaming that they could be so ill-ordered as to fall down and crush them in their ruin.

CHAPTER V.

SKETCH OF EVENTS FROM A.D. 1748–1763.

THE Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 left seeds of trouble between France and England. No one in all Europe believed in its permanence; the history of these years is the record of the political and other measures taken in preparation for the next outbreak of war. Prussia, Austria, Russia, were all uneasy: in these days of cabinet-politics it was everything for Europe that so clear-headed, so firm, so unscrupulous a Prince as Frederick II sat on the Prussian throne. In the remarkable shiftings of the political balance as well as in the ultimate appeal to the sword, his influence was decisive, and stamped the character of the future relations of Europe. He and Count Kaunitz on the one side of the continent, and Louis XV, Madame de Pompadour, and the cabinet of George II on the other side, during these years strive for the mastery; the struggle in the end becomes disastrous for France.

Her points of difference with England were almost matters of world-empire. First came the natural rivalry between the two countries as to the lordship of the sea: the neighbours who divide the British Channel, and are divided by it, inevitably were rivals, both in the original acceptance of that word, and in its later sense. In these days of distant enterprise it was of the first importance to the future of these two great states that the world should know which of the two prevailed on the high seas. To that one the far-off wealth

of India, America, and Africa would fall. France, who in the days of Fleury and of the English alliance had allowed her navy to dwindle away to nothing, now busied herself in its reconstruction: the great commercial development of the nation in these years made it necessary, and the certainty of coming war with England added spur to the efforts.

This, however, was a matter of general rivalry: on two distant shores the antagonism was becoming daily more marked and definite. These two theatres of the struggle were India and North America. In India the decay and fall of the great Mogul Empire, and the consequent division of Hindostan into what were in fact independent Principalities, however much they might attend to the forms of feudal subordination, made easy opening for trafficking and intrigue: the English and French settlers on the coast, allied now with this now with that power, and eking out their own scanty resources with the ambitious or venal help of their allies, struggled for predominance. At first, it had seemed as if the French footing was too firm to be shaken: Labourdonnais and Dupleix far outstripped their English competitors, and could they have worked harmoniously together, might have founded a great Indian empire for France. They quarrelled, and Labourdonnais was recalled; the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle reinstated the English at Madras, and secured Pondicherry to the French. Yet their preponderance in India seemed confirmed during the next eight years, thanks to the high abilities of Dupleix, and his power over the native princes. The outbreak of the Seven Years' War and the rise of Clive reversed the superiority: thenceforward the career of France in India is a record of failures.

The other and at first the more interesting scene of difference was that in North America. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had here left much that was uncertain. First, France ceding Acadia to England at the Peace of Utrecht had naturally wished as far as possible to limit her losses, and had intended to give up only the peninsula of Nova Scotia, not that mainland

portion of it which stretches westward to the S. Lawrence: England, however, claimed all, to the south shore of that great estuary; and the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had left the point unsettled. Next, there was an imminent source of disagreement on the question as to the connexion between the French possession of Canada and their vast territory of Louisiana. England now owned all the coast-line from Nova Scotia, and indeed from Labrador, down to the point at which Georgia touches Florida: a flourishing chain of colonies gave promise of their future greatness. All however behind them belonged, in name at least, to France. She owned the great Lakes, the Ohio valley, the grand Mississippi: she touched the sea at the S. Lawrence estuary, and again, though much straitened by the Spanish possessions, on the north shore of the Gulf of Mexico. About this time, in order to strengthen the connexion between these two distant points, France began to establish a chain of forts along the Ohio; thus hoping to restrain any attempt of the English on the interior. The colonies, especially Virginia, stoutly resisted this coercion; they thought themselves in danger of being driven into the sea. Lastly, there was a third great disagreement as to the neutral islands in the Caribbean Sea; Santa Lucia, the Antilles, Dominique, S. Vincent, Tobago, had remained unsettled by an 'uti possidetis' clause in the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The French exercised acts of possession, the English demurred and threatened.

Conferences followed at Paris in 1750, though in vain; they lasted some years, the French government caring chiefly to gain time in which to nurse the quickly-growing navy, wherewith it hoped to solve the outstanding questions without diplomacy. In 1754 Great Britain cut the knot, and, without declaration of war, began to annoy French commerce, to capture forts, seize ships, hinder French interests as she best could in America. The English jealousy at the swift-growing trade of France added stimulus to this irregular and improper warfare.

Thus both in India and in America, war was really waged

between the two nations, while yet they were nominally at peace. In the Carnatic struggle¹ the balance long hung undecided; had stronger counsels prevailed at Versailles, the English would have found it very difficult to retain any foothold in India.

While these two nations thus wrestled, as it were, in the dark, great changes were going on in the relations of European states, changes of the highest importance to England. Hitherto the antagonism had been that of Austria allied with England and Russia against France joined with Prussia: henceforth this is completely reversed; Russia wavers, as her interests or feelings may lead her, while England joins Prussia, and Austria makes friends with France.

After 1748 the Austrian cabinet-policy was guided by Count

¹ The chief dates are:

I. For India:—

- 1742. Dupleix appointed Governor of Pondicherry and the French settlements.
- 1745. Labourdonnais was made Governor of the Isle of Bourbon and the Mauritius or Isle of France.
- 1746. Labourdonnais takes Madras from the English; he and Dupleix differ; he returns to Europe, and is thrown into the Bastille.
- 1748. Pondicherry besieged by the English. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Madras restored to the English.
- 1750. Dupleix seems omnipotent in all the Deccan.
- 1751. Clive takes Arcot, and repulses Rajah Sahib.
- 1752. Laurence and Clive compel the French under D'Auteuil to surrender.
- 1754. Dupleix is recalled; peace made between the rivals in India at Pondicherry.
- 1756. Suraj-ad Dowla takes Calcutta; the Black Hole.
- 1757. Battle of Plassy.
- 1758. Lally arrives in India.

II. For North America:—

- 1749. England and France differ as to the boundaries of Acadia.
- 1750. Conferences at Paris over the differences.
- 1753. The same continued.
- 1754. Collisions between Colonists and French. Washington a French prisoner.
- 1755. Boscowen captures the French war-ships Alcide and Lys. General Braddock's disaster near Fort Du Quesne. General Johnson defeats and takes Baron Dieskau.
- 1756. General Bradstreet defeats the French on the Onondaga. The French under Montcalm take fort Oswego.
- 1757. Montcalm takes Fort William Henry.

Kaunitz, that acute and able statesman, 'the European coachman,' who has the credit, such as it is, of reversing the old lines of diplomatic relation¹. He was a man of two natures: a dandy, a debauchee, and a Frenchman in tastes, on the one side; on the other, a deep and sagacious thinker on political matters, an acute observer, a dexterous puller of diplomatic wires; 'so frivolous in his tastes,' says Frederick the Great², 'and so profound in business.' His embassy to Paris was the turning-point of his career. At Aix-la-Chapelle he had meditated whether his country was the gainer by the English alliance; he had seen how England followed her own interests and left Austria in the lurch; he reflected with bitterness on the position his country had taken; he asked himself whether a new combination might not bring him greater advantages; he turned towards France. His sojourn at Versailles in 1750 shewed him how the change of front might be effected. England and France now seemed to group the nations of Europe around them; and Kaunitz thought well to alter the balance by transferring the friendship of Austria from the English to the French cabinet.

Since 1648 France had been the champion and guarantor of the small Protestant states of North Germany: now, however, thanks first to the Great Elector, and then to the amazing vigour shewn by Frederick II in the two Silesian wars, one of these little states, Prussia, has become a powerful monarchy, no longer to be beholden to France for its life. England, eager to secure her dominion of the sea, and feeling that her struggle must be with France, turned with hope towards this vigorous young inland power, which could not be a rival, and might be a very valuable friend. Sir Horatio Walpole exclaimed in 1746, 'You will say, where is the remedy to this calamitous situation?

¹ Count Kaunitz had been made an Aulic Councillor by Charles VI, who trusted him, as did Maria Theresa. He was sent to administer the Austrian Netherlands in 1745, 1746; he watched over Austrian interests at the Conferences of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748; in 1750 he was sent as ambassador to Paris.

² Œuvres posthumes, iii. p. 41 (ed. 1788).

To which I reply, Prussia, Prussia, Prussia.' So again in 1748, the Lord Chancellor had said, 'If you gain Prussia, the confederacy will be restored, and made whole, and become a real strength; if you do not, it will continue lame and weak, and much in the power of France'.¹ A coolness sprang up between England and Austria, their interests constantly diverging; the old question as to the garrisons of the Barrier-towns in the Austrian Netherlands made no small irritation; for Austria proposed to take possession of the Belgic provinces, and neither Holland nor England was minded to allow it. England also refused to support the Austrian plans as to Silesia; and Hanover, so near Prussia, might well be safer with her as a friend than as a foe.

On the other side Kaunitz laid it down that hostility to Prussia must be the first condition of continued cordiality between Austria and England²; Austria would protect Hanover against Prussia, because she would not willingly let that upstart power grow stronger anywhere: against France Austria would do nothing, unless England, declaring open war against Prussia, would help in a Silesian campaign. Such a policy the English diplomatists pronounced to be madness; they were offended by the airs of superiority which Kaunitz gave himself; it was clear that the interests of England and Austria were more and more divergent, and as in reality alliances and political friendships are based on interests, the days of their union were numbered.

Kaunitz, finding the English cold, now turned again to his old scheme of abandoning the sea-powers,—which after all seemed to him not able to interfere much in the direction of that inland province Silesia,—and of joining France. So doing he would make the Austrian Netherlands safe; for the Barrier was drawn against France, and France would be a friend not a foe; France would threaten Hanover, and, thus occupying England, would also embarrass Prussia: it was believed that

¹ Coxe's Pelham, i. 502.

² L. von Ranke, Ursprung der Sieben-jähriges Krieges, p. 51.

Sweden, from friendship for France and jealousy against the sea-powers, would take part against Prussia, the circles of the Empire would follow on the same side; Austria even ventured to hope that George, through the royal tenderness for Hanover, might be neutral, or even allow his German Electorate to side with France. Kaunitz ended by sketching out the rewards and prizes for this coalition. Austria to recover Silesia; Sweden, Stettin and Vor-Pommern; Saxony, Magdeburg; the Elector Palatine, Cleves and Mark; Franconia, Bayreuth; and Hanover, Halberstadt. Thus would Prussia be reduced to impotence, and Austria be avenged of her youthful rival.

Kaunitz, when at Versailles in 1751, had discerned the way by which to approach his object. Madame de Pompadour and Bernis were evidently offended at the plain-speaking of the Prussian King; French politicians disliked the growing independence of the young kingdom; that Prussia should cease to be the humble dependent on France was bitter to their pride: it was felt that French interests in Poland were not in harmony with those of Prussia, and that the wish to restore that unhappy country to a position of strength was not in accordance with the necessary politics of the Brandenburg Court. Though Louis XV prided himself on carrying on the traditions of his great-grandfather and on holding all the threads of foreign policy, if nothing else, in his own hands, yet Kaunitz knew that before long the influence of the ruling favourite would prevail: he therefore set himself to win her to his views.

At first the French Court was cautious and cold; could Kaunitz have some mischievous afterthought? The whole change that it involved was so tremendous that men might well be suspicious. After 1748 Kaunitz had suggested that Flanders and Brabant, so worthless and embarrassing to Austria, could be given to a power which would help Maria Theresa to recover Silesia: France however then needed peace too much, and the bait was not taken. In 1751 Kaunitz was sent to win over Madame de Pompadour; his ready wit, dandy manners, and free life soon made the ruling mistress his friend. The King,

however, was now under the influence of the Prince of Conti, and full of his plans and of his secret diplomacy; he would not listen, and again Kaunitz failed. Yet he did not abandon the idea; and, in 1755, when Frederick II proposed to unite himself closely with France against England and Austria, the French Court hesitated and suggested some half-measures; it refused all aggressive alliances; proposed to Frederick to join him against England,—so as to secure Hanover, and thereby to embarrass the seagoing ambitions of her rival,—but not to join him against Austria. This had the fatal fault of being absurd: how could Frederick consent to become a mere catspaw of France, while France left the grand Silesian question to its fate? Matters now came towards a point: the English attack on French commerce at sea; the capture by Boscawen of two ships of the line, the *Alcide* and the *Lys*; the varied fortunes of the two nations on the American continent;—these events set all France in a blaze: she would smite England in a vital place, would seize Hanover, would wash her honour clean in the blood of London. Now the new policy of Madame de Pompadour overbore the old traditional policy of the Prince of Conti, and Kaunitz triumphed. France in her blind rage ‘committed an act of madness, of imbecile treason against herself, the like of which hardly exists in history’¹.

For at the outset of her critical struggle for the command of the seas, when all her strength ought to have been free for vigorous action in India and America, she plunged into a continental war, which could bring her, if successful, no solid gain, while it inevitably withdrew all her force from the important points. England and Prussia, the two advancing powers, were thrown together; France and Austria, two receding powers, joined in a conservatism which could not fail to be disastrous. It is said that religious passions had no small influence in the matter, that Maria Theresa loathed the aggressive Protestants, both Prussia and the heretical sea-powers, while Louis XV, as every one knows, was as much devoted to his religious opinions

¹ Martin, *Histoire de France*, xv. p. 489.

and observances as to his scandalous vices, mingling the two in a quite edifying union.

The period of Neutralities, in which Prussia and France had declined to renew their active alliance, and in which England (January 1756) had signed a Neutrality-Treaty with Prussia, with a view to the exclusion of the foreigner from Germany, soon led on to a more definite state of things. ‘Great Britain,’ as Burke says, ‘which had done so much for Maria Theresa in her distress, would do little for her ambition’: the ‘Old Whigs,’ now becoming very powerful in England under the splendid leading of Pitt, were most desirous of a Prussian alliance: the popular feeling was strong in the same direction. In France also things moved forwards: on the 1st of May, 1756, ‘a remarkable era in the political history of Europe,’ the Treaty of Versailles was signed. This ‘Alliance des trois Côtillons’—that of Elizabeth of Russia, of Maria Theresa, and of Madame de Pompadour—was immensely popular at Paris: we might almost think we had gone back to the days of the Guises. The old anti-Austrian policy is at an end; the strong Catholic lines reappear: Madame de Pompadour becomes very devout, under Jesuit influences; it is felt that the Catholic powers are uniting against the aggressive and progressive spirit as it displays itself in England and Prussia¹.

With these thoughts France deluded herself into an alliance from which she could gain no advantage, and must suffer, in the essential struggle elsewhere, distinct loss. Had the alliance proved successful, had the heroism of Frederick the Great not averted the imminent peril, even then France would have been weakened, while Austria gained: as it turned out, she sank to the mean position of being a secondary ally and helper of Austria in an unsuccessful war. It is hard to say which would

¹ The author possesses the Medal struck by Frederick in honour of the two battles of Rosbach and Lissa: it bears the figure of the King on horseback, and round it the significant legend *FREDERIC · DG · BORVS · REX · ET · PROTESTANTIVM · DEFENSOR*. He posed himself as the champion of Protestantism against the Catholic powers of France and Austria.

have been worse for France, the success or the failure of this attempt to dismember Prussia: she was in the position of an unskilful gambler, who arranges his wagers in such a way that he must lose, whoever wins.

On the 15th of May, 1756, England declared war against France: in January 1757 a convention between the English government and Prussia at last bridged over the ancient rivalry between the Houses of Hanover and Brandenburg; and actual alliance followed in the next year: throughout the coming war the two powers are closely allied, though their scenes of action are far asunder. Pitt followed one line, Frederick another: still, they were one in aim and end, though their paths did not lie together,—Frederick grappling with Austria, and England with France.

At the outset France was not without honour in the strife: her expedition against Minorca under Marshal Richelieu was completely successful: Port-Mahon was taken, and Saint-Philippe, 'England's second Gibraltar,' invested. Byng's fleet of seventeen sail was defeated by La Galissonière, and Saint-Philippe fell (28 June, 1756). The fury of the English nation was roused by the incompetence of her government and officers, and the disgrace and loss: the ministry fell; Pitt, in spite of the dislike of George II, was the inevitable successor, and came at once into power: it was felt that England expressed in him her intensest rivalry and dislike for France. Though Pitt was not desirous to see such vengeance taken, the public feeling was too strong, and the luckless Byng, who had only been weak, was condemned to death.

The French triumph at Minorca was far more than balanced by the rise of her great enemy Pitt: his hand it was that grasped the iron hand of Frederick, and made the Anglo-Prussian alliance a reality. For a while indeed, France won success after success against England: she hampered her trade in the north; she burnt her squadrons on the Canadian lakes, and took her forts: in India her friend Suraj-ad-Dowla took Calcutta from the English. On the French coasts, Pitt's

expedition against Rochefort failed ignominiously; in vain he tried to harass Havre and S. Malo.

Fortunately for England, and indeed for Frederick also, France now determined to throw all her strength on Hanover: the Hanoverians, Hessians, Brunswickers, united to resist the blow. They had England's support on the one side and Prussia's on the other. England sent pay and the Duke of Cumberland to the threatened countries: Prussia smote hard at Austria. France set on foot an army of eighty thousand men, commanded by Marshal D'Estrées: in April 1757 it crossed the Rhine, passed through Westphalia, and pushed onward to the Weser. Cumberland, outnumbered and cautious, fell back to the right bank of that river, and entrenched himself at Hastenbeck: there D'Estrées attacked and defeated him. A court-intrigue rewarded the successful general with his recall, just as he was about to reap the fruits of his victory: his successor, Marshal Richelieu, pushed the Hanoverians back to the Elbe: there they were miserably compelled to lay down their arms at Stade. The famous Convention of Kloster-Zeven (8 Sept. 1757) followed, by which the Germans were allowed to depart home in peace. The Duke of Cumberland also went home, and appeared no more as a general¹. All Brunswick and Hanover lay defenceless at the foot of the victor. Richelieu, satisfied with this easy triumph, merely allowed his troops to pillage, himself setting them the example: his men nicknamed him 'Père-la-Maraude': had he held his forces well together, had he marched on Brandenburg, the history of the Seven Years' War might have been speedily cut short.

For Frederick was then at the lowest point of his fortunes. His attempt to reach the heart of the Austrian power through Bohemia had ended in failure; the disastrous battle of Kolin had obliged him to raise the siege of Prague and to draw back: his strength seemed almost exhausted, his treasury empty, his

¹ W. Menzel (*Gesch. der Deutschen*, c. 192, p. 1011, ed. 1843) says that this Royal Duke was called the Great Duke of Cumberland by reason of his great size, 'der nur seiner Körperlänge wegen der Grosse genannte Herzog von Cumberland.'

army disheartened. He thought there was little before him except to die like a king, amid the ruins of his fallen state. The allies, however, as they converged on him, showed neither skill nor vigour: the Russians stood still for the winter; Marshal Richelieu's army amused itself with pillage; the other French army, commanded by Soubise, and united with the Germans of the Circles under the Duke of Saxe-Hildburghausen, was slowly making its way towards Berlin; it was ill-led, and miserably composed, an army which embraced within itself all the vices and frivolities of the time. Against such an enemy Frederick brought but a small portion of his veterans; he deluded the French into thinking he was retreating, and when they came out to cut him off, suddenly smote them with swift ruin at Rosbach (5 November, 1757). It was a most humorous and eccentric battle, lasting only an hour and a half; and scarcely half Frederick's force was engaged. The grim and tattered Prussians were not a little amused at the extraordinary rubbish, the theatrical accessories, the mass of luxuries, the disreputable high life, which fell into their hands: they were as much at a loss to know what to do with them as the Swiss at Granson were with Duke Charles' treasures. The overthrow of the army was so complete that it gave Frederick no more trouble: yet the overthrow of the influences it represented was quite as striking and as full. It secured the triumph of the North Germans: it brought to an end that fashion of admiring all things French which long had ruled in Germany; it cleared the ground for the swift and splendid growth of a German national life. It was the discomfiture of the noblesse-party in France, and the news of the disaster was consequently received almost with plaudits at Paris. Not only did it change the whole current of German taste, literature, and habits; it also encouraged the English to take more vigorous steps. The Duke of Cumberland was superseded, the Kloster-Zeven capitulation was repudiated by George II; Ferdinand of Brunswick, one of the very best soldiers of the age, was appointed commander-in-chief of the allies, who hitherto had

had English money and Hanoverian troops, but no British soldiers. Now Pitt agreed to send over twenty thousand men: and henceforward England takes a really prominent part in the French half of the war. It splits into two distinct wars: that of Frederick against Austria, and that of Ferdinand of Brunswick and the English against the lesser German Princes of the Austrian side, and the French.

In 1758 the French proposed to wipe out the disgrace of Rosbach, and made great efforts for a new and more successful German campaign: a new commander-in-chief was also appointed, a scion of the great House of Condé, the Count of Clermont. The French forces were scattered over a large surface in North-Western Germany, and much disorganised: and before Clermont could draw them together and restore their discipline and confidence, Ferdinand of Brunswick was on him: in a short campaign which, says Frederick the Great¹, may be compared with that of Turenne in Alsace, he succeeded, with thirty thousand Hanoverians, who had but just been told they were hopelessly 'hors de combat,' in thrusting eighty thousand French and their allies out of the country beyond the Rhine. He first seized the line of the Weser, and Bremen; then Prince Henry of Prussia, marching from Saxony northwards through Hildesheim, threatened Brunswick; and Clermont fell back, abandoning Brunswick, Hanau and Wolfenbüttel: next Ferdinand took Minden, and pushed onwards to the south-west, to Bielefeld. Then Clermont felt he could make no further stand, evacuated place after place, and eventually got across the Rhine at Wesel, with the loss of eleven thousand prisoners. Ferdinand stuck to him very closely, and overtaking him at Crefeld inflicted on him a terrible defeat, and rolled him back, till his flight was arrested by Soubise's army, which, moving on Cassel and taking it, checked the forward march of the victorious Germans. Before the year had half run its course, the French had been swept out of Westphalia, Hanover, Hesse, and both banks of the Rhine were again in German

¹ Œuvres Posthumes, iii. p. 273.

hands. The campaign showed in pitiable distinctness the incapacity and bad discipline of the French officers, who brought with them the habits of court-life to the hard realities of serious warfare.

After this not much was done for a while: Ferdinand might well be satisfied with driving the Frenchmen out of Hanover and Brunswick. Contades, a capable general, was set over Clermont's army; had Soubise been even a respectable officer they might have still done much, for in force they were far more than a match for Ferdinand. The Germans could never wrest Wesel from French hands: it was a constant source of danger for them. It was now that twelve thousand English, who roused no small admiration and enthusiasm, were landed at Embden, and (in August 1758) joined Ferdinand at Soest: for the remainder of the war they were his mainstay, holding the French at bay with admirable patience and tenacity.

Meanwhile, the whole attention of France being centred on her disastrous career in Germany, the English fleets, in one expedition after another, annoyed and ruined her navy and dockyards. The English gradually won the ascendancy during this year: the French colony at Senegal was captured; Montcalm, one of the ablest French officers, could not rescue either Fort Du Quesne¹ or Louisburg from the English attack: in India the Suwab of Bengal was defeated and punished, though the arrival of d'Aché with a fleet and with a new Governor-General, the Irish Lally, for a time restored the balance in those seas. The French wrested from the English both Gondalor and Fort S. David. Lally was the best officer the French had ever sent to India: yet his harsh temper, his overbearing manners, and, perhaps, still more, his inflexible probity and severity against licence and pillage, made him odious to the officers under his command. From this alienation chiefly came his ultimate failure.

At the end of the year the Abbé Bernis, the foreign minister

¹ The English named the place Pittsburg, in honour of the great Minister.

of Louis XV, alarmed at the course of the war and foreseeing imminent ruin, began to deal with England for peace. Madame de Pompadour however thwarted him, thinking to show the same heroism and tenacity which characterised her great ally, Maria Theresa. And as Frederick the Great says, 'his imprudences made his fortune; when he began to act wisely he fell;' he was exiled to his bishopric of Aix, and Choiseul, an able and unlucky politician, took his place. A renewed treaty with Vienna was the result: the gist of which was that France should bear the chief burden of the war, and Austria cull its fruits¹.

Fresh efforts in the direction of Germany, as ill-directed as of old, marked the opening of the campaign of 1759. Contades commanded the one army, intended to occupy Ferdinand; Broglie² was on the Maine, near Frankfort. Ferdinand took up his position between the two armies, and was defeated by Broglie on the Nidda: the French government, in its joy and gratitude, made the Duke a Marshal. Contades now joined him at Giessen, and the two armies, thus combined, pushed forwards to the Weser, overrunning all Hesse and Westphalia, and taking Cassel, Minden, Paderborn, and Münster. Ferdinand fell back to Osnabrück, while the whole French force was concentrated on Minden. Thus far their progress had been most successful and well-combined: now however the two generals seemed no longer able to work harmoniously. Contades' dispositions were good and capable; Broglie showed a lazy slackness, which proved fatal to the French cause. For Ferdinand came back with an Anglo-German army of some forty thousand men: the French had a considerable advantage in numbers, and the position was of their choosing. On the 1st of August, 1759, it came to a battle: the French horse were massed, about ten thousand strong, in the centre of their position, and over against them were six regiments of English infantry, who,

¹ Œuvres Posthumes de Frédéric II. iii. p. 347.

² The Duke of Broglie who had fought (?) at Rosbach under Soubise, was in this year made a Prince of the Empire for his services against Frederick II. He survived the Revolution, became an emigré, and in 1794 entered the Russian service; he died in 1804, aged 86 years.

under some mistake, intentional or not, marched stubbornly down on the French cavalry, heedless of the artillery which opened on their flank. In vain the French charged and charged again; the British foot stood firm, and with steady musketry-fire repulsed them: in a short time was beheld that strange and hitherto unseen sight, a splendid cavalry three deep broken up and put to flight by a thin line of infantry. Had not Lord George Sackville, who commanded the allied horse, refused, no one knew why, to charge, the ruin of the whole French army, with the Weser at its back, must have been complete. The exploit of the six 'Minden' regiments made a great noise in Europe: the French fell back, Contades to Wesel, Broglie to Frankfort: Göthe, who had watched them pass out thence before the battle of Bergen on the Nidda¹, doubtless also on their very different return saw their dejected mien, and heard their mutual recriminations. The good general Contades was set aside; the bad one, Broglie, placed in supreme command. Henceforward the general superiority of the defence over the attack in North-Western Germany was secured, and the French arms were never able to make a serious impression on Hanover. That flank being secured for Frederick the Great, he was enabled, by heroic efforts, to prolong his resistance against the overwhelming forces of Russia, Austria, Sweden, and the Circles of the Empire, until the Peace of Hubertsburg gave him the eventual victory. The French armies were large, in 1761 they amounted to a hundred and forty thousand under Broglie and Soubise; yet, thanks chiefly to the 'most perfect incapacity,' as Napoleon said, of the commanders-in-chief and of the officers under them, this huge force, as armies were then reckoned, was repulsed with great disgrace by a far smaller army of Germans. The river Weser receives the waters of the Fulda and the Werra, the former at Minden², the latter above

¹ He describes his boyish impressions with graphic touch in the third book of his *Wahrheit und Dichtung*; he was then not quite ten years old (i. pp. 110 sqq., ed. 1866).

² To be distinguished from Minden (where the battle was fought), which lies lower down the Weser. The two names are often spelt alike.

Cassel. The irregular quadrilateral formed by these rivers was the natural stronghold of the French armies: their way to it was by the Rhine about Mainz, then by Frankfort, then Hanau, and Fulda, and all this was in friendly territory: the angle at Minden was the point of the wedge by which the French forces hoped to penetrate into Brunswick and Hanover. The folly of the commanders, which indeed did but reflect the folly reigning at Versailles,—where intrigues of the lowest kind paralysed action, while absurd plans of war were actually traced out in Madame de Pompadour's boudoir,—brought all attempts to act on the offensive to disgrace. If the American war some twenty years later turned the French soldier into a Republican, the Seven Years' War destroyed all the honour and credit of the French noblesse: their vices, incapacity and folly were displayed on an open field, and where they used to shine with the wasteful glories of war, they now covered themselves with shame and well-deserved contempt. For this result the French government paid elsewhere a tremendous price: a price no less than the ruin of her navy, and loss of all her fair prospects in India and Canada. From 1759 onwards the gradual ascendancy of the British flag became evident to all: the French admirals were like the generals, the imbecile creatures of Madame de Pompadour; their attempts were ill-combined and futile. In 1759 it was planned that the main French fleet under M. de Conflans should make a descent on the English coast, while a fourth fleet, under the command of a real sailor, Thurot, who had already inflicted great losses on English commerce, threatened the coasts of Scotland and Ireland. One portion of the French fleet, on its way round from Toulon, was caught and ruined in Lagos bay; out of seven ships only three escaped: Conflans venturing out from Brest, fell in with the main English fleet off Belle-Isle: a battle followed in Quiberon Bay in which his ships were terribly handled; he himself fled with his vanguard without striking a blow, to the Isle of Aix: it was the complete ruin of the French navy. 'The English shot Byng for fighting a losing battle: the French punished Conflans, who did not fight,

but shamefully ran away, by calling the day of Quiberon Bay "la bataille de M. de Conflans"¹. Even Madame de Pompadour was moved by this disaster: she expressed her opinion that the Parliaments and the Encyclopedists had changed the character of the nation: 'men recognise neither a God nor a master—what can one expect?' With which pious thought she consoled herself for the evils she herself had made².

The remaining squadron, under Thurot, had annoyed the northern coasts of England and Scotland; it had then landed at Carrickfergus, releasing some French prisoners confined there; soon after this his little fleet was attacked (28 Feb. 1760) by three English ships of the line, a much stronger force; and after a brave struggle he perished: his squadron was all captured. And so ended the French navy. The English, now absolute masters of the sea, soon made their power felt in Canada and India. In North America, the dignity of France had been well-sustained by the ability and heroism of Montcalm, in spite of the neglect of the home-government; now, however, the English reinforcements gradually neutralised all his efforts. The English took Fort Niagara, and Amherst compelled the French to evacuate Ticonderoga; Crown-Point fell on the very day on which the Battle of Minden was fought; and thus that line of forts which were the expression of French policy in America was finally broken through. Meanwhile, another expedition under General Wolfe anchored below Quebec; after some weeks of wearing inactivity, on the night of the 12th of September Wolfe led his army by a narrow path up to the Heights

¹ La Vallée, *Histoire des Français*, iii. p. 518.

² British successes in 1759:—

Lally raises siege of Madras, 16 February.

Masulipatam falls, 7 April.

Guadaloupe taken, 20 April.

Fort Niagara taken, 24 July.

Ticonderoga taken, 27 July.

Crown-Point and Battle of Minden, 1 August.

Battle of Lagos Bay, 17 August.

Heights of Abraham, 13 September.

Quebec surrenders, 18 September.

Poetche defeats the French fleet off Mauritius, 27 September.

Battle of Quiberon Bay, 20 November.

of Abraham, which commanded Montcalm's position, and overhanging the town of Quebec on its weakest side. The battle of the 13 Sept. 1759 was brief and decisive: Wolfe fell in the moment of victory, having, in a few hours and with the loss of only a handful of men, destroyed the French power in Canada. Montcalm also was mortally wounded, and died two or three days later. Quebec capitulated on the 18th; after a short struggle, all Canada submitted, when in 1760, Montreal with the French who had taken refuge there surrendered to the English. Thus in a few months the influence of France in North America was annihilated, and the foundation laid for those two great English communities, the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada; the result of that day's work, had the gift of prophecy been given to the young hero, who there in sweet serenity lay bleeding to death, would have opened out before him a strange vista, filled with colossal images of power and energy; would have shown him a new world 'destined to redress the balance of the old,' destined yet to fill a broad space in the world's history.

In India affairs were almost equally disastrous for France. Lally's terrible temper had completely alienated d'Aché, who commanded the French ships: the siege of Madras was a failure, and proved to be the turning-point of the war. Lally struggled in vain against the ill-will of the French settlers, and the open dislike of d'Aché, who withdrew with his fleet to the Mauritius; the English took the offensive, defeated M. de Conflans, who withdrew to Masulipatam: that strong place was taken after a weak and hesitating resistance. Then the one remaining French stronghold on all that coast, Pondicherry, was invested, and after a brave defence, was surrendered by Lally. It was utterly destroyed by the English, as though they wished to proclaim to the world that they had reversed the words, 'No Englishman in India,' with which the brilliant Irishman had loudly proclaimed his aims at the beginning of his career. The English left of Pondicherry only the native quarter; the European houses, the walls, the public buildings

were completely swept away. And thus ended all dreams of a French Empire in the East. The unfortunate Lally, accused by angry France of treason, her one and invariable solace in misfortune, was tried before the Parliament of Paris, and, in defiance of all justice, condemned and executed.

So ended the year 1759, the most disastrous perhaps ever seen by France; the 'Annus Mirabilis,' if ever there was one, of the English people.

Things now began to draw towards peace; for the accession of George III, with his unconstitutional ideas, and his dislike for Pitt and the Whigs, soon brought about a great change. Choiseul, one among the cleverest, if not the greatest, of French statesmen, now signalised his ministry by a famous treaty called the 'Family Pact,' in which all the Bourbon sovereigns bound themselves by a perpetual offensive and defensive alliance, guaranteeing each other's territory, and promising that no one of them would ever make a separate peace: they added also commercial stipulations, which placed them all on the same footing, and opened their ports to one another. France, and Spain, the two Sicilies, Parma and Piacenza, seemed about to form a single family of harmonious states.

This important step came, in part at least, to Pitt's knowledge: he proposed to the ministers to interfere at once, before the new coalition could become dangerous, to crush the Spanish sea-power, and to seize her colonies. The plan seemed to them too bold, and they hardly knew enough to believe that it could be justified; they accordingly refused to carry it out, and the great minister resigned office: he was succeeded first by the Duke of Newcastle and then by the Bute administration. Pitt carried into opposition the good-will and enthusiastic admiration of the whole of England, except the King's party, and the Tory and Whig statesmen; the Tories going with the King, the Whigs being anxious for peace.

The 'Family Pact' was now made public, and the new Government of England had to justify Pitt's prevision by

making war on Spain: the disasters of France were enacted over again, and Spain lost colony after colony. The English ministers, however, were sincerely desirous of peace, and negotiations began: before the end of 1762 England had signed the preliminaries, though not before Soubise had once more proved his dismal incapacity on his old theatre in Germany. England had won all she wanted in the war: her interests pointed towards peace; she did not hesitate to abandon her ally the King of Prussia, a desertion which he never forgot.

At last, in February 1763, came peace long-wished for, not too soon. The Peace of Paris (10 Feb. 1763) between France and England, and that of Hubertsburg (15 Feb. 1763) between Prussia and Austria and Saxony, closed this eventful period. With the latter we have little to do: the former requires some detailed consideration.

In the Peace of Paris were two parts: a treaty between France and England, and another between England and Spain. That between France and England showed clearly how far France had fallen. She agreed to cede all claims on Nova Scotia, Canada, and Cape Breton, retaining only her share in the fisheries, and some unimportant islands. The Mississippi was to be the boundary between the British colonies and Louisiana. In the West Indies she gave up Grenada; the islands of St. Vincent, Dominique, Tobago, also fell to England; Santa Lucia was restored. In Africa she yielded up Senegal, receiving back Goree; in the East Indies she recovered all she had possessed at the beginning of 1749, and even Pondicherry; all later conquests she renounced. In the Mediterranean, Minorca was restored to England. Hanover was evacuated, all French troops being withdrawn from Germany.

The Peace of Paris secured the maritime preponderance of England; that of Hubertsburg splendidly opened to Prussia a career of greatness and aggrandisement in Europe. France was both absolutely and relatively the chief loser by the war.

It had lessened her consideration abroad, it had weakened her government at home: her aristocracy was completely discredited by it; her army had fallen into contempt. Louis XIV had used the service as a kind of almshouse for his needy and impoverished nobles, whom he liked to see hanging about the Court and ruining themselves, till they became humble claimants for his bounty. Now they had fallen still lower, proving themselves unable even to fulfil with credit the one part still reserved for them. The ill-disciplined noble, who had distinguished himself by his bravery, if not by his sense, on field after field of French military triumphs, now came home from the wars a wretched imbecile creature, worn out with vices, loaded, and justly, by France with the disgrace of the disasters of these unhappy years. Nor was the army itself, that natural defender of power, to which the Monarchy ought to have looked for support in its critical troubles, in any happier state. As yet it had not taken that republican tinge which came to it after the American war; it was, however, far from being satisfied with its position or loyal to authority. The pay of the private soldiers was a mere pittance; their food and quarters most wretched: more than half the money set aside for the army went to the officers alone. No man could rise from the ranks: 'for the few, authority, honours, money, leisure, good cheer, the world's pleasures, the comedies of society: for the many, subjection, abjectness, fatigue, enlistment by press or chicane, no hope of promotion, six sous a day, a narrow bed for two, bread fit for dogs, and a dog's share of blows: on this hand the proudest noblesse; on that the lowest of the people¹.' The army was not yet prepared to lead a Revolution: it was prepared to learn the lesson which would be given it in 1779 and 1780, and to practise that lesson in 1789.

¹ Taine, *L'ancien régime*, pp. 511, 512. His sketch is, as ever, graphic and caustic.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LAST YEARS OF LOUIS XV. A.D. 1763-1774.

Two sayings, which characterise the two speakers, are recorded of this time. The one is that of Louis XV, who with all his odious vices, his laziness, and unkingly seclusion, was not devoid of intelligence: 'all this,' he said, 'will last as long as I shall,' and his forecast was justified: the deluge came long after he had gone to his account; and the phrase stands against him as an expression of his base selfishness, which saw the coming troubles without caring about them, because he believed that they would not come in his day. The other saying is that of Voltaire, who, in 1762, exclaimed in an ecstasy of hope and prophecy, 'Happy the young men, for they shall see many things.' And yet those youths were mostly gray-headed when the 'many things' began, and not a few of them lost those gray heads, instead of looking on as interested spectators of a new order of things.

The writers of this time, whatever their faults, form the true aristocracy of France: the rest of the nation, sinking lower and lower, left their superiority all the more marked and uncontested. It was now that their struggle with the opposing forces of the Company of Jesus came to a head: the age before had seen the Jesuits leading in education, forward in the sciences of the time, ready for any antagonists; now they had either sunk into apathy and inability to defend themselves, or had embarked, as in Portugal, in commercial pursuits, following doubtless the tendency of the time, but at great loss to their true power: they were too wealthy to be good fighting-men. Against them came the Encyclopedists; Voltaire was unwearied in attack; the progress

of the natural sciences, of astronomy, mathematics, natural history¹, was all against them: the tendencies of that strange combination of liberal ideas with despotic government, so prominent at this time, were all arrayed against the order: the chief ministers who directed affairs were vehemently opposed to them; they had no worse enemies than Pombal in Portugal and Choiseul in France. Their books of casuistry were brought to the light; their commercial bankruptcy at Martinique raised great indignation in France; the Parliament and Madame de Pompadour took part against them. The spirit of Jansenism strangely revived, now that its great foe was on its trial: from all sides came attacks and denunciations: the order was denounced as hostile to the civil state, as ambitious of a commercial empire, as ruinous to morality, as opposed to the true interests of mankind. At last the Parliament of Paris took their affairs into its direct cognisance, and, without hearing the Order in its defence, decreed its abolition in August 1762. The Parliaments throughout France followed the example thus set: the Jesuits in despair appealed to the King: he at last, after some hesitation, issued an edict in November 1764, confirming the judgment of the Courts, and abolishing the Order in France. The Catholic powers mostly followed in the same direction; Frederick II in Protestant Prussia, and Catherine II in Russia, alone supported them: Frederick called them the best priests he knew: and Catherine hoped that they would be useful to introduce education into Russia. Eventually, Pope Clement XIV, with a fearful hand, signed (21 July, 1773) the brief which finally abolished the Order at its head-quarters. The abolition was no doubt a great blow; power, influence, wealth, all seemed to vanish away. And yet the Order did not really perish; the

¹ This is the time of Buffon's great work; his *Natural History* was begun in 1748, and volumes went on appearing till the eve of the Revolution: richly coloured, eloquent, and also methodical, he rises almost to nobility of style; his critics charge him with deficient sensibility, the quality which was the fashion of the time. Perhaps he was none the worse for this deficiency. The work is wanting in scientific character; for Buffon had no true spirit of research in him.

men remained, if the name was gone; and in due time they reappeared in the world with hardly diminished energies.

Philosophers and magistrates thus united for a while to achieve this great victory; and the Parliament of Paris thought itself once more the centre of French constitutional life. It retained no small influence for a while, till in due time a new mistress, the scandalous Madame du Barry, overthrew without hesitation or difficulty the Jansenist Parliament; and Jesuits and Jansenists were involved in one common ruin.

Madame de Pompadour retained her power till her death in 1764; her chief antagonist the Dauphin, a stupid and bigoted man, the leader of a party which warmly condemned the King's vices and opposed the philosophic tendencies of the time, only survived her a single year: he died in 1765, leaving a little Dauphin of eleven years, with his besotted grandfather on the throne. The Queen did not long survive them; she also died in 1768. These were the days of the ministry of Choiseul, the ablest man of the time, and in a sense the representative in France of the aspirations which prevailed throughout Europe. It is customary to speak of the enlightened sovereigns of this time: it would be at least as correct to call it the age of enlightened ministers. Pitt with George III, Pombal ruling in Portugal, Aranda in Spain, Choiseul at the Court of Louis XV, are quite as characteristic of the age as Joseph II or Frederick the Great.

Choiseul, after the manner of a younger member of a great house, first followed the profession of arms; soldiering, however, pleased him less than diplomacy, and he quitted the sword for the subtler battles and victories of the chancellerie. Smiled on by Madame de Pompadour, and helped by his own ready wit and ability, he quickly rose; was envoy at one court after another, and in 1758 became Minister for Home Affairs. A dukedom and peerage followed: in 1761 he was made war-minister, and at the close of the war the navy was also entrusted to him. His activity was amazing; he did much to reorganise the army, which sorely needed it; created a great military school; built ships; helped the colonies: he it was who conceived and

carried through the 'Family Compact,' and who obtained Corsica, and Napoleon Bonaparte¹, from Genoa in 1768 and 1769. Louis XV believed that Choiseul was another Richelieu, and disliked him accordingly; and yet there was a whole world of differences between the stern Cardinal and the clever and uncertain minister, who turned now one way, now another; who now had deep plans against England which came to naught, and then resisted Russia, only so far as to alarm his indolent sovereign and to do no good to Poland. He had a chief hand in the expulsion of the Jesuits, and represented the philosophic spirit of France at Court.

Meanwhile, Madame de Pompadour dying, a new mistress, the low-born Du Barry, stepped into her place. With a change of favourites came a change of the nation's policy: the Jansenists, Parliaments, Philosophers, all fell out of favour; Choiseul was exiled in 1770; and before long, to the astonishment of all France, the members of the Parliament of Paris were suddenly arrested (19 January, 1771), declared to be deposed from their high functions, and sent into exile. It was a state-revolution, which even Louis XIV had never attempted; it was a new and gigantic step towards the utter destruction of all stability in France;—yet no disturbance followed; the princes and peers protested, the provincial parliaments remonstrated; and there resistance ended. The Philosophers who had rejoiced over the fall of the Jesuits, rejoiced equally at the discomfiture of the lawyers.

With these great changes came a nominal increase to the royal authority. Louis XV mocked heaven by declaring that at his consecration he had taken oath to God alone, and not to his people. It seemed as if the nation had no hold at all on the monarch: all constitutional checks and safeguards were gone; there were neither resolute churchmen nor tradition-loving lawyers to withhold him; though commerce still flourished, and the merchant was wealthy, the finances were in the uttermost

¹ Born 15 August, 1769.

confusion; the people miserable, degraded; the Court a sink of iniquity; the King a debauched devotee.

Louis XV lived long enough to see the first Partition of Poland, that great overthrow of French influence in the north of Europe (5 August, 1772). His ministers, who had nothing of Choiseul's energy and power, had proposed to 'round off' France also, by seizing the Netherlands; this, however, England could not permit: when France prepared a fleet to protect Swedish interests from Russia, the ministers let it be known that an English fleet would at once follow the French ships into the Baltic. Then the French ministers conceived the idea of supporting the Turks against Russia, and the yards at Toulon resounded with active preparations. Thereon England again interfered, and France must needs leave the Turk to his fate. The Peace of Kainardji, which, in July 1774, gave to Russia a firm footing on the Black Sea shores, and marked the great advance of Russian ambition towards the East, resulted in part from this interference of Great Britain, and this hopeless decrepitude of France.

Before this was done Louis XV had been drifting gloomily to his end. It is said that his death (10 May, 1774) was the direct consequence and result of his scandalous vices. Let us silently draw the veil over the prostrate form of one who had been King of France for nearly fifty stirring years, inheritor of all the grandeur of the absolute monarchy, and its true destroyer.

One after another the institutions of his country had become weak, and had been swept away: they were old and worm-eaten, and had in them no vigour of renewed life, no roots running wide in the soil of the nation, whence new growths could come. The Church was paralysed, the noblesse, now chiefly modern in origin, hopelessly corrupt, the peasantry in many parts reduced almost to the savage state. The merchants in the chief cities were prosperous, and round them was gathered that civic population which was destined to take the chief share in the Revolution. The only really vigorous life in France

was that of literature, now entirely in the hands of the Philosophers, whose books and efforts on behalf of education all tended in one way: society became insensibly imbued with the principles which were soon to subvert the old system; schools sprang up in the towns under their fostering care; the little boys taught in them in 1770 became the men of 1789.

CHAPTER VII.

THE DYING MONARCHY. A.D. 1774-1789.

IN 1770 Louis, then Dauphin and Duke of Berry, a youth of sixteen years, was married to Maria Antoinetta, daughter of the great Maria Theresa of Austria, and of Francis, Duke of Lorraine and Tuscany, who had been chosen Emperor in 1745: she was one year younger than her boyish husband. This ill-starred marriage, girt round with evil omens from the very beginning, was, apart from the inevitable catastrophe which Louis XV had prepared, the chief source of the misfortunes which befell the young King. But for Marie Antoinette the Revolution of 1789 would hardly have taken the form it took; but for her the sudden outburst of patriotic military fervour, which marked the early years of the revolutionary period, would never have been called forth. She diverted the weak King from all his projects of reform; she drove away his best ministers; she plunged the Court ever deeper in debt; she was the centre of intrigues and unwholesome influences; her voice was raised in behalf of all that made the eventual explosion inevitable.

For the young King himself, who at the age of twenty came to this restless perilous throne, we can have no feeling but one of sympathy and regret. He was well-meaning and really anxious to rule well: as he said a little later, 'there is no one but Turgot and I who care for the people.' Brought up in sight of gross immorality, he had preserved a purity, almost an austerity, of character: his tastes and habits were simple and favourable to the practice of economy in the state: he was

willing to work hard at his kingly duties, to do and bear much in order to bring things straight; his intentions were always good, and his sense of duty strong. The tendencies of his age had filled him with modern ideas as to his relation to the French people; proposals for reform were welcome to him; his love for his people was tempered by a fear of anarchy. So far all was well and promising:—the remainder of the picture accounts for his failure. For he was devoid of all greatness of character; there was a want of dignity about him, which made it hard for him to lead and rule: he was timid where he should have been bold; irresolute, weak of will, and consequently deficient in perseverance: he was inevitably dependent on others. A man who is dull and obstinate can do not a little in the world: one who is dull and wavering must fail, even in quiet times: and Louis XVI was not destined to meet with peaceful breezes in his career. Consequently, failure is written on every successive movement of his fifteen years of reign; and he himself, from the ardent reformer of 1774 gradually dropped down into the stupid and uninterested sportsman of 1789, who seemed to think of nothing but the hunting-ground, when the whole of France was tossing and heaving around him.

His queen was omnipotent over him. She combined those qualities which were most disastrous for the monarch and his country; for she was ignorant, frivolous, and proud. Daughter of Maria Theresa, she inherited the worse elements of her mother's character; the pride and obstinacy which carried the great Queen through her worst straits were fatal to her daughter.

The opening of the reign was again a reaction against the past. The vices of Louis XV should have no more place at Court; noble privilege should be reduced, financial disorders checked and remedied, if possible; the old ministers were all swept away, the obscure and corrupt brood of Maupeous, Terrays, d'Aiguillons vanishes. The state of the peasantry had been gradually and decidedly improving, in the peaceful

years past: population had increased, the towns were wealthy and prosperous, and the country-districts better tilled. This advance was accompanied by a corresponding growth in intelligence and knowledge: society, as it grew firmer, became more conscious of the inequalities and injustice of the existing state of things. At the same time, the proud possessors of privilege were as contemptuous as ever, and utterly unable to see that the time for reform was come. The nobles had sole right to all commissions in the army, alone could sit in the supreme tribunals, filled all high offices of state, exerted their disastrous privilege, which freed them from the proper burdens of the state, and cut them absolutely off from those who tilled the soil, or in any way augmented the national wealth. Instead of bearing their share in the nation's burdens, they were themselves the chief burden on it. A class of society holding this position naturally makes itself odious to those beneath it: and the French nobles were eminently hateful to the rising elements of society; they were haughty, foolish, contemptuous; like the Queen, they were proud and petty; they insulted all that was most sensitive, they clung to and defended every abuse; they defeated their King and reduced him to insignificance, and finally perished with him. Their frivolity was as amazing as their vices were monstrous and their pride unbearable. It is calculated that at this time there were about a hundred and ten thousand noble persons: but it must not be thought that these were the descendants of the ancient houses, the old feudal lords. The noblesse had entirely changed in origin, if not in character. Thus, under Louis XV alone, there had been no less than four thousand offices for sale, offices which carried with them noble rank and privilege; so that the rich burgher and lawyer was always carrying his wealth and intelligence over to the side of the noble: and if he was looked down on as parvenu, his sons and grandchildren quickly caught the manner of their new class, and became as offensive as the rest.

The clergy were cut asunder as with a knife: while the

humble curé, man of the people, sympathised in the main with his fellows, and threw in his lot with them, the monks and dignified clergy took part with the privileged classes, and were among the most determined and vehement in their opposition to reform.

The 'taille,' ever a hateful tax, as it was laid, was levied according to the productiveness of the soil; it was therefore the part of the peasant to feign extreme poverty: he lived miserably, and hid his treasure in the earth. This tax not only taught men falseness, but directly discouraged all good agriculture: it was almost as fatal to show well-tilled fields, as to show signs of well-being in the farmhouse. The 'gabelle' was as offensive as ever, and struck at all society alike; this absurd and odious salt-tax was among the strongest engines of the Revolution; the 'corvée,' the compulsory service for road-building, bridges, and other public works, irritated the peasantry to a point almost beyond bearing.

Louis XVI began his reign with a sincere desire to find a way out of the difficulties which were gathering so thickly round his country. He called to his side the Count of Maurepas, who had begun public life under Louis XIV as a boy, who had done good work in the earlier times of Louis XV, had been disgraced by Madame de Pompadour, and who now, after five and twenty years, in which he had come to be a frivolous and useless old man, was summoned to guide the counsels of an inexperienced and well-meaning young King. His one title to our respect in these last days of his life is his advice to Louis XVI to entrust the charge of the finances to Turgot.

Turgot was at that time the most distinguished disciple of the Economists; he had been a pupil of Rousseau; in 1761 he had been Intendant of the Limoges district, where he carried many of his views into practice with most admirable results. He was now placed where there was a chance of applying his experience to the whole kingdom; his firm character, uprightness and good faith, were all favourable to his prospects of success; his fault was that he did not sufficiently appreciate the

force of resistance which the Queen and the noblesse would be able to bring to bear on the weakness of the King.

Turgot went to work with zeal and clearness of vision: he laid out plans of reform which aimed at much that the Revolution afterwards accomplished; he insisted on a largeness of change which did not fail to arouse the resistance of all the interested, and staggered the King himself. Instead of supporting his minister with a strong hand, Louis XVI recalled the banished Parliaments (Nov. 1774), and in fact re-established one of the strongest opponents to real reform: here was the beginning of all the misfortunes of his reign. A strong and despotic sovereign, resolutely carrying out great changes, might have entirely reconstructed France; a well-disposed and weak prince could only fall a victim to the evils which surrounded him.

From the moment that the Parliament of Paris came back, Turgot's fall became inevitable. His 'heart of l'Hôpital, and head of Bacon,' as said his panegyrists, could not conciliate the lawyers, or persuade the nobles to sacrifice their privileges, or command the King's assent to vigorous steps. After a struggle, which lasted longer than might have been expected, the minister was at last overwhelmed. There was a kind of conspiracy against him. The Queen and the nobles, the lawyers and financiers, banded themselves together: all the powerful machinery of the infamous, 'Pacte de famine,'—the phrase parodied Choiseul's 'Pacte de famille'—was brought to bear on the falling minister. This 'grain-ring,' or group of monopolists, had existed since 1765; the late King himself had taken the lead in the disgraceful traffic; even a government official was appointed to attend to the royal profits from this scandal. To this had been due the famine of 1767, 1768¹, 1769; it caused the grain-scarcity in 1775, which lasted three

¹ In this year (1768) one of the ring, troubled with a conscience, gave information against the doings of the Pacte, and the truth nearly came out. The Court, in alarm, clapped the inconvenient patriot into the Bastille, and so escaped publicity.

years; its disastrous influence is among the most distinct causes of the Revolution. At this time the Pacte was triumphant; it got up bread-riots, and utterly frightened Louis XVI: even the people, for whom he was working, seemed to rise up against him; no one appeared to have any hopes or to care for improvements. The Parliament opposed him: the Court was cool and distant, the Queen reproachful; even Malesherbes laid down his office as Minister of the Interior. At last, the King dared do no more, and Turgot was dismissed in 1776. The attempt to reform the country through the King and the Philosophers had entirely failed:—would the bankers with Necker, or the Court with Calonne and Brienne¹, or the people, against them all, be successful?

After a short period, in which everything fell back into confusion and discredit, Jacques Necker, a Genevan banker, who had made a large fortune in France, and was regarded as an especially sound and safe man, a man who, if any one, could restore the sinking credit of the state, was called on to undertake the Finance of France.

It is worthy of notice that the position of Finance-Minister has become all-important: the other ministers are indistinct personages; all centres in the one man who has to face the overwhelming necessities of income and expenditure. Necker was a more prudent and a more modern Law: he aimed at saving the state by a better system of credit and by the introduction of good accounts. He ventured on none of those far-reaching reforms which had been the ruin of Turgot: he represented the comfortable bourgeoisie, well-educated, right-minded, endeavouring to stop the mouth of the starved giant Revolution with paper budgets. He had indeed no depth of insight: yet he might have made things bearable had not all his resources been taxed to the uttermost, not to relieve the burdens of France, but to find funds for a great war. That war was not without its striking successes and its glory; yet, in the end, it made the Revolution inevitable.

¹ Michelet, *Précis de l'Histoire moderne*, p. 293 (ed. 1850).

The unimaginative English had made a series of gross blunders in America, and before the death of Louis XV the insurrection had broken out in the justly offended Colonies. The Declaration of Rights had followed, and in 1775 war had been seriously begun. In 1776 Washington took Boston; and the Declaration of Independence (4th July, 1776) proclaimed the birthday of the United States. Thirteen provinces joined in that solemn act.

In Europe a great enthusiasm followed the news; those liberty-loving sovereigns, Catherine II of Russia and Frederick the Great, welcomed this outburst, which, apart from the echoes aroused in philosophic hearts, was likely 'to cut the cock's-comb of England,' and, as was thought, to undo all she had built up with so much glory during the Seven Years' War. In France also a great enthusiasm arose, especially among the young nobles; it reached its height when the King received the American Franklin, the man of science and practical ideas, at Versailles in 1777. The Court was not anxious to commit itself to war: Louis XVI himself held back; for the ideas of the revolted provinces were not without much peril for him. Crowds of volunteers, however, rushed forward: Franklin was the welcome guest of society; the flame was kindled in every well-bred breast; it became the fashion to admire the Americans, and to help them in their struggle. The most distinguished among the volunteers was the young Marquis de la Fayette, who at the age of twenty equipped a frigate at his own cost and sailed with a band of noble and enthusiastic comrades for America, and so began his long and chequered career.

While France hesitated, North and George III, in spite of the resistance of Pitt and the Whigs, pushed on their endeavours to stamp down the insurrection, hoping to end the war before the French could interfere. But the mishap of Saratoga on the Hudson (17 Oct. 1777), at which place General Burgoyne was obliged to capitulate with six thousand men, changed the whole face of affairs. The Americans took the offensive with vigour and spirit, and early in 1778 signed a treaty of

alliance and commerce with France; then a great maritime struggle between France and England began.

Early in 1778 serious entanglements threatened the peace of Europe; and the naval struggle of England with France and America, had war broken out in Germany, might have taken a very different turn. On the death of Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria, in 1777, the Emperor Joseph II, the 'Don Quixote' of Frederick the Great, had invaded Bavaria, intending to rearrange his Austrian frontier, 'rounding-off' for himself a more comfortable western borderland in the Upper Danube valley. Hereon, Frederick, not in the least intending that the Austrian House should become any stronger, or that Bavaria should be 'the Silesia of the South,' at once interfered. He posed himself, after the old ideas, as champion of the Princes of the Empire against the Emperor, as an Elector eager only to check the unfair aggrandisement of the House of Austria at the expense of the Electoral body.

Though Joseph II was keen for war, his mother Maria Theresa was as eager for peace: France, siding with her, became the chief means of a peaceful solution of the difficulty. She had in Vergennes, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, a skilful and capable diplomatist, who by arranging the Peace of Teschen (13 May, 1778) saved Europe from a great war, and probably secured the independence of the United States: for European war would have relieved the strain on the English sea-power, leaving her free to deal as she would with the insurgent colonists.

The Peace of Teschen was followed by an alliance between France and Spain against England: and a serious naval war ensued.

In this five years' contest the French naval power showed a wonderful revival of vigour and ability: the first engagement that they fought, off Ushant, in July, 1778, when D'Orvilliers met Keppel, was long and stubbornly contested, and ended in a kind of drawn battle, which seemed to deny to England that sovereignty of the seas of which she was so proud.

'Seventeen years ago,' said the Earl of Chatham, and they were his dying words (7 April, 1778), 'this people was the terror of the world—'; his strength went from him before he could complete the sentence; the silence was all the more striking. Now the sea-fight off Ushant seemed to show that the Empire of England was being weighed in the balance, and her ruin imminent.

There were four chief scenes of this war: first, the Channel; then the Siege of Gibraltar, which was begun the next year, and lasted till the peace; thirdly, the shores of North America; and last, the West Indian Islands. England was also engaged in a life-and-death struggle in Hindostan: in this, however, the French played a secondary part, although they were ranged on the side of Hyder Ali and Tippoo.

In 1779 the French and Spanish fleets prepared not only to assault Gibraltar, but to make a great descent on the English coasts. In the former attempt they were foiled by the strength of the rock and the vigilant courage of General Elliot; in the latter, though their fleets rode the Channel as masters, they were defeated by the elements: fierce weather made the transport of troops across the Channel difficult; time was lost, the ships' crews became unhealthy, and D'Orvilliers' great expedition came to nothing. The English pride was now thoroughly aroused; a war-panic was followed by a vigorous effort to retrieve the disasters and disgraces of these years: for in the year 1778 the American Paul Jones had inflicted great damage on English commerce: and D'Estaing, one of the best French sailors, a man full of enthusiasm for the new Republic, had defeated Admiral Byron in the West Indies, after taking the Islands of S. Vincent and Grenada.

Now, however, the tide turned. Rodney in 1780 defeated the combined fleets of France and Spain, and relieved Gibraltar and Minorca, both hard-pressed with war and famine; then, sailing for the West Indies, he did much to redress the balance in favour of England. The English power had re-established itself firmly in the southern colonies of North America, and

repulsed with great loss D'Estaing's attack on Savannah in 1779. The Americans were much dispirited at their losses and reverses, and Washington and Congress appealed to France for help: La Fayette returned home to support their cry, and a brilliant expedition of seven ships, a large sum of money, and six thousand picked troops, under Count Rochambeau, sailed for America.

This moment saw a great uprising of the naval powers of Europe against the arrogant right of search long claimed and exercised by England. The pleadings of France were heard with ready ear by the sovereigns of Europe, especially by Catherine II of Russia. That great princess saw that she might claim the proud position of protector of the sea, and published a declaration which, though it stated only general principles, was aimed as directly against England as if George III had been named in it. Freedom of navigation was claimed: the flag should cover the merchandise; all neutral bottoms escorted by a ship of war should be free from search; a blockade to be respected must be real. The England of this day accepts these principles heartily: a century ago they seemed to be a direct attack on her authority on the high seas. The powers of Europe not actually at war with England all adopted the principles of 'the Armed Neutrality'; Russia and Prussia, Denmark and Sweden, the two Sicilies, and even Austria, united to enforce it. When Holland also joined the Neutrality, she was at once attacked, without due formalities, by England, and utterly defeated. France, who had been the motive power in it all, rejoiced; she hoped that she and Spain, making common cause with America, might succeed in destroying the English preponderance at sea. Although Holland was wellnigh ruined, the French fleets took the ascendancy wherever they met the English. De Grasse defeated Howe with great loss in the West Indies. The French ships sailed thence to Chesapeake Bay, to support Washington and Rochambeau in a great and well-planned effort to reduce Lord Cornwallis. De Grasse drove the English ships out of the bay, and carried Washing-

ton's troops over into the peninsula of York Town, leaving La Fayette with another army to hold Cornwallis in check. Then the combined forces, French and American, assaulted the English position at York Town, took the outer works, and compelled the army to capitulate (29 October, 1781). Six ships of war were taken, seven thousand men made prisoners: the struggle between England and her revolted colonies drew towards an end.

The news appalled all England; it was thought that she would never recover from the blow. Government announced that it had abandoned all thought of subduing the colonists: public feeling was deeply moved, London taking the lead in opposition and remonstrance. In the spring of 1782 Lord North resigned the seals, and the Rockingham Ministry, with Fox as Foreign Secretary, came into office. Things began to look less hopeless for England; good tidings from India cheered all men; Rodney's victory over De Grasse (12 April, 1782), off Saintes in the Antilles, seemed to promise the recovery of English power at sea. Now too the tide turned in Europe also. The French and Spaniards, after reducing Minorca, had pressed Gibraltar closely: all their efforts were shattered against that impregnable rock, defended by the iron resolution of General Elliot; and when the British fleet, taking advantage of rough weather, once more had revictualled the place, they abandoned the siege as hopeless. Gibraltar had occupied the main part of their strength: its resistance gave England time to recover herself, and enabled her to make an honourable peace. Late in 1782 the independence of the United States was acknowledged, and peace between England and her former colonies followed; the great influence of Franklin at Paris was exerted on behalf of peace. Austria and Prussia stepped forward as mediators: the French ministers were also inclined for peace. Necker had published his *compte rendu*, his attempt at a real statement of the financial position of the country in 1781, and as a consequence of this step had fallen from power. The Queen and Court had proved too strong for

him; it was thought that Necker aimed at becoming a Turgot; that he wished to abolish privilege; that he wished to reduce the French crown to the melancholy position of that of England, where Parliament had control of the finances, and kept the monarch within bounds. Louis XVI, weak as usual, could not stand against the clamour and pressure of the Court: he allowed Necker to resign (25 May, 1781): all France felt as if her only friend and helper had been swept away.

Marie Antoinette thereon became omnipotent over the poor King's mind with disastrous results. One weak and foolish minister succeeded another, with an unvarying increase of the country's debts. It was during their nominal management of affairs that the Peace of Versailles was signed (3 September, 1783) between France, England and Spain. England restored to Holland all her colonies except Negapatam; she gave Minorca and Florida to Spain; to France she ceded all that the Treaty of Utrecht had stipulated respecting Dunkirk. The Indian Empire of England remained untouched; her hold on Gibraltar was unshaken; and by a separate peace, signed the same day, she finally and solemnly recognised the independence of the United States.

The war, in the main glorious for France and for her ally across the Atlantic, added nothing to the stability of the monarchy; on the contrary, the heavy costs added terribly to the embarrassments of the state. The young nobles and soldiers, who returned with glory from America, brought back with them an enthusiasm for republican institutions and liberty. The army, that last resort and bulwark of despotic monarchy, was now filled with the new ideas, and could not be trusted when the crisis came.

Things went from bad to worse: Calonne's ministry was the degradation of France; it was the corrupt Court gaily dragging the monarchy and itself to ruin. Fresh debts, fresh anticipations of revenues, additional taxes, bursal edicts, seemed to restore plenty to the Court, which plunged ever deeper in reckless amusements, as if this hollow life would last for ever. Early

in his reign Louis XVI had given some hours every day to business of state; that was in his young willingness for good; now all was swallowed up by court life, hunting, dissipation. The Queen could bear no serious people; and the King gradually gave way to her humour, becoming as careless and useless as the rest. 'At Marly, amusements from dinner at one till one the next morning. At Versailles, three shows and two balls a week, two great suppers, Tuesdays and Thursdays, from time to time a run into Paris for the Opera. At Fontainebleau three plays a week, cards, suppers, and the rest. In winter the Queen gave a weekly masked ball, the preparation for which occupied all the intermediate time and what stood for the thoughts of the Court¹: the dresses were so important. Every one played high: scandal raged, and did not fail to touch the highest and most frivolous of all. The startling incident of the Diamond Necklace threw all society into a ferment in 1785: that a Cardinal, a Prince of the Church, should have made the Queen so splendid a gift, costing over a million and a half of livres, was a delightful subject for the malicious tongues of France. Marie Antoinette, though not guilty herself, gave people many excuses for thinking her so: the literature of the day, low-toned and weak,—for all the great authors were dead,—made up for its feebleness by its vehemence of hatred and recklessness in accusation.

The Court despised the King, the 'locksmith,' who seemed actually to enjoy the masquerade of the mill and farm at the little Trianon. His habits were simple; if they would only give him his hunt he was satisfied with anything, and asked for nothing more; he forgot the troubles of his country, and wrote 'Nothing' in his diary, meaning 'no hunting,' on days in which the whole fortunes of his kingdom were at stake.

After three years of senseless expedients, Calonne at last told the King that things could go on no longer as they were. He seems to have believed that he could persuade the privileged classes to give way. At his suggestion Louis XVI called in

¹ Taine, *Ancien Régime*, i. p. 143.

1787 an Assembly of Notables, before whom the state of the finances was laid. Calonne proposed to them that they should face the great need by suppressing the *corvées*, by overthrowing the existing system of revenue-farming, by abolition of all privileged exemptions. In fact, after a lapse of thirteen years, the old plans of Turgot were once more urged on those very classes which had refused them before, and which since that time, thanks to Calonne himself, had been enjoying a very comfortable time at the cost of France. The Notables, who owed so much to Calonne, now treated him as a traitor¹; they clamoured for his dismissal: even the Count of Artois² abandoned him. The unscrupulous minister fell, and was succeeded by the incompetent Cardinal Laurence de Brienne.

Then the Assembly of Notables accepted the proposed reforms. Now however the French people wanted far more than they would give, and we have the strange sight of the nobles offering definite and important reforms, while the Parliament of Paris stands forward as the champion of privilege, the steady opponent of reform, and is applauded to the echo by the people. In this feverish and unwonted state of the public mind, the idea of a convocation of the States-General somehow came into being³. It was accepted at once as the solution for the difficulties of the time, the one escape from ruin. Even the Parliament itself declared that the States-General alone could rightly vote taxes. The Court hereon declared war against the Parliament; and when the lawyers refused to register an edict ordering a tax, the registration was enforced: when they declared a forced registration to be invalid, they were exiled to Troyes. All the Courts and Parliaments of France now joined in calling for the States-General: the King reluctantly, and with reservations, promised that they should be convoked.

¹ See Mallet du Pan, *Mémoires*, i. p. 141.

² Charles Philippe, younger brother of Louis XVI, afterwards Charles X.

³ 'A peine ce grand mot d'*Etats-Généraux*, murmuré tout bas pour la première fois dans l'Assemblée des Notables, fut-il solennellement prononcé dans une délibération du Parlement, qu'il retentit comme un coup de foudre dans la France entière.' Pontécoulant, *Souvenirs Historiques*, i. p. 89.

The few remaining pages of this volume are intended to trace the fall of the Monarchy, not the rise of the Revolution, closely though the two are connected: it will therefore be enough if we touch very slightly on those deeply interesting matters which heralded the great changes that were coming. The Monarchy, in fact, had become so weak as almost to be of no account in the struggle: even the personal character of the King is almost effaced by the influences around him; and as he drifts towards the great catastrophe before him, we seem to lose our earlier interest in him.

At first it seemed as if the movements of the time were resolving themselves into a complicated struggle between the Court and the privileged bodies. The Parliament and the noblesse joined in defending their privileges from the attacks of the Queen and the ministers; and the popular sympathy seemed to be on their side in the struggle. They called for the States-General, believing that two of the Estates at least would support them. On the other hand, the Court also, hoping to save the absolute power of the Monarchy, resisted the privileged classes, and appealed to the people for help: it proposed also to convoke the States-General, thinking that the popular elements in them would distinctly side with the crown against the aristocracy. It was a most perilous game: how would it turn out, if it appeared that the force of opinion among the people was in favour of dispensing with both privileged classes and a corrupt and burdensome monarchy? Early in his reign Louis XVI might have counted on great support from his people: the fifteen years that had passed had strengthened their hostility to all the existing governments: apart from other causes, the American war of independence had made the King's position untenable.

At the end of 1787 the King had recalled the Parliament to Paris: he took occasion, on their return, to give expression to his views and wishes. He told them that the States-General he had promised should be nothing but a larger royal council: that he reserved to himself the power of judging when they

should be convoked; that he would be 'sole arbiter of all their representations and griefs.' He ended by presenting to the Parliament for registration two edicts, framed, one might think, with the special intention of creating disturbance: for the one was an edict authorising the King to contract huge loans; the other restored to Protestants in France their civil rights. A violent debate ensued; and the King, before a vote was taken, rash where he should have been cautious and conciliatory, suddenly transformed the session into a 'lit de justice,' and ordered the Parliament to register the edicts without a vote.

This aroused a man, destined to make himself notorious in the coming time, Philip Duke of Orleans, who hated the Queen and sympathised with the popular movement. He protested against the whole proceeding, and led the Parliament in its resistance. He was banished to Villars-Cotterets.

The Parliament of Paris growing still more vehement, Louis XVI determined to take the reform of the nation into his own hands, and to crush all opposition by vigorous measures. Accordingly, in May 1788 he held a 'lit de justice' at Versailles, and declared his intentions: in his speech he showed that he had come back, though it was now too late, to the ideas which he had accepted from Turgot fourteen years before. The object which the King had in view was, however, very different. Then it had been a real desire for the people's happiness; now it was, chiefly if not solely, a wish to punish the stubbornness of the Parliament. Yet the proposed reforms read well. One King, one law, law-courts for lesser matters, Parliament for the larger matters of law, a Court of Archives to keep and register all laws, and States-General, whenever needed,—these names had a good sound. Louis XVI was prepared to grant as much constitutional life to France as England had been discontented with two centuries before. It was obvious that the King had no thought of relaxing the grasp of autocratic power: all resistance would be visited with his personal displeasure. The composition of the Courts he proposed to establish was to be left entirely to himself; the

convocation of the States-General should depend on his pleasure and convenience: nothing of real value was suggested as to taxation. Paris was not minded to sacrifice the Parliament, of which it was proud, for the chance of such reforms. And, moreover, public opinion had gone far beyond this point: already rhymes affixed to the public places had called for the King's deposition, and had expressed the popular hatred for the Queen¹. The very form of the procedure was offensive; for a 'lit de justice' was well understood to mean 'the last act of the supreme authority;' and by announcing these reforms in this way, the crown gave expression to its sovereign power, and was certain to displease all save the courtiers at the foot of the throne.

To add to the discontent in Paris, the disastrous action of the 'Famine-ring' was once more felt: the edict which granted freedom to the grain-trade gave this terrible body a chance of operating; a bad season aggravated the evil, and, from one or other cause, great distress began in Paris; it was thought that sore famine impended. And now the different parties at Court concluded that the miserable First Minister, Brienne, had tried his hand long enough (25 August, 1788). 'Vaudreuil and the Polignacs persuaded the Count of Artois, and he persuaded the Queen: the dismissal of the Archbishop of Sens was achieved: the same persons secured the recall of M. Necker, as a last resource. The distress was now at its worst. There were but four hundred thousand livres in the royal treasure for all emergencies and needs; all other funds were exhausted: money could be got only at from

¹ At Versailles, Sept. 1787, these lines were pasted up:

'Louis XVI interdit, Antoinette au couvent,
D'Artois à Saint-Lazare, et Provence régent.'

May 1788, again at Versailles, in the very midst of the guards, this:

'Palais à louer,
Parlement à vendre,
Ministres à pendre,
Couronne à donner.'

And this at the very moment of the King's declaration of reforms. Mallet du Pan, *Mémoires* i. pp. 147, 149.

twenty to twenty-five per centum¹:—Necker was received with enthusiasm at Versailles: 'it was almost a burlesque, and gives us the thermometer of the distress. In a country of twenty-four million inhabitants it was necessary to appeal to a foreigner, a Protestant, a republican, dismissed seven years back, exiled last year, hated by the master, of principles and character diametrically opposed to those of the Court².' The delight of Paris and of society lasted but a short time: within a week of Necker's recall people, like unthinking children, were wondering that the finance of the country had not already come straight: the funds, which had sprung up in all the elasticity of vague hopes, now sank again in the sullenness of despair.

The foreign policy and interests of France were as powerless as the home-government. It was at this same moment that Holland, struggling in her old party-lines, between the burghers who leant on France and the popular party which clung to the House of Orange-Nassau and supported the Stattholderate, was reduced by Frederick the Great, who overthrew the French party, restored the Stattholder, and compelled Holland to depend on England not on France. In his dealings with Joseph II, Louis XVI was equally unsuccessful: everything foreboded trouble and an overthrow.

At last, things being desperate, the King consented to convoke the States-General for the 5th of May, 1789.

¹ Mallet du Pan, *Mémoires*, i. p. 153.

² *Ibid.*

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FALL OF LOUIS XVI. A.D. 1789-1793.

WE draw towards the end. Steadily, for a century, the absolute Monarchy has been moving down towards the catastrophe which at last awaits it: a great king, a selfish and a bad one, and lastly, most fatal of all, a weak and amiable one, each in his turn performs his part in this slow overthrow of the edifice which France has spent her centuries and her life-blood to erect.

Louis XVI, kindly and willing as he was to help, was also impressed with a belief in the absolute authority of the crown: no real liberties could ever have sprung from him. It was with the utmost reluctance that he consented to the convocation of the States-General: and when he had taken that step, he had neither the intelligence, the vigour, nor the patriotism required to guide this new and tremendous engine of government, this new exponent of the ideas, the wants, the terrible discontents of the time. He regarded it chiefly, if not altogether, as a 'great financial expedient'; a machine by which to grapple with the hourly-growing deficit, with which to lighten the burden of the debt. That debt had passed two hundred and fifty millions of pounds sterling, at the value of the pound, as it then was¹. The King seems to have believed that the States-General, without embarrassing the course of

¹ Arthur Young tells us that in 1791 the debt was '6,500,000,000 livres or 284,375,000 pounds sterling.' *Travels*, i. p. 623 (ed. 1794).

things, would find some unknown remedy for this gigantic evil of debt. His whole conduct is that of an honest, stupid, incompetent gentleman.

How hard it was for him to go right! The Queen, who ought to have helped him, was his worst hindrance: the Court, on which he feebly leant, was split up into coteries rather than parties: there was no wisdom nor patriotism around him. The recall of Necker, too late, was not to his satisfaction. The noblesse, the old, the new by purchase, and the new by taking possession¹, were either absolutely opposed to all reform, or were among the most advanced of those who called for revolution: the philosophers, who had created the theoretic opinions on the subjects of the day, the young nobles, the young clergy, the *littérateurs*, were all eager for change: the burgher-world had lost much of its prosperity, thanks to the sense of uncertainty which reigned in these years; the manufactures had suffered greatly: their workmen were in rags and hungered². Out of their ranks came forth many of those who were determined to push revolution to its extreme limits. The people were once more suffering from want, and this chiefly through the operation of the famine-pact; and 'the violent friends of the Commons (by which name men indicated the *Tiers État*) are not displeased at the high price of corn, which seconds their views greatly³.'

Under these conditions came the elections to the States-General. It was so long since the last had met⁴ that there was no little doubt and difficulty as to the right course to be followed: Englishmen who chanced to be in France were eagerly questioned; old documents were looked into; new questions arose, for which precedent provided no solution.

¹ It is strange to see how in France men have been, at different epochs, able to force their way without right into the ranks of the proud and privileged class. The same thing goes on at the present day in France, see Hamerton, *Round my House*, pp. 82 sqq.

² Arthur Young, *Travels*, i. pp. 608, 609 (ed. 1794).

³ *Ibid.* i. p. 119.

⁴ In 1614 at Paris, at the time of the declaration of the majority of Louis XIII. See vol. ii. p. 489.

How should the representatives be elected? When they came together, how should they sit? Should each Estate have a veto on the others? Should they sit together? Should the Third Estate, the 'Commons,' as the reformers eagerly called it, have a double vote? Should it sit in the same chamber with the others? The people, of course, claimed that their Estate should have a double vote, and that the voting should be by head, not by order: on the other hand, the nobles and clergy declared that the precedent of 1614 should be followed. The Parliament of Paris on being appealed to sided with the privileged orders:—how could any one have expected the lawyers to go against precedent?

Their declaration at once destroyed all their popularity. Up to that moment the people had regarded them as their leaders, and had sided with them against the Court; now they discerned that the Parliament was no reforming body, and would support established institutions against change. From this moment its influence and power came to an end. It was suppressed by the Constituent Assembly in 1790.

Though the Parliament went against the people, Necker was in favour of their claims, and Louis XVI conceded the great point of the double representation: he gave orders that there should be elected full as many to the Third Estate as to the two other Estates together. France, busied with these all-important elections, was in a very ominous and threatening state throughout the winter months of 1788, 1789. The weather was terribly severe, and famine raged in town and country: ghastly incidents occurred; men's minds were full of vague apprehensions; strange figures thronged the streets, people of a kind not often seen; the uneasiness was universal. Still, the elections passed off quietly and well; it was observed of the clergy¹ that while the prelates went with the noblesse, the curés inclined towards the Third Estate. On the 5th of May, 1789, they met at Versailles; there were two hundred and ninety-one

¹ A. Young testifies to the excellent moral state of the clergy at this time. *Travels*, i. p. 608.

Nobles; two hundred and seventy of the Clergy; and five hundred and seventy-eight of the Third Estate.

As we deal only with the fall of the Monarchy, we may be content here to sketch in merest outline the stormy history of the first meetings of this great Parliament of France. The Estates were summoned to sit at Versailles: and immediately on their arrival there the yet unsettled question as to the manner of their deliberations came to the front. The King had conceded to the Third Estate a representation just more than equal that of the other Estates combined: but what would be the value of that concession if the three chambers sate separately? The points connected with the verification of their powers, and (attached to it) the vital question of three chambers or one, then the subsequent and almost equally important question of vote by order or vote by head, demanded most careful handling. The King's government, instead, lingered over trivial questions of detail or ceremony, and lost hold of the initiative. The Estates seized the helm which had fallen from the feeble royal hands: and of the Estates the Third, now strongest in numbers, in hold on public esteem, and in knowledge of its own mind, very soon took the lead. It had with it a large portion of the clergy: as we should expect from the incidents of the American War, there were not a few of the noblesse who sympathised with it: even in the royal circle the Duke of Orleans was its friend. The Third Estate, supported by the general feeling of the country and by Paris, insisted that the three orders should sit and vote together, and vote by head and not by order: they saw that they would then have the command of the majority. A new element in the political life of the time sprang into active being: as before there had been swarms of pamphlets bought and read eagerly, so now followed the age of Clubs. The famous 'Club des Jacobins' began its existence at Versailles just before the meeting of the States-General; it was at first called the 'Club des Bretons,' being composed of deputies from Brittany: when, however, it was transferred to Paris with the Assembly, it found a final home in the street

of the Jacobins, and thence got the name, or nickname, by which it is known to history. The influence of the clubs on the movement of politics was exceedingly great: they formed the centres whence ideas, schemes, resolutions, revolutions, poured forth and shaped the course of affairs in the stormy years which we have reached.

From the beginning the royal government made incredible blunders in all things, and played ignorantly, yet persistently, into the hands of the Third Estate. As before, by weak attempts to comfort the people, the Court had succeeded in rousing its hostility¹, so now, by its vacillating attempts to retain the distinctions between the Estates, it brought on their union into one chamber, and the consequent downfall of the two privileged bodies. Necker had, strangely enough, provided no separate chamber for the Third Estate, so that it installed itself of necessity in the great Hall of the Estates, in which they, after ancient usage, would have met in case of common deliberation; once there, once in possession, the ground was theirs: and who can deny the great force of actual occupation in time of change, when the occupying power is also the most vigorous? Towards the great Hall a certain number of the noblesse, and the majority of the clergy, gravitated, and threw in their lot with the Third Estate, accepting and strengthening their position.

They proceeded at once to verify powers for all the orders. The noblesse did not appear in form; they were passed over: the clergy generally also refused to answer to their name; some curés, however, asked to submit their powers for verification; they were received with all honour, and precedence was given them over the members of the Third Estate. All, as yet, was moderate and calm.

The next step was equally important, though it may seem trifling. What should the new Assembly be called? Mirabeau claimed for them the title of 'Representatives of the People,' and in so doing he laid down, in truth, the principle which ruled

¹ 'Comment on souleva le peuple en voulant le soulager.' See De Tocqueville, *Ancien Régime*, iii. ch. v. (heading).

his conduct during the short and memorable fragment of his life. Representatives of the people, and the King with a veto, made, to his mind, the only true form of government for France in the future. The old aristocracy must go: a great plain of level institutions must spread from end to end of France, and over all should be a renewed monarchy, free from hindrances from the noblesse, relieved from its embarrassments of debt, delegating all active government to the people, yet posed magnificently above it. On this theory Mirabeau declared that without the royal veto he would 'rather live in Constantinople than in France.'

'Representatives of the People,' however good as a description, was not a satisfactory title for the body. In old times the phrase 'National Assembly' had often been used as equivalent to the States-General. It was now settled that this name should be adopted at once; and by a large majority the title was finally accepted. Thus the Third Estate, with some of the clergy among them, and a sprinkling of the nobles, seized the vacant command of the movement of the time. It was an usurpation, no doubt; yet an usurpation justified by the needs and will of the nation.

This new power, treated now with rash discourtesy by the foolish King, and finding the doors of the Hall of the States-General closed against it, adjourned to the neighbouring tennis-court, the 'Jeu de Paume,' where they took solemn oath never to separate till 'the constitution of the kingdom had been established and confirmed on solid foundations'. From that moment this newly-constructed body took to itself, with justice, the title of the 'Constituent Assembly,' because it was under oath to build up the constitution of the country. It was a declaration of war against the ancient absolute monarchy; the oath was taken by the whole Assembly, with but one exception.

The position of the Monarchy was grave and critical, though certainly not desperate. Face to face with this half-usurped authority of the people, with the National Assembly, and with

¹ *Moniteur*, June 21, 1789 (Reprint of 1840, i. pp. 89, 90).

Paris, Louis XVI needed firmness as well as honesty, good counsellors instead of the untimely suggestions of his traditional position or the unwise dignity and pride of his spouse. She showed indeed a dauntless front in the worst moments: this was, however, the very bearing which was fatal to her cause. The King's reign had been, as has been truly said, the most prosperous period of all the old régime: the Monarch himself the kindest, the most honest-hearted of princes. Yet all turned to evil. The improved state of the nation only threw light on the terrible anomalies and injustice of society; the King's desire to better the condition of his subjects, 'all for the people, and nothing by them,' after the true principle of an eighteenth-century despot, was taken amiss, sometimes resented, sometimes regarded as a sign of fear and weakness. Louis XVI cherished also the ancient traditions of unlimited power, and was tempted to act in an arbitrary way; 'the smallest step in this direction taken by him seemed to France more hard to bear than all the despotism of Louis XIV'.¹

Mirabeau, 'the soul of the National Assembly',² by his aggressive and startling eloquence seemed to sway the course of affairs; on him the reconstruction of the King's position apparently depended. He had a real desire to reconcile the monarchy with the people. Whether the Court purchased him or not must remain an open question; it is certain that he received large sums³; though perhaps these were intended for his cause rather than for himself. Whether this remarkable man could have swayed and curbed the revolutionary spirit is uncertain: hot republicans, who hated him, loudly declared that 'had he lived, he would have destroyed the revolution';⁴ yet it is not at all clear that his power and popularity could have achieved the great feat of reconstituting society on new bases, and of building where he had been foremost to pull down.

¹ De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime et la Révolution*, p. 292.

² Schmidt, *Tableau de la Révolution Française* i. p. 3.

³ Mallet du Pan, *Mémoires*, i. pp. 229, 230. Mallet of course takes the worst view of his acts.

⁴ So Brissot declared; Mallet du Pan, *Mémoires*, i. p. 228.

And the Court seconded him very ill, and would have been of little service to him. For the Court was not loyal to the country, or to any one, in truth. Its hopes were fixed beyond the frontier; and it had no heart for any reconciliation with the Assembly or the people.

Meanwhile, to political excitement and change were added the special risks of famine. The state of Paris was a disgrace to the civilised world; a disgrace that a great capital should be given over to absolute want of bread, in time of peace: the influences of the famine-pact filled the imaginations of the citizens, who attributed all their sufferings to misconduct and mismanagement. The storm, day by day, lowered more and more threatfully.

On the 23rd of June, 1789, occurred the first collision between the Crown and the Assembly. On that day Louis XVI held a royal session. From the throne he made a long discourse, lamenting the conduct of the commons and making his formal declaration of concessions. These, large as they were, did not touch the true ground of the quarrel: as to that, he declared himself in favour of separate orders, and bade the Assembly meet next day each in its own chamber. When he withdrew, he was followed by most of the noblesse, all the bishops, many clergy. The remainder stayed, agitated deeply by the King's offers and claims. They were soon brought by Mirabeau to see that they must persevere if they would succeed: and when the master of the ceremonies came to request them to withdraw, he rose and replied for the whole Estate—'Go tell those who sent you, that we are here by the will of the people, and will retire only at the point of the bayonet.' The Court shrank from such bold action, and the Third Estate remained victoriously in possession of the ground.

This was open war, and plain defeat to the royal authority. Necker, convinced that he could do no more against the malign counsels which prevailed at Versailles, had tendered his resignation, and had withdrawn from the Palace amidst the plaudits of the people. On the following day the Duke of Orleans, with

forty-six of the noblesse, made their appearance in the common hall, and were received by the Assembly with most vivid enthusiasm.

The King's position grew hourly more critical: it was seen that if it came to actual fighting, the troops could not be relied on for his defence: he was obliged to yield. He ordered the remainder of the noblesse to join the Assembly, and they obeyed with ill-dissembled reluctance. The three orders were now (27 June, 1789) united: noblesse and clergy had accepted, willingly or not, the victory of the commons. In the King's Councils, at the last moment, the war-party, headed by the Count of Artois, and urged on by the noblesse and the bishops, now prevailed: they were soon to find that they leant on a reed when they thought that the army would fight for the old order of things. In a fortnight's time the insurrection broke out: Louis dismissed Necker, whose resignation he had not before accepted, and threw himself in with the war-party. The troops, quite ready to join the popular side, and dazzled by the Duke of Orleans, refused to put down the insurrection: the revolution went on with vigorous steps. The National Guard, the Municipality of Paris, the Tricolour, all sprang at once into being; Paris had achieved her victory, and the Monarchy was defeated, almost without the striking of a blow.

This defeat of the Monarchy was followed by vigorous measures: insurgent Paris seized the Hôtel des Invalides, the great arsenal, where the pensioners and gunners made no resistance. Twenty cannon, and a vast store of muskets and bayonets fell into the hands of the people: henceforth the Revolution was armed. Everywhere the regular army showed sympathy with the insurgents: it was determined at the Hôtel de Ville that the Bastille, that symbol of the ancient system, should be attacked at once.

Here again no vigorous resistance was made; thirty Swiss who were in the garrison alone fighting with vigour. Had the troops under Besenval in the Champ de Mars been trustworthy, they might have rescued the Bastille, while this handful of men

still defended it. The army, however, could not be trusted; and Besenval, instead of marching forwards, fell back to Sèvres, and thence to Versailles. De Lannoy, the aged commander of the Bastille, who had shown great energy and determination, was at last compelled to offer terms: the insurgents promised that he and his men should take no harm, and the wild crowd was admitted into the building. The promise of their chiefs was of no avail: hot with excitement and triumph, the mob insisted on blood: and the fall of the Bastille saw the beginning of those terrible massacres which stained the early years of the Revolution.

In the vaults of the building were found only seven prisoners, so completely had the milder rule of Louis XVI reversed the customs of former days; so entirely had the old abuse of 'lettres de cachet' disappeared: none of the seven prisoners were political offenders. The Bastille itself was levelled to the ground: and with its fall fell the old régime in France.

Once more Louis XVI decided on fresh concessions. He appeared in the Assembly, and announced his intention of removing his troops (they were well-known to be only half-hearted for him at best) from Paris and Versailles: he relied on the fidelity of the National Assembly. The effect of this statement was great: Paris was instantly calmed: Bailly was appointed mayor, La Fayette made commander of the civic forces. The King, hoping to strengthen the feeling in his favour, paid a visit to the capital. The keys of Paris were brought him at the gate by Bailly with the words, 'I offer to your Majesty the very keys which were presented to Henry IV. He entered Paris as its conqueror: now the people have conquered their sovereign.' Louis appeared at the window of the Hôtel de Ville with the tricolour cockade on his breast; and Paris, amidst universal plaudits and enthusiasm, acclaimed him as the new-found Sovereign of the people. This visit thwarted all the plans of the Duke of Orleans, and the party which went with him: they had meant to raise that abandoned creature to the dignity of Lieutenant-General of the realm. His vacillation and

cowardice had been clearly proved: Mirabeau henceforth shook himself free from him, discerning that it was not with such an instrument that the Monarchy could be saved.

Thus the 'day of the 14th of July' seemed likely to bring about a happy reconciliation between King and people, and might have done so but for the wrongheadedness of the Queen and her party. The King's mild and beneficent character, had he been duly supported by vigorous and sensible friends and ministers, might possibly have become the basis for a new monarchy.

Unfortunately the Queen's party, and the party of the Duke of Orleans, at every step neutralised the good intentions of the ill-fated King, instead of supplementing by devoted friends and followers his want of vigour and earnestness. The King's visit to Paris was regarded by the Queen's friends as a fatal blunder: on that very day they abandoned the royal cause, and set the example of that great emigration, which in its ultimate effects totally changed the character of the Revolution. The Count of Artois went, taking with him the Princes of Condé, Conti, and Broglie, Breteuil also and the Polignacs. The Queen was left almost alone. She would neither accompany the King into Paris; her pride forbade that: nor would she fly with the nobles; her courage and obstinacy would not allow that. So she remained, a centre of misfortune for Louis XVI.

The taking of the Bastille had aroused all France: national guards were organised in every town; the Parisian ferment and excitement spread far and wide. In country places the peasants attacked their noble lords; it was a new Jacquerie: the noblesse had no strength to resist, and fled in crowds over the border. The remainder, too late, laid down their ancient feudal rights and powers. The flight of some, the surrender of others, soon left all power in the hands of the Assembly and Paris.

The Assembly, with great speed, framed its new constitution: it decreed that there should be a single Chamber: it refused

to allow the King an absolute veto on its decrees. In the Assembly itself two main parties, the Right and the Left, were formed at once. Of these, the former, with Mirabeau, hoped to retain a modified monarchy: the latter, under inspiration of the clubs, was the party of more vigorous action.

It is said that the troubles which surged up again in Paris were fomented by the Orleanist faction: be this as it may, the city daily grew more excited; the want and misery was excessive; all kinds of rumours fed the irritated crowd with suspicion and alarm. Though Necker had been recalled by the King, after the 14th of July, and had been welcomed with warm hopes by the people, it soon became clear that his influence was gone, and that neither Louis nor he could command the storm.

At this moment came that unlucky banquet to the Swiss guards at Versailles, with the anti-republican sentiments and music, the white cockades, the loyal enthusiasm of the few. That they should feast while the capital starved seemed a thing not to be borne: the surging populace, excited by women crying 'Bread! Bread!' set out in a tumultuous mass for Versailles. They first insulted the Assembly, which was sitting, and then turned towards the Palace. When they came there, the King was out hunting; that was his one passion and pleasure in these dark days, the one solace of his feeble mind. There he was happy; he liked that far better than grappling with his unruly subjects, or leading them in their aspirations for liberty and a new order of things. So now, he was at the chase when the Paris mob besieged his palace gates. On his return he was a prey to sore incertitude: upright and humane, he refused to fire on a crowd of women, and no resistance was made. The citizens at last took him captive, and insisted that he should go to Paris. The Queen, brave and heroic, but alas! unwise even now, refused to be separated from him. With her and his young son, the hapless King made a gloomy march from Versailles to Paris on this 6th of August 1789; the people,

as they went, insulted 'the baker, his wife, and the little apprentice¹'.

Thus Paris at one blow conquered both King and Assembly; that body, intimidated and with uncertain steps, followed the fallen monarch to the capital. There both were under the direct and jealous supervision of the populace, which henceforth became, to a new and alarming extent, the arbiter of the fortunes of France. The royal family at the Tuileries was soon taught that it was in virtual imprisonment. The constitutional section of the Assembly strongly urged the Queen, whose character and resolute aims were equally hateful to the Parisians, to withdraw quietly from France, and to sever her unpopularity for the time from the royal cause. She, with heroic and foolish obstinacy, refused to separate her fortunes from the King's, glad to die rather than yield an inch to those she hated and despised; probably, also, she was not without a belief that her helpless position at the Tuileries would bring her German kinsfolk the quicker to the rescue.

Therefore the royal party remained united in their palace-prison, subjected to insult from the populace and to supervision from the national guards who secured them. During this period, lasting for a year and a half, the King received frequent expressions of the affection and unalterable respect of the people; they styled him the 'best of princes,' 'the friend of law, the restorer of liberty, the parent of the poor².' Nor were these mere phrases: there was a real feeling in favour of Louis XVI; his kindness and humanity, his willingness to yield, his personal virtues, all made men eager to tempt him to accept a new and splendid position as 'King of the French' instead of 'King of France.' Meanwhile, the Assembly, continuing its course, swept away the powers of the noblesse and the clergy, took from the King his right to make peace or war, against Mirabeau's advice; and, finding

¹ Alluding to the farm and mill at the Petit Trianon.

² Schmidt, *Tableaux de la Révolution Française*, i. p. 4.

that Louis accepted this change without resistance, they ended by voting him a liberal civil list.

The confinement to the Tuileries grew daily more irksome to the King, whose one solace was the chase; he complained bitterly of it, and his health began to suffer from his sedentary life. His anxiety to get out into the open country led the Parisians to suspect him of wishing to escape to the frontier: the continued emigration of the noblesse, the departure of the King's aunts for Rome, who were credited by some with carrying off with them the young Dauphin, and leaving a page to personate him at the Tuileries, all added force to the growing suspicion. The King was more sedulously watched; and when in April 1791 he attempted to drive out to S. Cloud, ostensibly at least for a day's hunting, the Parisians surrounded his carriage, cut the traces, and, without any actual violence, compelled him to turn back. He then knew that he was indeed a prisoner.

It was not long before this time that Mirabeau had connected himself closely with the King; he had had an interview with Marie Antoinette, in which the feelings of the great nobleman seemed completely to have overwhelmed those of the advanced politician: as he kissed the hand graciously outstretched to him, he exclaimed with deep emotion 'Madame, the monarchy is saved.' He eagerly embarked in a scheme for a constitutional monarchy, on the English plan; he wished the King to escape to Compiègne or Fontainebleau, where, under the loyal protection of an army, commanded by De Bouillé, commander of Metz, who was known to be a moderate royalist and a determined officer, he would be safe from any sudden attack, and free from the immediate coercion of the Parisian populace. Mirabeau believed that he could be the moderator between the royal and the popular ideas; that his plan would successfully unite both in one; that he could save the Monarchy and be its first constitutional minister. At this very moment the hand of death was upon him: the excitements and efforts of the two years, and now

the fresh emotions of his great attempt to save the King, added to the effects of a disordered life, were too much for his strength; and he died, just as he hoped to find a solution for the disorders and evils of his country.

The plans for the escape of the royal family were not therefore broken off; the arrangements, under De Bouillé's command, were carefully drawn out; and, after long hesitation, the attempt was made in the night of the 20th of June, 1791. The royal party succeeded in getting out of Paris: the first stages of this eventful journey were safely accomplished, and they had reached Varennes, a little town between Châlons and Verdun, before they were recognised and stopped. They were then within eight leagues of Stenay, where De Bouillé was awaiting them: could they but have passed one more stage, they had been safe. As it was, the feeling was universal against them at Varennes: they were at once sent back to Paris. De Bouillé with his German troops appeared at Varennes an hour after the royal party had started on its return.

As they sadly traversed the long distance, reproaches, execrations, insults were heaped on them at every wayside village, shewing how completely the French people were alienated from their Sovereign: not a voice was raised in the King's favour. Paris was roused to the highest excitement by the news of the flight, the nearness of escape, the dramatic incidents of the capture, the King's return. Distinctly republican principles were now loudly avowed: parties were clearly marked off as monarchical and anti-monarchical.

The King was at once suspended from his functions; and a strict guard placed over him, the Queen and the Dauphin. An outburst of the republicans in the Champ de Mars was vigorously put down by La Fayette, who for the moment seemed to hold the keys of the situation. His monarchical leanings and the dejection of the republicans led to a belief that he might yet be able to combine royalty with the constitution, and to take the place rendered vacant by Mirabeau's death.

The Assembly was for the time supported by loyal addresses from all parts of France: cities and provinces alike congratulated it on La Fayette's victory over the insurgent Parisians: it looked as if the capital stood alone face to face with the public opinion of the country. The Jacobins drew back and stood for a while on the defensive. The labours of the Assembly were drawing to an end; and they closed them by revising the Constitution. They restored to the King the power of appointing his guard, and gave him freedom; an amnesty for all concerned in the flight to Varennes followed. Louis appeared in Assembly and solemnly declared his acceptance of the Constitution. He afterwards (29 September 1791) attended the closing of the Constituent Assembly, and delivered a warm and generous speech. The Assembly then dispersed, after declaring that the Revolution was over, and that it had laid the solid foundations of a stable and constitutional government in France.

Unfortunately for its hopes two forces were yet unquelled: the Queen's party at the Court, and Paris. Before separating, the Assembly had virtuously passed a 'self-denying ordinance,' which rendered its members all incapable of re-election. The royalists were convinced by the incidents of the last few weeks that the country was still favourable to their party; they hoped for a conservative Assembly. Each party expected a change in its own favour: the change, as it came, was altogether fatal to the royal authority.

The elections to the new Parliament of France took place at a moment of great agitation, in which the not ill-founded dread of foreign invasion by the Queen's friends, and the flight to Varennes, had much affected the minds of men. The Legislative Assembly, which met on the 1st of October, 1791, was full of young men, the fearless representatives of the more advanced clubs. Yet Louis XVI was well received when he came in state to the Assembly; the majority were certainly favourable to the maintenance of the new constitution and the modified monarchy. The forms, however, with which the repre-

sentatives received him showed him plainly that he was no longer the representative of the old absolute monarchy. He returned home in dejection, and gave himself up for lost.

Yet, had he been wiser, he might have seen that the new Assembly was far from hostile to him. Here, as so often before, the Court was its own worst enemy. It allowed the Assembly to break up into parties: the Feuillants (from the club of that name), were the Right, the supporters of the monarchical constitution; the Girondists (from the Gironde, the district near Bordeaux) were the admirers of classic republicanism, the genuine, if rather pedantic, supporters of liberty and equality; and thirdly, the Jacobins were the terrible and powerful party of revolution; strong, fearless, and popular, they attracted to themselves all that was discontented, all that was extreme, and were clearly destined to win.

The King, so far as he could, was willing to stand loyally by the Constitution: unfortunately, other and sinister influences were behind him. Could the Court have rested honestly on the support of the Feuillants and the Girondists, the history of the revolution would have taken another and a brighter tone. But behind the King were the Queen's party, the emigrants, the foreign Sovereigns. Their action naturally alarmed the Assembly and the nation, and threw the reins of power into the hands of the Jacobin party. When the Assembly laid before the King its decrees against the emigrant nobles and the clergy, he refused to sanction them: the act was received with undisguised satisfaction by the Jacobins. The election of a mayor of Paris in the place of Bailly next followed: again the Queen's party blundered; for rather than see La Fayette occupy that post, they threw their whole weight in with the extremer party: Pétion, candidate of the Girondists and Jacobins, was triumphantly elected.

Soon after this the King's ministers, daily more unpopular, both for the evil they had caused, and for that which they had not caused, were forced to resign office: a Girondist ministry succeeded. The misery at home was terrible: a foreign war

proclaimed against Austria (20 April 1792) was disastrous; and, in spite of La Fayette's success at Mauberge, the armies of France were defeated on every side. The terrible cry of 'Treason' soon sprang up: the failures were attributed to the Royalists; the Assembly declared itself permanent, dismissed the King's guard, and formed a camp of twenty thousand men near Paris. The Girondists fell, and a new ministry was formed from the Feuillants: that, however, could not possibly stand. The King, once more a prisoner, continued his correspondence with the allies, sending Mallet du Pan on a secret mission to Vienna, and beseeching the Germans to march into France. He sent with him a remarkable state-paper, recommending to the Emperor and the King of Prussia a course of moderation, and sketching the terms on which they should proclaim their mission as liberators of the King and nation from the tyranny of 'those who now ruled with a rod of iron all who sought to establish freedom.' He also prayed the emigrants to take no part in the invasion, lest they should give it the appearance of civil war¹.

The Girondists, now out of power, leant towards the stronger republicans, and coalesced with the Jacobins against the Crown. Tumults in Paris followed: the agitation, the fear of treachery, the bad and threatening news from every side, caused matters to take a very serious turn. The Paris multitude, in fierce insurrection, overawed the Assembly, and forced their way into the palace. The conduct of the royal family was dignified, even heroic, in the face of fearful dangers and horrid scenes. The King, the Queen, the Princess Elizabeth, the Princess Royal and the little Dauphin were entirely in the hands of the mob. Their dignity and noble bearing in adversity probably saved them from the worst calamities and outrages (20 June, 1792). The King appeared at the window, wearing the red cap, and the tumult gradually died down. The Girondists, who had arranged it, lost ground when it was seen that no

¹ Mallet Du Pan, *Mémoires*, i. pp. 284, sqq.

result followed the insurrection: a considerable feeling sprang up in the country in favour of the King; his friends urged him to escape; La Fayette, in spite of the Queen's dislike for him, besought him to proceed to Compiègne and appear in the midst of the constitutional troops. The King, believing that the allies would soon be in Paris to rescue him, refused all offers of help, and stood his ground. La Fayette even came up to Paris to demand the punishment of the chiefs of the insurrection: he failed completely, and returned to the army.

On the whole the republican party gained from these incidents: men now coupled the King's name with those of all who were most opposed to the revolution, with the allied Germans, the nobles, the clergy. At the end of July, the Duke of Brunswick, starting from Coblenz, invaded eastern France, declaring war on the new order of things, and proclaiming his intention of rescuing the King. The effervescence in Paris was intense; on the 10th of August came the great insurrection, which put an end to the ancient Monarchy of France.

The insurrection was resistless: the Queen would have fought, and even handed a pistol to the King; but he was irresolute and feeble, and could decide on nothing. At last he was persuaded, with all the royal family, to take refuge in the arms of the Assembly. With extreme difficulty a way was made for them from the Tuileries to the Hall of the Assembly in the next street.

Fierce fighting at once broke out: the insurgents, guided by Robespierre and Danton, soon carried all before them. The King's Swiss guard was overpowered; the Tuileries forced and sacked. A deputation from the victorious party, the new municipality of Paris, appeared at the bar of the Assembly, demanding, with the air of conquerors, the confirmation of their powers, the dethronement of the King, the immediate summoning of a National Convention. The Assembly, half cowed, half approving, did as it was bidden: the municipality of Paris had overthrown the Monarchy. Thus, without glory,

the long-tottering institution, which had held France in its hands for centuries, at last gave way and fell under blows which it had no longer any strength to bear.

The royal family were arrested and carried first to the Feuillant's club-house, and thence on the third day to the Temple: the doors closed on these sad victims of an ancient and worn-out monarchy; their dignified and noble bearing in the worst adversity showed them in a far better light than was ever cast on them by all the splendour of their earlier days: 'nothing in life became them like the leaving of it.'

Outside, the Reign of Terror soon began, with which happily our business does not lie. The Assembly was crushed and impotent; the dominant party wreaked its vengeance on its adversaries in Paris and in many provincial towns. The Legislative Assembly at last closed its ignoble life: the National Convention stepped into its place. The most prominent of the Jacobins were the first members elected by Paris. The Girondists, who sat on the right, were in a majority, the country districts returning them in large numbers: the Jacobins took the uppermost seats on the left, and obtained the sobriquet of the Mountain. Numerically in a minority, they had at their back the whole force of the Parisian revolution, and the sympathy of many towns: the most vigorous leaders in the insurrection of the 10th of August were there.

The National Convention at once decreed (on the 21st of September) that Royalty was abolished¹. It also proclaimed the Republic, and swept away the Gregorian calendar. The 22nd of September 1792, was the first day of the First Year of the Republic.

These declarations, made on the motion of the Abbé Grégoire, form the point at which our subject ends. Stage by stage the Monarchy has been brought down: we have sketched its defeat, the deposition of the sovereign, his imprisonment, and lastly this abolition of all the ancient

¹ La Convention nationale décrète que la royauté est abolie en France.' *Moniteur*, 21 Sept. 1792 (Reprint of 1840, xiv. p. 8).

institutions. Paris had steadily advanced, and at each step the position of Louis XVI had become more precarious: at last the complete triumph of the Left overthrew the King. Why should we trace any farther the sad personal history of this amiable and incapable Prince?

Napoleon Buonaparte, then a young officer of engineers, and an ardent member of the Jacobin Club, was a witness of the attack made by the Girondists and the Paris mob on the Tuileries in June: the sight of the rabble before the palace filled him with anger and contempt, and, as he long afterwards told Bourrienne, he would gladly have seen them swept with grapeshot from the streets: he looked thoughtfully out on the tumult, and learnt from it much that helped him in his life: he discerned the floating weakness of the terrible mob; he saw the strength of the principles and motives which urged it on, and the want of power and direction in their result. His it would be, a very few years later, to seize on the enthusiasms and ideas of his age, to use the swiftly-moving currents of opinion, and by the force of an iron will and a pitilessly contemptuous nature, to command the enthusiasm and check the lawless ebullitions of his countrymen. The strength of the Republic lay in Paris: his strength would lie in the army; he would appeal to his country's patriotism and love of war: over the wearied parties of the past, the ardent emotions of the present, he saw how he might build up in the future the colossal fabric of his Imperial fortunes.

INDEX.

- Absolutism, the cost of, to France, 356.
- Academy, the French, founded by Richelieu, 49, 82; compared with the Royal Society, 50; its influences, *ib.*; its germ the Hôtel de Rambouillet, 82.
- Academy, the, of Inscriptions, founded, 157; of Sciences, founded, *ib.*; of Architecture, founded, *ib.*
- Addison, 437.
- Admiral, office of, abolished, 21.
- Aghrim, battle of, 256.
- Agriculture, 431.
- Aix-la-Chapelle, Peace of, 172; why agreed to, *ib.*; Congress at, 419; Peace of, 420; its terms, *ib.*
- Alberoni, his guidance for Spain, 359; his great schemes, 373; his rival Dubois, *ib.*, 386; is resisted, 381; his rise, *ib.*; a Cardinal, *ib.*; aims at throne of France for Philip V, 382; cleverly defeated by Dubois, *ib.*; checked by the new Triple Alliance, *ib.*; had seized Sardinia, 383; tried to neutralise England, *ib.*; withdraws from Spain, 384; dies in Italy, *ib.*
- Alet, Bishop of, resists Louis XIV, 222.
- Alexander VII, Pope, a weak prince, 101.
- Alliance des trois Côtillons, 449.
- Allies, the, win battle of Dettingen, 414.
- Almanza, battle of, 314.
- Alot occupied by the French, 217.
- Alsace, point of French ambition, 65; Bernard of Weimar reduces it, 67; falls to France, 68; Austrian part goes to France, 98; threatened by Germans, 193; campaign in, 194; 'reunions' in, 215.
- Alt-Ranzau, Charles XII at, 315.
- America, North, English acquisitions in, 328; boundaries' question in, 420; war breaks out in, 475.
- Amiens, Louis XIV at, 169.
- Amsterdam in revolt against the sea-party, 188; saved by opening Muiden sluices, 189; its mob murders the De Witts, *ib.*; relief at, on tidings of French advance to the Rhine, 248; manifesto of States-General, *ib.*; bank of, 376.
- Angers, Fouquet arrested at, 156.
- Anglo-German army, commanded by Lord Stair, 413.
- 'Annus Mirabilis' of English history, the year 1706, 308.
- Anne of Austria, befriends Richelieu, 6; favours Spanish policy, 7; suspends her Spanish likings, 11; deceived in the Day of Dupes, 44-46; curbed awhile, 47; gives birth to Louis XIV, 66; distrusted by Louis XIII, 84; regency left to her, 85; her character, *ib.*; seizes sole regency, *ib.*; her power secured by battle of Rocroy, 88; marries Mazarin, 89; eager to punish Paris, 106; hears De Retz preach, 108; has Broussel arrested, *ib.*; unable to realise the position of affairs, 109; escapes to Ruel, *ib.*; her violent views, 110; escapes to S. Germain, *ib.*; makes the two treaties of Ruel, 113; offended by Condé, 114;

arrests him, *ib.*; besieged in the Palais Royal, 115; advised by Mazarin from Brühl, 116; reconciled with Old Fronde, *ib.*; proclaims majority of Louis XIV, *ib.*; enraged against Condé, *ib.*; calls Fouquet a great thief, 152; excluded from the Council, *ib.*; sneers at Louis XIV, *ib.*; renounces Spanish crown, 277.
 Anne, the Empress, 397.
 Anne, Queen of England, ready to resist Louis XIV, 296; makes Marlborough a Duke, 306; friendly to Anglican Tories, 325, 326.
 Anne of Gonzaga, her political skill, 115.
 Anne, daughter of James II, recognised as heir, 268.
 Anquetil on Richelieu, 76.
 Anstruther, Sir R., at Copenhagen, 12.
 Appellants, 385.
 Aragon recognises Charles IV, 309.
 Architecture, Academy of, founded, 157.
 Aristocracy against monarchy in France, 359.
 Armed Neutrality, the, 478.
 Army, the French, 294, 295; filled with the new ideas, 480.
 Arras favourable to Spain, 124.
 Artois, Count of, abandons Calonne, 482; heads war-party, 495; heads the emigration, 497.
 Artois, Spanish possessions in, ceded to France, 136.
 Assembly of Notables at Fontainebleau, 16.
 Assiento between Spain and England, 337.
 Astrology in France, 182.
 Augsburg, League of, signed, 235; accepted by Catholic powers, *ib.*; its members, *ib.*, 236; daily more formidable, 239; James II offers to join it, 249; is joined by the Elector of Bavaria, 252; decides on levy of 200,000 men, 257; shows no sign of weakness, 263.
 Augustus Frederick, Elector of Saxony, candidate for Polish throne, 273; elected and succeeds, 274.
 Augustus II of Saxony, dies, 397; father of Marshal Saxe by Countess of Königsmark, 398.

Augustus III of Saxony, becomes King of Poland, 397; wins over Charles VI by acknowledging Pragmatic Sanction, *ib.*; promises to cede Courland to Russia, *ib.*
 Austria prevails in Germany, 3; position and dangers of, 300; makes Peace of Rastadt with France, 337; punishes Spain, 384; forns union with Spain against England and France, 393; their plans, *ib.*; break asunder, *ib.*; war breaks out between France and, 396; cedes Naples &c. to Spain, 401; war declared against, 503, 504; unsuccessful, 504.
 Austrian Court takes refuge in Hungary, 410.
 Austrians, battle between French and, 400; defeated at Bitonto, *ib.*; desire peace, *ib.*; sack Danube valley, 411; enter Munich, *ib.*; drive Broglie back to Prague, 412.
 Austro-Russian faction among Polish nobles nominates Augustus III of Saxony King, 397.
 Austro-Spanish power much stronger, 11.
 Auvergne overrun with wolves, 347.

B.

Bachaumont invents nickname of Fronde, 102.
 Baden, Treaty of, 335; between France and the Empire, 338.
 Bailly appointed Mayor of Paris, 496; his words in presenting keys of Paris to Louis XVI, *ib.*; ex-Mayor, 503.
 Balance of power, its conditions changed at Utrecht, 339.
 Baltic, the, 394; Russia becomes lord of, 395.
 Bank of Amsterdam, 376; of Scotland, *ib.*; Law's, *ib.*, 377; the Royal, *ib.*; stops payment, 379.
 'Bank of Conversions,' the, 224.
 Bar, ceded to France, 136.
 Barbezieux, 237.
 Barcelona, Charles III lands near, 309; opens her gates to him, *ib.*; besieged by Philip V, 310; relieved, *ib.*; reduced in 1714, 339.

Barrier-forts, the, between Holland and France, 269.
 Barrier-towns, 446; Dutch ejected from, 292, 293.
 Bart, Jean, the corsair, 259; ordered to escort James II to England, 266.
 Bassignano, battle of, 418.
 Bassompierre says that the nobles would be fools if La Rochelle were taken, 26; is sent to the Bastille, 47.
 Bastille, the, stormed, 495, 496.
 Bavaria, campaign of 1646 in, 91; ravaged by Turenne, 92; and again, *ib.*; designs of Joseph II on, 476.
 Bavaria, Elector of, friendly with Louis XIV, 292; his friendship directs the course of the Succession War, 295; declares war against Leopold, 297; takes Ulm, *ib.*; has considerable gifts of war, 299; his importance to Louis XIV, *ib.*; staunch to his side, 300; his territories the theatre of war, *ib.*; endeavours to reduce the Tirol, *ib.*; fails, *ib.*; defeats Louis of Baden, 301; and Styrum, *ib.*; defeated at the Schellenberg, 303; finely placed to cut off allies, 304; commands at Blenheim, 304-306; threatens Trèves, 307; is to be restored, 338.
 Bavaria, Electoral Prince of, claims Spanish succession, 275; is adopted as heir by Charles II, 278; his death, 283; it re-opens the Succession-question, 284.
 Bayle's 'Thoughts on the Comet of 1680,' 209.
 Beachy Head, sea-fight off, 255.
 Beaufort, Duke of, leader of Importants, imprisoned, 89; the 'idol of the markets,' 103; is in Paris, 110; returns to Court, 114.
 Belfort, Gap of, 192; Turenne at, 194.
 Belgium, Anglo-German army in, 413.
 Belgrade, capture of, relieves the Emperor, 239; peace of, 401.
 Bellefonds defeats the Spaniards, 170; commands expedition against England, 259.
 Belle-Isle, estate of Fouquet at, 156.
 Belle-Isle, Marshal, grandson of Fouquet, believed to be coming genius

of French generalship, 398; his reckless schemes opposed by Berwick, *ib.*; sent to besiege Trarbach on the Moselle, *ib.*; leads an army over the Rhine, 410; takes Linz and Passau, *ib.*; threatens Vienna, *ib.*; at the height of success, 411; his illness, *ib.*; his energy at siege of Prague, 412; brings back remnant of his army, *ib.*; helps to raise siege of Genoa, 419.
 Belle-Isle, the Chevalier, killed, 419.
 Belle-Isles, the two, 407; the elder espouses the candidature of Elector of Bavaria, 408.
 Bellière's report as to Cromwell's opinion of De Retz, 108.
 'Beneficent Philosopher,' the (Stanilaus of Poland), 428.
 Bergen-op-Zoom, taken by Marshal Saxe, 419.
 Bernard of Weimar, 57; to be joined by Cardinal de la Valette, 62; drives Imperialists from Burgundy, 65; his ambitions for the Rhine, 66; a patriot, *ib.*; destroys Hapsburg power in its ancient home, 67; a conqueror in Alsace, *ib.*; the champion of Protestantism, *ib.*; his death, 68, 69; his army won over by France, 69.
 Bernis, Abbé, foreign minister of Louis XV, 454.
 Berry, Duke of, 334.
 Bérulle makes the Peace of Monzon, 17.
 Berwick, Duke of, a capable general, commands for Philip V, 308; defeats allies at Almanza, 314; at Grenoble, 321; complains of want of money, *ib.*; reduces Barcelona, 337; fights against Philip V, 384; commands Rhine army, 398; deprived of government of Guyenne, *ib.*, see note; Marshal Saxe serves under him, *ib.*; opposes Belle-Isle's reckless schemes, *ib.*; is killed at siege of Philipsburg, 399.
 Besançon taken by Condé, 171.
 Besenval, in command in the Champ de Mars, 495; falls back to Versailles, 496.
 Betuwe, the, its site, 185.
 Beverinck, Dutch envoy to Louis XIV, 204.

- Bishopricks, the three, ceded finally to France, 98.
 Bitonto, battle of, 400.
 Black Forest, strong angle of the, 297.
 Blécourt left at Madrid by Harcourt, 285.
 Blenheim, battle of, 304-306; the district described, 304; position of French at, *ib.*; of the allies, 305; its results, 306.
 Boards, government by, 360; its weakness, 370.
 Bohemia, Archduke of Austria marches into, 410; has himself crowned King of, 411; the French in, 412.
 Boileau Despreaux, his satires appear, 161; on passage of the Rhine, 186; his reception at Court, 211.
 Boisguillebert, his *Détail de la France*, 291, 324; is exiled for speaking out, *ib.*
 Bolingbroke on Richelieu, 76; on taking of Bouchain, 327.
 Bonn, taken by William of Orange and Montecuculli, 191; its fall makes ecclesiastical Electors change sides, *ib.*; given over to French, 248; recovered, 253.
 Bordeaux uneasy against Richelieu, 27; held in check, 163.
 Borromeo, S. Carlo, 5.
 Borromeo, Federigo, approves of Valtelline revolt, 5.
 Boscawen, captures two French ships, 448.
 Bossuet composes a funeral oration for the Duchess of Orleans, 180; leads Convocation of Clergy, 222.
 Bouchain taken by Louis XIV, 199; taken by Marlborough, 327; dissatisfaction in England at it, *ib.*; retaken by Villars, 334.
 Boufflers, Marshal, commands under Duke of Burgundy, 298; overborne by Marlborough, *ib.*; inflicts check on Dutch at Eckeren, 299; misled by Marlborough, 303; makes fine resistance at Lille, 319.
 Bouillon, Duke of, arrested at head of his army, 72.
 Bourbon, Louis Henry, Duke of, President of Council, 367.
 Bourbon-Condé, Duke of, his odious character, 390; fills post of First Minister under Louis XV, *ib.*; his mistress a pensioner of Walpole, *ib.*; ejected from power by Fleury, *ib.*
 Bourbons, the, firmly established in France and Spain, 290; their power, *ib.*
 Boyne, battle of the, 256.
 Brandenburg, Elector of, recovers Kaiserswerth and Bonn, 253.
 Bread-riots in France, 347.
 Breda taken by Spinola, 12; treaty of, 164.
 Breisach, key-fortress of, taken by Bernard, 67; its importance, *ib.*; 'Breisach est à nous' apocryphal, 68; ceded to France, 98; Chamber of, 215; New, built, 269.
 Breitenfeld, battle of, 51.
 Brienne, Laurence de, Cardinal, 482; his fall, 485.
 Brigandage in France, 433.
 Brinvilliers, Madame de, 182.
 Brittany, becomes integral part of France, 20; her castles pulled down, *ib.*; government of, given to Richelieu, 147.
 Brive-la-Gaillarde, birthplace of Cardinal Dubois, 386.
 Broglie, Duke of, 455; succeeds to command at death of Marshal Villars, 400; fights the Austrians near Parma, *ib.*; relieves Belle-Isle, 411; is beleaguered by Austrians in Prague, 412.
 Broussel arrested, 108; released, 109.
 Brühl, Mazarin at, 115.
 Brunswick, Duke of, invades Eastern France, 505.
 Brunswick, Ferdinand of, 452, 453.
 Buckingham, Duke of, inspires no confidence, 15; deceived by Richelieu, 17; un-English, 23; sails for the French shores, *ib.*; blunders in attacking the Isle of Ré, 24; no true soldier, *ib.*; his defeat, *ib.*; communicates with Duke of Savoy, 27; his death, 31; deluded by Louis and Charles, 179.
 Buffon, 464; *see note*.
 Burgers, state of, 431, 488.
 Burgos, Philip V takes refuge at, 310.
 Burgoyne, General, his capitulation, 475.

- Burgundy, Duke of, praises revocation of Edict of Nantes, 227; affianced to daughter of Victor Amadeus, 267; has MSS. of Fénelon, 292; sent to command in Netherlands, 298; commands in Netherlands, 317; cannot work with Vendôme, *ib.*; loses battle of Oudenarde, *ib.*, 318; his character and early promise, 330; is on good terms with Louis XIV, 331; his death, *ib.*; resists Desmaret's equal tax, 345; could he have regenerated France? 362, 363; death spares him the task, 363; his plans and papers guide the Regency, 365, 369; his scheme of Pays d'États, 372.
 Burgundy, Duchess of, her illness, 212; her character and death, 331.
 Burgundy, invaded, 63; Spaniards fail in, 65.
 Byng, Sir G., with a fleet in Italy, 384; crushes Spanish fleet at Syracuse, *ib.*; destroys their sea-power, *ib.*
 Byng, Admiral John, defeated by French, 450; condemned to death, *ib.*
- C.
- 'Cabal,' the, 174.
 Cadiz attacked by the English, 298.
 Cadogan, at Malplaquet, 322.
 Calais secured to France, 48.
 Calcinato, battle of, 310.
 Calonne's Ministry, 474; is the degradation of France, 480; three years of senseless expedients, 481; his fall, 482.
 Calvinists in Germany have no toleration, 40.
 Cambrai taken by Louis XIV, 201; Fénelon at, 292; Congress of, 393.
 Camisard war, the, 301, 302.
 Capucins, the, at siege of La Rochelle, 26.
 Cardinal-Infant, the, invades Picardy, 64; corresponds with the disaffected in France, 65.
 Carlos, Don, son of Philip V, 382; declared heir to Duchies of Parma and Piacenza, 393; Charles VI surrenders Italian duchies to, 394; lands at Naples, 400; receives Stati degli Presidii, 401; drives Austrians to Bologna, 417.
 Carnatic, struggle in the, 444.
 Carlowitz, Peace of, 274.
 Carpi, battle of, 294.
 Casale defended by French volunteers, 32; turns the tide of European politics, *ib.*; siege raised, 34; again in danger, 43; occupied by the French, 217; taken by Victor Amadeus, 266.
 Cassan, Jacques de, 59; on the pretensions of France, 60.
 Cassano, battle of, 310.
 Castelnau, battle of, 48.
 Castile opposed to Charles III, 309; her supremacy challenged, *ib.*; is invaded by the allies, 310.
 Catalan liberties, the last, perish, 339.
 Catalonia, friendly to Charles III, 309; his 'fueros,' *ib.*; war in, 257, 263, 264; Noailles recalled from, 265; siege and fall of Barcelona, 268.
 Catania, sea-fight off, 200.
 Catherine II, Empress of Russia, 398; supports the Jesuits, 464; welcomes the American revolt, 475; listens to French suggestions, 478.
 Catinat in command in Piedmont, 254; his successes, 257; takes Villafranca, Nice, and Montmélan, 257; overruns Piedmont, 264; not a favourite at Court, 265; is in Flanders, 267; defeated at Carpi by Eugene, 294; superseded, *ib.*; in command on the Rhine, 296; unable from weak forces to do much, 297; retires soon after, *ib.*, note; objects to Villars' advance, *ib.*; is at Strasburg, *ib.*
 Caumartin, Abbé, 437.
 Cavalier commands Huguenots, 298; submits, 307; his later fortunes, *ib.*; in Spain, 314; defeated at Almanza, *ib.*
 Cellamare's plot, 383.
 Cervantes, 128.
 'César, Monsieur,' punished, 19.
 Cevennes, the, quieted, 35; war in the, 298, 301, 302; insurrection in, over, 307.
 Chalais, Count of, favourite of Louis XIII, 19; his plot detected, *ib.*
 'Chambre ardente' of Noailles, 374.
 Chamillard, war minister, 312.

Champagne, his portrait of Richelieu, 7.
 Chantilly, Condé's last days spent at, 198, 199.
 Chapelain, third-rate author, 161.
 Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, candidate for Imperial crown, 407; has himself crowned Archduke of Austria, 410; crowned King of Bohemia, 411; elected Emperor at Frankfort, *ib.*
 Charles, Archduke, claims Spanish succession, 275; his belief in strict legality, 277; Dutch and English wish him to enter Catalonia, 278; proclaimed as Charles III of Spain, 308; lands at Lisbon, *ib.*; fails to penetrate into Spain, *ib.*; sails for Barcelona, 309; well received, *ib.*; supported by the Earl of Peterborough, *ib.*; enters Madrid as king, 310; is recognised by the Pope, 312; is proclaimed in Spanish Netherlands, 313; is regarded in Spain as friend of heretics, 314; his fall, *ib.*; his fortunes rise, 324; his complete defeat, 325; becomes Emperor as Charles VI, 326; the result on the balance of parties, *ib.*; as Emperor, refuses to make peace at Utrecht, 335; makes peace at Rastadt, *ib.*, 337; agrees to a new convention, and signs Quadruple Alliance, 383; struggles to impose his Pragmatic Sanction on Europe, 392; his anger against England, 393; alliance with Spain, *ib.*; his plans, *ib.*; his rupture with Spain, *ib.*; seizes Italian Duchies, 394; is cheated into giving them up to Spain, *ib.*; is won over to side of Augustus III of Saxony by his acknowledging Pragmatic Sanction, 397; dies, 405; male line of the House of Austria ends with, *ib.*
 Charles Edward, the young Pretender, 415, 418.
 Charles Emmanuel I, Duke of Savoy, allied with Richelieu, 13; wants Montferrat, 32; wavers continually, 33; tries to push Richelieu into war, 34; tries to balance between France and Spain, 38; fails, *ib.*; loses his territories, *ib.*, 39.

Charles Emmanuel III, King of Sardinia, 399; offends Marshal Villars, *ib.*
 Charles VII, Emperor, makes terms with Maria Theresa, 414.
 Charles I of England, as Prince of Wales, visits Spain, 3; cannot help Christian IV, 22; is irritated by the folly of Henrietta Maria, 23; makes peace with France, 31, 35; is opposed to France and hails Bernard's successes with joy, 67; listens to Spaniards and Franco-Spaniards, 68; his shortsightedness with Prince Charles Louis, 69; his saying as to Richelieu, 75; news of his execution reaches Paris, 112; the French are led by it to wish for peace, *ib.*
 Charles II of England, submissive to Louis XIV, 174; negotiates against the Dutch, 178; meets his sister at Dover, *ib.*; signs Treaty of Dover, 179; his new mistress, *ib.*; receives condolence of Louis XIV, 180; compelled by his people to make peace with Holland, 191; gives his niece Mary to William of Orange, 202; declares war on France, 203; mediator at Nimwegen, *ib.*; is really a partisan of Louis XIV, 204; his death leaves Louis XIV more free, 226.
 Charles Duke of Lorraine, 66; *see* Lorraine.
 Charles Louis, Elector Palatine, arrested in France, 69.
 Charles IV of Mantua, abandons Casale to French, 216, 217.
 Charles II of Spain succeeds to the throne, 164; a frail child, *ib.*, 165, 167; son of Maria Anna of Austria, 167; might die any day, 172; at last really dying, 273; has his own views as to the succession question, 277; adopts Joseph Ferdinand of Bavaria as his heir, 278; the will is annulled, *ib.*; still inclines to him, 279; gives audience to Harcourt, 282; wearies of his Queen, *ib.*; makes a second will on behalf of Joseph Ferdinand, 283; begins to incline to the French side, 285; his piteous state, *ib.*; the influences round him, *ib.*; his will in favour of Duke of Anjou, 286; his death, *ib.*

Charles XI of Sweden mediates at Ryswick, 266.
 Charles XII of Sweden, his appearance in Germany, 315; seems to be arbiter of Europe, *ib.*; his views and end, *ib.*; his plans, 394; his death, changed aspect of affairs, *ib.*
 Charnacé sent to northern Europe, 33; reports on the greatness of Gustavus Adolphus, 41; his skill, *ib.*
 Château-Regnault, Admiral, defeated in Vigo Bay, 298.
 Chateauroux, Duchess of, vigorous mistress of Louis XV, 415; is removed, 416; returns, *ib.*
 Chatham, Earl of, his dying words, 477.
 Châtillon, Marshal, to invade Netherlands, 62.
 Chavigny goes between Richelieu and Louis XIII, 72.
 Cherasco, first treaty of, 43; second, 44, 48.
 Chevert, a French adventurer, takes Prague, 411; gives it up on honourable terms, 412.
 Chevreuse, Duchess of, tempts Chalais into a plot against Louis XIII, 19; is banished, 20; exiled, 89.
 Chiari, battle of, 294.
 Chigi, the Papal Legate, apologises to Louis XIV, 157.
 Chini, occupied by the French, 217.
 Choiseul, 455; makes the famous 'Family Pact,' 460; enemy of the Jesuits, 464; his ministry, 465; sketch of, *ib.*; is exiled, 466.
 Christian IV of Denmark, head of a Northern League, 12; his position and interests, *ib.*; did his best, 22; ill-supported, *ib.*; defeated and driven home, *ib.*; makes peace, 36, 39; promises no more to interfere, *ib.*
 Christina, Queen of Sweden, abandons her throne, 101.
 Church of England, compared with that of France, 370.
 Church in France, irritated, 124; favours Jansenism, *ib.*, 125; desires more independence, 127; suffers from revocation of Edict of Nantes, 233.
 Churchill; *see* Marlborough.

Cinq Mars, conspiracy of, 71; its end, 72, 73.
 Circles, army of the, 452.
 Claimants to Austrian inheritance, 407.
 Clement of Bavaria, Elector of Cologne, 240; secures Cologne, 248; to be restored, 338.
 Clement XI, Pope, 386.
 Clement XIV, Pope, abolishes the Jesuits, 464.
 Clergy, the, taught that Louis XIV was master, 162; under Louis XIV, 210; convocation of, in 1682, 222; their four articles, *ib.*; their dreams of a Gallican church and reform, 223; state of the, 427; how divided under Louis XVI, 471, 472.
 Clermont, Count of, 453.
 Clermont ceded to France, 136.
 Clubs, the age of, 490; des Jacobins, *ib.*
 Coehorn defends Namur, 261.
 Cœuvres, Marquis of, in the Grisons, 13; in the Valtelline, *ib.*
 Coigny, 416; with Duke of Broglie succeeds to command of French in Italy on death of Marshal Villars, 400; fights battle with Austrians near Parma, *ib.*
 Colbert, the man after Louis XIVth's own heart, 147; is set to watch Fouquet, 152; his appearance, *ib.*; brings about Fouquet's fall, 155; contrasted with Fouquet, 157; his origin and energy, *ib.*; is named Comptroller of France, *ib.*; founds Academies of Inscriptions, Sciences, Architecture, *ib.*; fosters all production, *ib.*; the inspiring mind for Louis XIV, 158; his financial success, 159; augments national wealth, *ib.*; cares little for agriculture, 160; his pension-list for letters, 161; objects to war, 181; depressed by Louvois, 183; has to find funds for Dutch war, 184; overwhelmed by the misery of France, 201; brought to his grave by Madame de Montespan, 219; protected Huguenots, 222.
 Cologne, Elector of, friendly to Louis XIV, 180.
 Cologne, Electorate of, importance of,

239; secured for Clement of Bavaria, 248.
 Cologne named for a peace-congress, 65; congress at, 203.
 Combalet, Madame de, 46.
 Commerce, English sensitive for, 293.
 Company of the West, the, 377; shows signs of weakness, 379; collapses, *ib.*
 Condé, Henry II, Prince of, fails at Dôle, 63; is in the Council of Regency, 85; his family pedigree, 87.
 Condé, Louis II, 'the Great,' (as Eugénien) sent to relieve Rocroy, 86; wins battle there, 88; takes Thionville, *ib.*; helps Guébriant, *ib.*; compared with Turenne, 89; wins battle of Freiburg, 90; and of Nördlingen, *ib.*; wins battle of Lens, 92; thus closing the 'Thirty Years' War, 93; leads the New Fronde, 103; allies himself with the Old Fronde, 109; goes over to the Court, 111; will not serve under Mazarin, 113; hated by all, 114; imprisoned by Anne of Austria, *ib.*; is strong in the provinces, which revolt, *ib.*; is released, 115; his haughtiness, 116; raises revolt in Guyenne, *ib.*; presses the Court-party hard, 117; applies to be admitted into Paris, *ib.*; marches to S. Cloud, *ib.*; fights battle of S. Denis, *ib.*; his critical position, 118; saved by 'Mademoiselle,' *ib.*; urges on the mob to massacre the burghers, *ib.*; gives way, and joins the Spaniards, 119; condemned to death in his absence, *ib.*; pitted against Turenne, 121; the two compared, *ib.*; allied with Spain, 122; takes Rocroy, 123; his campaigns of 1653, 1654, fail, 123, 124; warns Don Juan that he will be defeated, 133, 134; France recovers towns in his district, 136; his submission accepted, 137; Governor of Burgundy, *ib.*; Louis XIV dreads his power, 146; commands in Franche Comté, 169; is to observe the Rhine, 170; his skilful attack on Franche Comté, *ib.*; its success, 171; is named Governor of the

two Burgundies, *ib.*; Louis XIV jealous of him, 172; commands in Dutch war, 184; at Charleroi, *ib.*; makes front against the Great Elector, 185; leads at passage of the Rhine, 186; wounded, 187; opposes William of Orange, 191, 192; fights battle of Seuef, 195; carries off the advantage, *ib.*; despatched to the east of France after Turenne's death, 198; his last brilliant campaign, *ib.*; withdraws from public life, *ib.*, 199; his death, 199, 236.
 Condé, Princess of, rules Marshal Ornano, 19.
 Condé, the town, taken by Louis XIV, 199.
 Conflans, Monsieur de, defeated at sea, 457.
 Conscience, Council of, 369; Noailles its President, *ib.*
 Constable, office of, abolished, 21.
 Constantinople, Alberoni negotiates at, 383.
 Constituent assembly, the, 492.
 Constitution, the new, 497, 498.
 Constitution Unigenitus, the, 385.
 Constitutional life, unknown in France, 359, 368.
 'Constitutionists,' the, what they are in France, 351; angry at appointment of Noailles, 369; their quarrel, 384, 385; and Appellants, 390.
 Contades, French General, 454.
 Conti, Armand, Prince of, imprisoned, 114.
 Conti, Francis Louis, Prince of, French candidate for Polish throne, 273; fails, 274.
 Conti, Louis Francis, Prince of, influences Louis XV against Kaunitz, 448.
 Corneille, Pierre, 128; expresses national life, 7; epitaph on Louis XIII (and Richelieu), 76; persecuted by Richelieu, 82; a true and strong man, 83; the Poet of the Fronde, 129; is still writing, 160; writes a Berenice for the Duchess of Orleans, 180.
 Cornwallis, Lord, capitulates at York Town, 479.
 Cortes, the Spanish, ratify Philip V's renunciation of French crown, 334.

Corvée, the, as levied by Fleury, 402, 403; its irritating nature, 472.
 Council, talk of a General, 370.
 Council of Regency, under will of Louis XIV, 353, 367; swept away, 367; that of Philip of Orleans, *ib.*; the power not to reside in it, 368.
 Councils, the Seven, 369; their weakness and failure, *ib.*, 370; that of Finance fails, 374; their abolition, 383.
 Courland, Duchy of, Augustus III promises to cede to Russia, 397; Maurice of Saxony a candidate for the, 398.
 Court of France, its policy, 2; conspires against Richelieu, 19; gaiety of, under Louis XIV, 163; degenerates after death of Henrietta Maria, 180; its corruption, 402; depraved under Louis XV, 426; its frivolity, 481.
 Cremona, attacked and missed by Eugene, 295.
 Créquy, Marshal, in the Milanese, 62; not helped by Victor Amadeus, *ib.*; in command in Luxemburg, 169; defeats Spaniards, 170; opposes the Duke of Lorraine, 196; his army ruined by Turenne's death, 197; defeated at Saarbrück, 198; his successes in Germany, 201, 202; takes Freiburg, 202; again successful in Germany, 203; takes Luxemburg, 217.
 Cromwell, his views as to De Retz, 108; dictates terms to Europe, 130; his treaties of 1654, *ib.*; charged with shortsightedness by Bolingbroke, *ib.*; his reasons for alliance with France, 131, 132; regards Condé's position as bad, *ib.*; the effects of his five years' rule, 133; his treaties with France, *ib.*; his death, 135.
 Culoden, battle of, 418.
 Cumberland, Duke of, 413; fights battle of Fontenoy, 417; protects Maestricht, 419; unsuccessful as a General, 451.
 Cutts, General, at Blenheim, 305.

D.

D'Aguesseau, Henry, friendly to the Jansenists, 350.
 Danes, the, at Ramillies, 313; at Oudenarde, 318.
 Danton, guides insurrection of 10th August, 505.
 Danzig, Stanislaus Leczinski takes refuge in, 397; capitulates, *ib.*
 D'Argenson, Marquis, Memoirs of, 403.
 Darien, the Scottish venture at, 378.
 D'Asfeld, Marquis, takes command of French forces on death of Marshal Berwick, 399.
 D'Aumont, commands part of French army, 169.
 Dauphin, Louis, 'the Great,' marries Maria Anna of Bavaria, 209; on the Rhine, 254; his death, 330.
 Dauphin, Louis, eldest son of Louis XV, dies, 465.
 Dauphin, Louis, son of Louis XVI, supposed by some to be carried off to Rome by his aunts, 500; is in hands of the mob, 504.
 Dauphiny, entered by Prince Eugene, 262.
 D'Avaux, French minister at Münster, 94; minister at the Hague, 244.
 De Bouillé, commands at Metz, a royalist, 500; fails to rescue the royal party, 501.
 Declaration of Independence, the, 475.
 Declaration of Rights, the, 475.
 De Grasse defeats Howe, 478; defeats English in Chesapeake bay, *ib.*; defeated by Rodney, 479.
 De Lannoy defends the Bastille, 496.
 Dénain, garrisoned by the Dutch, 333; attacked by Villars, *ib.*; battle of, 334.
 Dendermonde repulses Louis XIV, 170.
 Denmark, stands out against Peace of Nimwegen, 207; friendly to France, 252; likely to change sides, *ib.*
 Departments of Government, under Louis XIV, 368; new ones added, *ib.*; destruction of all constitutional life by, *ib.*; to be reformed by the Regent, *ib.*

- 'Dependences' in France and Germany, 213, 215.
- De Prie, Marquise, mistress of Duke of Bourbon-Condé, 390; pensioner of Walpole, *ib.*; selects the daughter of ex-King of Poland as wife to Louis XV, *ib.*
- De Retz, Cardinal, adopts the word Fronde, 102; heads the Old Fronde, 103; is coadjutor to the Archbishop of Paris, 106; character and career, 107; reads Plutarch, *ib.*; opinion of Cromwell, 108; his ambition, *ib.*; sermon before Louis XIV, *ib.*; his bravery in the crowd, 109; with the clergy joins the Parliament, 110; makes terms with Anne of Austria, 116; is to be a cardinal, *ib.*; the Monk of his time, 118; begs the King to return to Paris, *ib.*; imprisoned at Vincennes, 119; his career over, *ib.*; in exile at Rome, 125; a brilliant memoir-writer, 128; Louis XIV dreads his ambition, 146; encouraged by Fouquet, 152; his ambitions, 153.
- Desmarets applies Vauban's Dixme Royale, 344, 373.
- Descartes flies from France to Holland, 82.
- Despatches, Council of, 369.
- D'Estaing defeats Admiral Byron, 477; repulsed at Savannah, 478.
- D'Estrades, French Ambassador in London, 157.
- D'Estrées, Marshal, defeats Duke of Cumberland at Hastenbeck, 451.
- Des Ursins, Princess, ordered to leave Madrid, 381.
- De Thou perishes with Cinq Mars, 71, 73.
- D'Étiolles, Madame; *see* Pompadour.
- Dettingen, battle of, 414.
- Devolution, Law of, 166; how applied by Louis XIV, *ib.*, 167; war of, begins, 169; its two campaigns, *ib.*
- De Witt, John, gives up the French Alliance, 171; his rule as Pensionary, 177.
- De Witts, the, murdered, 189.
- D'Humières, a bad general, defeated, 253.
- D'Huxelles, 384.
- Diamond Necklace, the, 481.
- Divine Right, as understood by Louis XIV, 147.
- Dixme Royale, the, 311, 324, 343; why not adopted, 344; introduced by Desmarets, *ib.*; its true bearing autocratic, 345; how employed, 373.
- Dohna, Count, in name of Sweden, joins Triple Alliance, 171.
- Dôle, taken by Condé, 171.
- Donauwörth, taken by Marlborough, 303.
- D'Orvilliers fights battle of Ushant, 476; fails in a descent on English coast, 477.
- Douai, taken by the allies, 323.
- Dover, Treaty of, 179.
- Dragonnades, the, 224.
- Dresden, Peace of, its terms, 418.
- Du Barry, Madame, 465; succeeds Madame de Pompadour, 466.
- Dublin, Court of James II at, 255.
- Dubois, Cardinal, 146; aims at 'entente cordiale' with England, 359; at right hand of Philip of Orleans, 363, 365; his ability and fidelity, 365; his character and career, 366; his scheme of foreign politics, *ib.*; professes an Anglo-mania, *ib.*; has a large pension from George I, *ib.*; at first only the Regent's boon companion, 373; dissuades the Regent from convoking the States-General, 380; leads him to reverse the foreign policy of Louis XIV, 381; his negotiations with Lord Stair, 382; goes to the Hague, *ib.*; negotiates a new Triple Alliance, *ib.*; in England, 383; his skill, *ib.*; makes a Quadruple Alliance, *ib.*; his highest point, *ib.*; gets rid of the Councils and becomes First Minister, *ib.*; carries all before him, 384; his career, 385; is made Archbishop of Cambrai, *ib.*; his struggles for the Cardinal's hat, 386; named First Minister of the Crown, 387; elected to French Academy, *ib.*; his last acts and death, *ib.*; had restored the Jesuits to France, 390.

- Duguay-Trouin defeats allied ships, 316.
- Dunkirk besieged by Turenne and English, 133; falls, 134; Louis XIV is anxious for the Catholics of, 154; a free port, 159; to be dismantled 336.
- Dupes, day of, described, 44-46.
- Dupleix, rival of Labourdonnais, 418; arrests him, 419; burns Madras, *ib.*; is driven out by the English, *ib.*
- Du Plessis Praslin defeats Turenne, and recovers Rethel, 115.
- Dupuy, searches out the claims of France, 60.
- Du Quesne defeats Ruyter, 200.
- Duras, commands with the Dauphin, 284; commands at La Fère, 169.
- Dutch, the, succeed when Spinola is away, 36; their high honour of saving Europe from despotism, 77; irritated against French, 94; their sketch of French character, *ib.*, 95.
- E.
- East India Company, the French, 160; flourishes under Fleury, 391; expands, 401.
- Eckeren, battle of, 299.
- Edict of Nantes, the Regent desires to recall its revocation, 371.
- Edict of Restitution, 40.
- Edicts, chiefly absurd, on the misery of France, 347.
- Egra, seized by Marshal Saxe, 412; Wallenstein assassinated at, *ib.*; *see* note.
- Eleanor of Neuburg, wife of Leopold I, 275.
- Electoral, Frederick William, the Great, 138; watched by Turenne, 187; driven into Germany, 190; becomes neutral, *ib.*; prepares for war, 191; joins Imperialists, 104; defeated at Turckheim, *ib.*; attacked by the Swedes, 196; withdraws from the Rhine, *ib.*; refuses to support France, 181; refuses Peace of Nimwegen at first, 207; abandons the side of Louis XIV, 234; begins the great career of Prussia, *ib.*; his dying words, 247.
- Electoral Palatine, Charles Louis, gives his daughter to the Duke of Orleans, 181; sees his lands wasted, 193; challenges (?) Turenne, *ib.*
- Electorate, Eighth, for the Palatine House, 98; a Ninth, for Hanover, 238.
- Elizabeth Farnese, wife of Philip V, 381.
- Elizabeth of France, 167.
- Elizabeth, Princess, in hands of Paris mob, 504.
- Elizabeth, Empress of Russia, 411.
- Elizabeth, Queen of Spain, her death, 253.
- Elliott, General, defends Gibraltar, 477; with success, 479.
- Embrun, Archbishop of, in Spain, 165; agent for Louis XIV, 166.
- Emeri, Mazarin's finance-minister, 106; exiled, *ib.*
- Emigration, the, from France, 497, 500.
- Empire, the, refuses to make peace, 335; obliged to come in to peace at Baden, *ib.*; Princes of the, regard Rhine campaign as an Austrian affair, 399.
- Encyclopædists resist the Jesuits, 464.
- Enghien, Duke of; *see* Condé.
- Enghien, Duke of, Grand Master of France, 137.
- England makes war on Spain, 11; rejects terms offered for Frederick V, 23; desires to support the Huguenots, *ib.*; makes war on France, *ib.*; under a strong government, 129; her bold foreign policy under Cromwell, 130; at war with Holland, 163; gives no anxiety to Louis XIV, 174; begins war with Holland without a declaration, 183; much affected by Revocation of Edict of Nantes, 234; state of affairs in 242, 243; has a fleet off Barcelona, 264; make descents on French coasts, *ib.*; her attachment to the principles of the Revolution called forth, 266; dislikes second Partition-Treaty, 287; pleased at the Spanish will, *ib.*; epoch of her advance, 290; peace-party still rules, 293; change comes, *ib.*; menaced by recognition of James III, 293.

294; acquires Gibraltar, 308, 309; her fleet relieves Barcelona, 310; her views change, 325, 326; negotiates secretly with France, 327; revolution daily expected in, 333, 348; terms of her treaty at Utrecht, 336; cessions to, *ib.*; gratified by recognition of Hanoverian Succession, 338; chief gainer by the Peace, *ib.*, 339; Tory rule ending in, *ib.*; both parties in, accept George I, *ib.*; full of suspicious, *ib.*; expects a sudden attack from France, *ib.*; on cordial terms with the Regent, 366; signs a new Triple Alliance, 382; finds her Hanoverian connexion embarrassing, 392; dominates in America, *ib.*; founds her Indian Empire, *ib.*; discovers Australia, *ib.*; begins her career in Africa, *ib.*; interferes to prevent Charles VI from seizing Italian Duchies, 394; offers to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, *ib.*; stands neutral in struggle for Polish crown, 396; at war with Spain, 408; befriends Maria Theresa, 410; irritated against Walpole, 411; determines to carry on war with France, *ib.*; her success at sea, 418; signs Neutrality-Treaty with Prussia, 449; declares war against France, 450; wins ascendancy over France, 454; endangered by revolt of American Colonies, 475; at war with France and Spain, 476; her difficulties, *ib.*, 477; tide turns, *ib.*; harassed by the Armed Neutrality, 478; concedes independence of America, 479; things look better for her, *ib.*; signs Peace of Versailles, 480; her Indian Empire unshaken, *ib.*

England, Church of, compared with that of France, 370.

English successes in North America, 458.

'Enlightened Despotism,' the, of the eighteenth century, 362.

Enzheim, battle of, 193.

Epéron tempts Bordeaux to revolt, 27; stands by Richelieu, 48.

Equality and fraternity, first note of, 358.

'Esprit des Lois,' Montesquieu's great

work an epoch in French prose style, 435.

Estate, the Third, 488; questions as to, 489; the curés incline towards, *ib.*; double number of, 490; takes the lead, *ib.*; members of the other Estates join it, 491; foolishly treated by the King, 492.

Estates of Brittany desire to make Brittany part of France, 20; are for demolition of castles, *ib.*

Ettlingen, Imperialists construct lines at, 398.

Eugene, Prince, 262; his early history, *ib.*; descends on Dauphiny, *ib.*; gains battle at Zenta, 274; commands Imperial troops in Italy, 294; defeats French at Carpi and Chiari, *ib.*; gets possession of Mantuan territory, *ib.*; his vigour, 295; attacks Cremona, *ib.*; captures Villeroy, *ib.*; affairs languish, 296; meets Marlborough at Mondelsheim, 302; one of the Triumvirate, *ib.*; defends the Stollhofen lines, 303; joins Marlborough in time, 304; fights battle of Blenheim, 304-306; appears in Italy, 310; returns to Vienna, *ib.*; returns to Italy, 311; wins battle of Turin, *ib.*; joins Marlborough at Brussels, 317; fights battle of Oudenarde, *ib.*, 318; besieges Lille, 318; counsels the allies to demand extravagant concessions from Louis XIV, 321; wins battle of Malplaquet, 322; insists on harsh conditions of peace, 323; takes Douai, *ib.*; recalled to Germany for the Imperial election, 327; goes to England to save Marlborough, 328; fails, *ib.*; returns to the Low Countries, 333; loses battle of Denain, *ib.*, 334; the effects, 334; goes to Utrecht, *ib.*; to Rastadt, 335; joins German army at Heilbronn, 399; watches French army, *ib.*; his advice to Charles VI, 405.

Europe, in no humour for war, 393; quarrels of, mediated by Fleury, 394; south of, quietly settled, *ib.*; troubles in the north of, *ib.*; changes in, 444.

European complications, 405, 408.

Exports of France, 4, 30.

F.

Family Pact, the, 460.

Famine prevalent in France, 343.

Fénelon, his famous letter to Louis XIV, 291; his *Télémaque*, *ib.*; Louis vents his displeasure on him, *ib.*; his life at Cambrai, 292; his MSS. burnt by Louis, *ib.*; tutor to Duke of Burgundy, 330; had named Le Tellier confessor to Louis XIV, 349; his *Télémaque* published, 370.

Ferdinand II, Emperor, gives Mecklenburg to Wallenstein, 22; opposes the Gonzaga-Nevers family at Mantua, 32; makes peace with Christian IV, 39; has Wallenstein as his chief instrument, 40; issues Edict of Restitution, *ib.*; his programme and ambitions, 42; desires for his son the title *Rex Romanorum*, *ib.*; calls a Diet at Ratisbon, *ib.*; is willing to sacrifice Wallenstein to the Electors, *ib.*; urged to reappoint him, 52; does so, *ib.*

Ferdinand III, Emperor, 65; a 'new Philip II,' 83.

Feria, Duke of, in the Valtelline, 5; driven out of Piedmont, 16.

Feuillants, the, 503.

Finance reviewed by Richelieu, 21; is in a bad way, 106; in utter disorder, 347, 373.

Fisheries, the, reserved for France, 336.

Flanders, France gets Gravelines in, 136; France restores several towns in, *ib.*; in hands of the Allies, 319.

Fleurus, Battle of, 256.

Fleury, Cardinal, Bishop of Fréjus, 389, note; not to be compared with Mazarin, 146; preceptor to Louis XV, 353; possesses the confidence of Louis XV, 390; allows Duke of Bourbon-Condé to fill the post of First Minister, *ib.*; ejects Bourbon clique soon after, *ib.*; character of his ministry, *ib.*, 391, 392; made Cardinal in 1726, 391; his foreign relations, *ib.*, 392, 393; acts as mediator in European quarrels, 394; fails to see importance of northern

affairs, 397; his vigour in war against Austria, 398; his political failures, 411; dies, 413; is mourned for by Louis XV, *ib.*

Fontainebleau, Notables of, 16; Council of Louis XIV at, on the Spanish will, 286, 287.

Fontenoy, Battle of, 417.

Foreign Affairs, Council of, 369.

Fort Louis, 16; a menace to La Rochelle, 18, 23.

Fouquet, his character, 151; is Intendant of Finance, *ib.*; his affairs in confusion, 152; may wish to be a Catiline, *ib.*; friendly to Jansenists, *ib.*; his fall, 155-157; contrasted with Colbert, 157; grandfather of Marshal Belle-Isle, 398.

France, her position and policy, 2; desires to recover the Valtelline from the Spaniards, 6; makes terms, *ib.*; joins England against Spain, 11; makes peace with Spain, 17; at war with England, 23; is at a critical moment, *ib.*; surrounded by eager foes, 32; makes peace with England, 35; endangered from side of Lorraine, 39; her frontier-interests at different times, *ib.*; makes terms with Gustavus Adolphus, 41; her war in Italy ends, 43; uneasy at the success of Gustavus, 52; seizes Lorraine, *ib.*; aims at reduction of Alsace, 33; steps into Thirty Years' War, 55; her Catholic-tolerant policy, *ib.*; occupies the middle Rhine, *ib.*; and Alsace, *ib.*; her purse employed also, *ib.*; draws the sword, 57; the way cleared for her intervention, 58, 59; declares war on Spain, 61; her vast hosts, *ib.*; her four points of attack, 62; fails everywhere, *ib.*; her soldiers poor, 63; gains weight in the war, 65; will not have peace, *ib.*; turning-point of her struggle with Austria, 66; gets the Alsacian frontier, 68; grows in strength, 69; learns secret of Spain's weakness, 69; succeeds on all hands except in Spain, 70; state of, under Richelieu, 78, 79; the 'satisfaction' she demands at Münster, 95, 96; described as she appeared to a German,

96; what she gains at the Peace of Westphalia, 97; the points which concerned her, 98; the whole Rhine valley at her mercy, 99; cedes Forest-towns, *ib.*; her influence and policy in Germany, 99, 100; continues her struggle with Spain, 101; does not support the resistance of the Lawyers to the monarchy, 105; has no way of expressing her needs, *ib.*; state of, *ib.*, 106; her upright citizens, 112; her state at end of war of the Fronde, 121; her soldiers grow in confidence, 122; her frontier, where now vulnerable, *ib.*; three methods of defence against Condé, 123; very uneasy in 1656, 124; literature in, 127, 128; allied with England under Cromwell, 130; the treaty, 132; a second treaty, 133; advances her northern frontier by Peace of the Pyrenees, 136; tranquil and impoverished, 154; is grateful to Colbert for his protection and help, 157; her happiest years, *ib.*; her state described by Louis XIV, 158; her troops on the Raab, *ib.*; her fleets check piracy, *ib.*; her industry, 159; its excellence and system, 160; her commerce, *ib.*; her literature protected, *ib.*; affairs favourable to her in Devolution-war, 169; carries off chief spoils of Devolution-war, 174; her commercial growth hostile to Holland, 175; changes her policy of giving first place to her political interests, *ib.*; joins the lesser German Princes against Holland, 176; great preparations for Dutch war, 183; Sweden her sole remaining ally, 191; her brutalities in Holland, 192; retains only Maestricht and Grave, *ib.*; passes from offensive to defensive war, *ib.*; wins the ten Imperial cities in Alsace, 195; secures Franche-Comté, 196; successful at sea, 200; exhausted and discontented, 201; tries to sever Holland from the allies, 203; successfully, 204; makes peace with her, *ib.*; her triumph at Nimwegen, 205, 206; what she gains, 207, 208; her state in 1668 and 1678,

208; her splendour, 209; becomes a central fortress in Europe, 213; attains to a forced unity, 228; her evil case, 230, 231; her losses from Revocation of Edict of Nantes, 232-236; loses her great men, 237; begins to recede, 237; her few friends in 1689, 252; ill-prepared for the struggle, *ib.*; her exhaustion, 253, 254; has as yet the best of the war, 259; active at sea, *ib.*; wins most laurels and is also most weakened, 263; her deplorable state, *ib.*; profoundly disheartened, 264; feels her foes too strong, 265; her sacrifices at Ryswick, 269; retains Strasburg, *ib.*; rejoices in peace, *ib.*, 270; her galleys offered to Spain against the Moors, 282; her descent in eighteenth century, 290; her affairs in confusion, *ib.*; Fénelon's letter on her condition, 291; her great army, 294; its bad state, *ib.*, 295; her policy guided by the Elector of Bavaria, *ib.*; her theatres of war, *ib.*; has great advantages on the Rhine, 296; draws defensive line in Netherlands, 299; cannot refit her ships, 309; entirely driven out of Italy, 312; her corsairs harass the allies, 316; dejection in, 319; invaded by parties of allies, *ib.*; famine and disturbances in, *ib.*, 320; responds to appeal of Louis XIV, 321; allied scouts reach the Seine, 323; her strength seems gone, 324; her dark prospects, *ib.*; her treaties with England at Utrecht, 336; with Holland, *ib.*; Savoy, 337; Portugal, *ib.*; Prussia, *ib.*; makes Peace of Rastadt with Charles VI, *ib.*; makes Peace of Baden with the Empire, 338; cedes Freiburg and all right side of Rhine, *ib.*; keeps Alsace and Strasburg, *ib.*; great loser by the peace, 339; her wretched state at opening of eighteenth century, 341; Locke's travels in, *ib.*; Vauban's account of her, 342; her population falls off, *ib.*; the poverty and beggary, 343; her misery not abated, 345; the terrible winter of 1709, *ib.*; her peasantry grow wild, 346; the

nation starved and thin, *ib.*; Fénelon's picture of her, *ib.*; the ordinances for her behoof all wrong, 347; her finances in utter disorder, *ib.*; to what she is brought down, 348; rejoices at death of Louis XIV, 355, 356; the price she pays for her absolute Monarchy, 356; the great reaction after the King's death, 359; breaks all traditions of her foreign policy, *ib.*; has a new home-government, 360; her change in social matters, *ib.*; the permanent effects not great, *ib.*, 361; demands more thorough remedies than the Councils, 369; depressed and hopeless, 371; her Pays d'États and Pays d'Élection, *ib.*; her finances press for attention, 372; their confusion, 373; plans for their amendment, 374; the measures are popular at first, then disliked, 375; clutches at Law's schemes, 376; hopes to wipe away her debts, 377; her seeming prosperity under Law, 378; awakes from her dream, 379; her losses, compared with those of England, 381; interferes to prevent Charles VI from keeping Italian Duchies, 394; offers to guarantee Pragmatic Sanction, *ib.*; desires to retain elective system in Poland, 396; fails to support Stanislaus Leczinski, 397; declares war against Austria, *ib.*; obtains Lorraine and Bar, 401; guarantees Pragmatic Sanction, *ib.*; adopts a warlike policy, 408; has all Europe against her, 414; enters on a continental war, 418; her alliance with Russia and Austria, 449; England declares war against, 450; succeeds at outset, *ib.*; attacks Hanover, 451; chief loser by the Seven Years' War, 461; sinks lower and lower, 463; her prosperity under Louis XVI, 471; enthusiastic over the American revolt, 475; allied with the Colonies, 476; gains by the Armed Neutrality, 478; her fleets take the ascendant, *ib.*; the war, though glorious for her, does not strengthen the monarchy, 480; in a very ominous condition, 489; aroused by fall of

the Bastille, 497; her alienation from the King shown, 501; supports the Assembly, 502.
 Franche-Comté, French fail in, 63; left to Spain by Peace of the Pyrenees, 136; Law of Succession in, 167; attacked by Condé, 170; its position, *ib.*; reduced, 171; given up by Louis XIV, 172; again attacked, 192; Turenne reduces it, *ib.*; becomes a French province, *ib.*; its importance, *ib.*
 Francis-Joseph of Lorraine-Tuscany, made Emperor, 418.
 Franco-Spanish army, the, 417.
 Françoise d'Aubigny, 139; *see* Maintenon, Madame de.
 Frankfort, Elector of Bavaria crowned Emperor at, 411; League of, 415; French at, 456.
 Franklin at Versailles, 475.
 Frederick the Great claims Silesia, 407; begins the war, 409; joins League of Frankfort, 415; invades Bohemia, 416; makes peace with Maria Theresa, 418; at his lowest ebb, 451; supports the Jesuits, 464; welcomes the American revolt, 475; stops designs of Joseph II on Bavaria, 476.
 Frederick, Elector Palatine, degraded, 3; La Vieuville promises help to, 11.
 Frederick Henry of Nassau, 12.
 Frederick William, King of Prussia, dies, 405.
 Fredrikshald, Charles XII killed at (1718), 394.
 Freiburg in Breisgau, taken by Mercy, 90; battle of, *ib.*; taken by Créquy, 202; restored to Germany, 338.
 French, the, carry on campaigns on the Rhine and in Italy, 398; capture Kehl, *ib.*; aim at and besiege Philipsburg, *ib.*, 399; lose their great general Berwick, *ib.*; take Philipsburg, *ib.*; defeated at Dettingen, 414; draw towards Alsace, *ib.*; clear out of Germany, *ib.*; victorious in Italy, 417; abandon attempts on Italy, 419; writers, take inspiration from English sources, 434; failure of, by land and sea, 457.
 Friedlingen, battle of, 297, 298.

Fronde, war of the, begins, 102; origin of name, *ib.*; the Old, *ib.*; the New, 103; the Old Fronde led by the Parliament of Paris, 109; union of the two at Paris, 110; their apparent strength, *ib.*, 111; the Old, wearies of its noble friends, 111; receives offers of help from Spain, 112; a desire for peace arises, *ib.*; first period of, closed by Peace of Ruel, 113; influence of the ladies in, 114; the Old, rejoices at arrest of the nobles, *ib.*; New, overthrown, 115; a combination of the two, *ib.*; the Old, turns to Anne of Austria, 116; reconciled with her, *ib.*; is shown the young King, 117; 'Mademoiselle' of Orleans most high spirited of the Frondeurs, *ib.*; their affairs look ill, *ib.*; the New, leaders of, exiled, 119; end of the war, *ib.*; not yet quite extinct, 124; has no heads, 125; favours Jansenism, 126; its literature, 128.

Frontier-fortresses, powers of governors of, lessened, 162.

Frontiers, natural, the doctrine of, 59.

Fürstenbergs, the, in Cologne, 239.

Fürstenberg, William of, 240; arrested, 203; influence on the Rhine, *ib.*; gives Bonn etc. to the French, 248.

G.

Gabelle, the, as bad as ever, 472.

Gallican Church, Jansenism involves germ of an independent, 350; compared with English, 370; dream of independence for, *ib.*; liberties, the, 222.

Game-laws, 432.

Gaston of Orleans, brother of Louis XIII, 18; to marry heiress of the House of Montpensier, 19; opposed by Court ladies, who wish him to marry the Queen of France, *ib.*; hostile to Richelieu, 27; escapes to Burgundy, 47; undertakes to invade France from Luxemburg, 48; fails, *ib.*; half-hearted against the Spaniards, 64; loses all his power

on birth of Louis XIV, 66; joins Cinq Mars, 71; a prisoner at Blois, 72; his abject conduct, 73; is indolent and ambitious, 84; is pardoned, *ib.*; named lieutenant-general, 85; does not oppose Anne of Austria, *ib.*; in opposition to the Court, 115; career of 'Mademoiselle' his daughter, 117; has to withdraw to Blois, 118.

Gautier, the Abbé, secret envoy between France and England, 327, 328.

Gay, 437.

Gazette of France, first French newspaper, 49.

George I, 385; revolution in favour of, expected, 333; accession of, 348; a friend to the Regent, 366; pensions Dubois, *ib.*; Secretary Stanhope trusted by, 382.

George II, King of England, joins Anglo-German army in Belgium, 413.

George III, accession of, 460; tries to stamp down the American revolt, 475.

Germans, threaten France, 193; seize Strasburg, *ib.*; blockade Breisach, 194; expect to reinstate the Duke of Lorraine, *ib.*; are driven out of Alsace, *ib.*; had borne brunt of the war, 269; are unwilling for peace, *ib.*; expect restoration of Strasburg, *ib.*; sign second Treaty of Ryswick, *ib.*; their gains, *ib.*; continue the war after Treaty of Utrecht, 335; have to make peace, *ib.*; appealed to by Louis XVI, 504; invade France, 505.

Germany, affairs in, in Thirty Years' War, 3; war in, under Danish guidance, 22; seems on the point of being consolidated into a Catholic Empire, 31; occupies Mantuan territory, 36; resists the Emperor Ferdinand, 40; her power broken by Thirty Years' War, 99; loses command of the Rhine, *ib.*

Gertruydenberg, negotiations at, 323.

Ghent taken by allies, 319.

Gibraltar, capture of, 301; surprised by Rooke, 308; attacked by Count of Toulouse, 309; secured to Eng-

land, 338; siege of, 477; defended by General Elliott, *ib.*; relieved by Rodney, *ib.*; siege raised, 479.

Ginkel defeats French and Irish at Aghrim, 256.

Girondists, the, 503; their fall, 504; coalesce with the Jacobins, *ib.*; lose ground after 20th of June, 1792, *ib.*; in a majority in the Convention, 506.

Gloucester, Duke of, with Condé, 134.

Godefroi, employed by Richelieu, 60; royal historian, 161.

Goertz, Baron, 394.

Goethe as a boy watches the French at Frankfurt, 456.

Gondii, family of, 106, note 5.

Gonzaga family, extinct, 32.

Gonzaga-Nevers family claim Mantua and Montferrat, 32.

Grain-traffic and hoarding, 346.

Grand Alliance, the, 176, 293; its objects, *ib.*

Grand Prior, the, falls with the Duke of Vendôme, 19.

'Grand project,' Marlborough's, 327.

Grave taken by William of Orange, 195.

Grave district, state of the peasants in, 341.

Great Elector, the; see Elector.

Great Rebellion, how regarded in France, 83.

Grégoire, the Abbé, moves abolition of monarchy, 506.

Gregorian Calendar, the, abolished, 506.

Gregory XV, 6.

Grisons, treat the Valtelline harshly, 5; allied with Venice, *ib.*; take up arms, *ib.*; recover the Valtelline, 13, 17; seized by German troops, 36.

Grotius on the state of France, 78.

Guastalla, battle of, 400.

Guebriant renews friendship with Swedes, 69; wins battles of Wolfenbüttel and Kempten, 70; hard pressed and relieved by Enghien, 86, 88; his death, 89.

Guise, Charles, Duke of, supports Mary dei Medici, 45; after many intrigues goes to Loretto, 47; dies at Florence, *ib.*

Guise, Henry II, Duke of, exiled, 89.

Guiton, heroic defender of La Rochelle, 30.

Gustavus Adolphus sees the difficulties before him, 13; appreciated by Charnacé, 41; his agreement with France, *ib.*; lands in Germany, 43; sketch of his career in Germany, 50-54; compared with Wallenstein, 51; his death, 54.

Guyenne revolts from Condé, 114; is put down, 115; second insurrection in, 116; put down, 117.

H.

Hague, League of the, 190, 191.

Hainault, cessions in, to France, 136; Devolution Law for, 167.

Hamburg, preliminaries of peace at, 93.

Hanover made an Electorate, 338; evacuated, 461.

Hanover, Duke of; see George I.

Hanover, House of, 408; kept neutral by France, 410.

Hanoverian Succession, guaranteed by France, 420.

Harcourt, Henry of Lorraine, Count of, puts down insurrection in Guyenne, 117.

Harcourt, Marquis of, 272; selected as French envoy at Madrid, 278; the good choice, his character, 280; his difficult position, 281; learns Spanish, *ib.*; his well-played game, 282; plays a good stroke by offering French galleys to Spain, *ib.*; his wife arrives at Madrid, 283; her popularity, *ib.*; is not to oppose the will in favour of Joseph Ferdinand, *ib.*; feels his work fully done in Spain, 284; commands an army at Bayonne, 285; is to resist the Archduke Charles at all risks, *ib.*; is appointed to take care of Philip V, 288; made duke and peer, *ib.*; counsels Louis XIV to grasp all he can get, 292.

Harrach, the Counts, Austrian envoys at Madrid, 278; harsh and unwise, 282; their continued folly, 283.

Hastenbeck, battle of, 451.

Heidelberg, castle of, ruined, 253.
 Heilbronn, German army joined by Prince Eugene at, 399.
 Heinsius represents William III after his death, 296; his stipulations before peace-negotiations, 320; is against accepting offers of Louis XIV 323.
 Henriette Marie of France, 11; is to marry Charles I, *ib.*; the marriage takes place, 15; is unfit to sway affairs, 23; her folly irritates Charles I, *ib.*
 Henrietta Maria, Duchess of Orleans, her mission to Dover, 178; negotiates the secret Treaty, 179; her sudden death, 180.
 Henry IV has tried to solve problems of toleration, 1; quells civil wars, *ib.*; foresaw importance of the Valtelline, 4; contrasted with Louis XIV, 147.
 Henry Frederick of Nassau, 36; his career, 37.
 Höchstett, first battle of, 301; second, see Blenheim.
 Holland, makes peace with Spain, 97; parties in, 153; at war with England, 163; calls for aid of Louis XIV, *ib.*; distinctly hostile to France, 174; disliked by Louis XIV, 175; he will crush her, *ib.*; overshadows French commerce, *ib.*; home of literature, *ib.*; old political system of France ruined in, 176; her heroic resistance to Louis XIV, 178; war with, 181; the combinations against her overwhelming, 182; England makes war without declaration, 183; her state very hopeless, 184; Turenne's plan of invasion, 185; their affairs at their worst, 187; the utter dejection in, 188; her humble offers rejected, *ib.*; roused by the proposals of Louis XIV, *ib.*; compel the Grand Pensionary to appoint William Stattholder, *ib.*; saved by the ruin of the De Witts, 189; no longer fights for life, 192; her fleet ruined in the Mediterranean, 200; much dispirited, *ib.*; devises peace, 201; separates from the allies, 203, 204; terms of peace accepted, 207; the

revocation of Edict of Nantes strengthens William of Orange, 234; has to be satisfied as to William's plans, 244; is timid and half-hearted, 245; threatened by Louis XIV, 247; threatened vitally by loss of barrier-towns, 293; prepares for war, *ib.*; checked at Eckeren by Boufflers, 299; ineptitude of, 333; obtains a strong barrier against France, 336; gets Spanish Netherlands in trust, *ib.*; and a new commercial treaty, *ib.*; her treaty with Spain at Utrecht, 337; made secure and comfortable, 349; attacked and ruined by England, 478; reduced by Frederick the Great, 486.
 Howe defeated by De Grasse, 478.
 Hubertsburg, peace of, 461.
 Huguenots mar all by their outbreak, 14, 15; many stand aloof, 15; led by Rohan and Soubise, *ib.*; set on relieving La Rochelle from Fort Louis, 16; sue for peace, 17; obtain peace of Montpellier, *ib.*; revolt in Languedoc under Rohan, 25; crushed or converted, 35; suspected at Court, 65; their cities crushed, 78; not anxious to join Condé, 131; treated harshly by Louis XIV, 154; their existence threatened by Louis XIV, 182; the plan for their extinction, *ib.*; threatened, 221, 222; disliked by Louis XIV, 223; attacked by Louvois, 224; some are converted, others revolt, *ib.*; the Dragonnades, *ib.*; their prosperity under Edict of Nantes, 225; their trades, how distributed, 226; their political extinction, 228; their exodus from France, 231; the numbers, 232; results for France, at home, 233; abroad, 234-236; not allowed to settle in Orange, 269; heroic in the Cevennes, 298; wear down the power of France, 301, 302; reduced in Cevennes, 307; to be enrolled in four regiments, *ib.*; Regent desires to restore them, 371.
 Hungary, threatened by the Turks, 400; Maria Theresa takes refuge in, 410; enthusiasm in, *ib.*
 Hyder Ali, 477.

I.

Îles de S. Marguerite, captured by Sourdis, 65.
 Ill, Germans along the river, 194.
 Immediate nobles and towns in Alsace, 215.
 Imperial Crown, scramble for the, 407.
 Imperialism introduces a new noblesse, 344.
 Imperialists construct strong lines at Ettlingen, 398; forced to abandon them by Marshal Berwick, 399; withdraw to Heilbronn, and are joined by Prince Eugene, *ib.*; inflicts check on French at Secchia, 400; lose battle of Guastalla, *ib.*
 Importants, the, 86; overthrown, 88, 89.
 India, French successes in, 418; English and French in, 419.
 Infanta of Spain, the, rejected by Louis XV, 390.
 Innocent XI, Pope, refuses to recognise the Peace of Nimwegen, 207; his excellence, 222; is anti-French, *ib.*; supports Jansenist bishops, *ib.*; not actually allied with William of Orange, 223; joins the League of Augsburg, 235; resists plans of Louis XIV at Cologne, 239, 240.
 Innocent XII, Pope, his advice as to the Spanish succession, 285.
 Innocent XIII, Pope, 386.
 Innsbruck, Elector of Bavaria reaches, 300.
 Inscriptions, Academy of, founded, 157.
 Invalides, Hôtel des, seized by the insurgents, 495.
 Ireland, force equipped to restore James II in, 252; sails, 254; fails, 255, 256.
 Italy at Spaniard's feet, 3; campaign of 1701 in, 294; war in, in 1704-1706, 310-312; in hands of Prince Eugene, 312; Fleury strikes at, 398; Villars commands in, 399.

J.

Jacobins, Club of the, 490.
 Jacobins, the, stand back, 502; are a terrible power, 503; the most pro-

minent sit for Paris in the Convention, 506.
 James I of England, his ignorance, 12; his death, 15.
 James II marries his daughter Mary to William of Orange, 202; was believed to wish to do as Louis XIV did, 234; his idea of toleration, 242; alienates English churchmen, *ib.*; birth of his son, *ib.*; the nation at first does not desire his abdication, 243; proposes a balancing policy, 249; offers to join League of Augsburg, *ib.*; not insincere, *ib.*; his feebleness and flight, *ib.*; secret of his failure, 251; view of him taken by French society, *ib.*; well treated by Louis XIV, 252; at head of French force for Ireland, 254; his failure there, 255; returns to France, 256; ruined at the Boyne, 257; death of, 293.
 James III, recognition of, 292, 293; fails to land in Scotland, 316.
 Jansen, his Augustinus, 126.
 Jansenism spreads, 153; disliked by Louis XIV, *ib.*; treated harshly by him, 154; revives, 464.
 Jansenists, the, in France, 125, 126, 390; opposed by the Court, 126; favour De Retz, *ib.*; are in opposition to the Court, 127; their simplicity at Port Royal, *ib.*; their literary importance, *ib.*, 128; are regarded as disloyal, 222; persecution of, in last days of Louis XIV, 349; the good-will towards them, *ib.*; their views, *ib.*; approved by influential sections of society, 350; seem defenders of Gallican Liberties, *ib.*; they are attacked at Port Royal aux Champs, 351; persecuted generally, *ib.*; the 'Constitution Unigenitus' issued against them, *ib.*; persecuted in the dark, *ib.*, 352; lift up their heads, 360; flock back to Paris, 370; Dubois' treatment of, 385; overthrown by Madame du Barry, 465; out of favour, 466.
 'Jenkin's ear,' incident of, 408.
 Jesuits, the, their position in France, 125; favour absolutism, *ib.*; omnipotent over Louis XIV, 223; intrigue for legitimisation of the King's bastards, 333; their party in

- France, 349; its views, *ib.*, 350; attack all who oppose the Constitution Unigenitus, 351; try to coerce the Parliament and Noailles, *ib.*, 352; their intrigues against Orleans, 352; get chief power under the King's will, 353; suffer eclipse, 360; angry at appointment of Noailles, 369; rendered powerless, 371; Dubois' treatment of, 385; restored to France by Dubois, 390; close friends with Bishop of Fréjus, *ib.*; strife of Constitutionist and Appellant settled by them, *ib.*; their struggles with the French writers, 463; in Martinique, 464; abolished, *ib.*
- 'Jeu de Paume,' National Assembly at the, 472.
- John of Austria, Don, defeated by Turenne, 133, 134.
- John of Werth invades Picardy, 64; taken prisoner, 67.
- Jones, Paul, American corsair, 477.
- Joseph, son of Leopold I, 275.
- Joseph I, Emperor, grants Montferrat to Duke of Savoy, 312; draws towards Louis XIV, 314; his Neutrality for Italy, *ib.*; had conceded what Charles XII of Sweden asked of him, 315; death of, 326.
- Joseph Ferdinand; *see* Bavaria.
- Joseph II, the 'Quixote' of Frederick II, 476; his 'potato war,' *ib.*
- Joseph of Tuscany, candidate for Imperial Crown, 407.
- Joseph, Father, his Life, 8; a great intriguer, 9; not the real statesman, *ib.*; sent to Rome, 14; his proposed crusade, *ib.*; discusses La Rochelle with Richelieu, 18; at siege of La Rochelle, 24; persuades Richelieu not to follow Louis XIII to Paris, 27; converts or bribes the Huguenots, 35; his success at the Diet of Ratisbon, 42; contrasted with Richelieu, 44; his death, 68; dies at moment of his fulfilled ambitions, *ib.*
- Joshua, medal of, 175, and note.
- Jülich given to Duke of Neuburg, 137.
- Jura, the, frontier of France, 192.

K.

- Kainardji, Peace of, 467.
- Kaiserswerth given over to the French, 248; recovered, 253; taken by the allies, 298.
- Karl the Great, ancestor of Louis XIV, 169.
- Kaunitz, Prince, 420; his character, 445; embassy to Paris, *ib.*; his policy, 446; wins over Madame de Pompadour, 447; tries to make Prussia a cat's-paw for France, 448; triumphs, *ib.*
- Kehl, captured by French in 1733, 398.
- Keppel fights battle of Ushant, 476.
- Kingship, elective, of Poland, 396.
- Kloster-Zeven, convention of, 451; repudiated by George II, 452.
- Kolin, battle of, 451.

L.

- La Blandinière, Father, Jesuit agent of Harcourt at Madrid, 282.
- Labourdonnaix, rival of Dupleix, 418; besieges Madras, 419; arrested by Dupleix and ends his days in the Bastille, *ib.*
- La Chaise, Confessor to Louis XIV, 272.
- La Fare on causes of French failure in war, 265.
- La Fayette, the Marquis of, sails for America, 475; returns for fresh help, 478; commander of civic forces, 496; puts down republicans in Champ de Mars, 501; the act seems popular, 502; unpopular with the Court, 503; which loses him the election as Mayor of Paris, *ib.*; wins an advantage at Maubeuge, 504; urges Louis XVI to escape to Compiègne to the army, 505; fails to carry his point, *ib.*
- La Fayette, Madame de, her memoirs and novels, 128.
- La Feuillade, his absurd adoration of Louis XIV, 209; a bad general, 310; invests Turin, 311.
- La Force, recalled, 44; a Huguenot, commands in Paris, 64.

- La Galissonnière defeats Byng's fleet, 450.
- La Hogue, battle of, 260; its effects, *ib.*
- Lally, Governor General of French in India, 454; his misfortunes and death, 460.
- Landau taken by Louis of Baden, 297; by Tallard, 301.
- Landrécies threatened by Prince Eugene, 333; siege raised, 334.
- Languedoc revolts under Rohan, 25, 26; Louis XIII goes to reduce it, 35; retains some liberties, 48; its Estates, *ib.*; invaded by Spaniards, 65; canal of, projected, 159.
- La Rochefoucauld, his Maxims, 129; the moralist of the Fronde, *ib.*
- La Rochelle, Huguenots try to deliver from Fort Louis, 16; Richelieu speculates on its reduction, 18; its fall part of a general movement, 20; its fortunes depend on the Isle of Ré, 24; the siege begins, *ib.*; makes a treaty with Buckingham, 25; not traitorous to France, *ib.*; described, *ib.*; its earlier history, *ib.*, 26; Richelieu's camp a pattern of virtues, *ib.*; the siege-works, 28; the mole, *ib.*; the torpedo, 29; capitulates, *ib.*; its condition, *ib.*; easy terms granted, 30; Richelieu wishes to make it an episcopal see, *ib.*; the effect of its fall, *ib.*; fell not a moment too soon, 31.
- Lasalle, the Chevalier, his travels in North America, 377.
- Lauren commands for James II, 254.
- La Vallière, Mdle. de, 183; mistress to Louis XIV, 156.
- La Valette, Cardinal, to join Bernard across the Rhine, 62; drives Imperialists out of Burgundy, 65.
- La Vieuville brings Richelieu forward, 10; his character, 11; has to give place to Richelieu, *ib.*; had reversed the Spanish policy, *ib.*
- Law, John, his career, 375; accepted by the Regent, 376; his schemes, *ib.*; is made Director of the Royal Bank, 377; second period of his career, *ib.*; his Mississippi scheme, *ib.*; Company of the West, *ib.*; gets a grant of Louisiana, 378; his grandeur, *ib.*, 379; the fall begins, 379; the bubble bursts, *ib.*; his end, 380.
- League of the Rhine, 134; its bearings, 135; hampers Leopold I, 153; its composition, *ib.*, note 3.
- Lebrun's pictures at Versailles, 209.
- Leczinski, Stanislaus, King of Poland, protégé of Charles XII, 397; falls with him, *ib.*; re-elected in 1733, *ib.*; is opposed by nobles, *ib.*; French aid proves vain, *ib.*; returns to France a broken refugee, *ib.*; made to renounce claim to Polish crown, 401; dies 1766, *ib.*
- Leczinski, Marie, marries Louis XV, 390.
- Legislative Assembly, its election and composition, 502; Louis XVI attends its opening, *ib.*; is far from being hostile to him, 503; declares itself permanent, 504; overawed by the mob, *ib.*; Louis XVI takes refuge in its Hall, 505; decrees his dethronement, *ib.*; summons a National Convention, *ib.*; closes its ignoble existence, 506.
- L'Hôpital, Marshal, commands with Enghien, 84, 88.
- Leibnitz, his scheme for interference of France in the Levant, 181.
- Lens, battle of, 92; Villars watches Marlborough at, 327.
- Leopold, Archduke, defeated at Lens, 92; in Champagne, 113; to invade Northern France, 124; hindered by Hungary and Turkey, 153; makes a Partition-Treaty with Louis XIV, 170; thus causes Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 172; his Partition-Treaty of 1668, 275; becomes bitter foe to Louis XIV, *ib.*; insists on the Renunciations, 277; presses Charles II to recognise the Archduke Charles as his heir, 278; supported by his sister-in-law the Queen of Spain, 279; refuses the second Partition-Treaty, 284; likely to be too timid to act, 287; his death, 310.
- Lesdiguières sent to reduce Genoa, 14; fails, 16; but drives Duke of Feria out of Piedmont, *ib.*
- Le Tellier, Michel, studies the character

of Louis XIV, 145; so secures his ground, 150; is Secretary of War, 151; re-organises the army, 161; sings his *Nunc Dimittis* on revocation of Edict of Nantes, 227.

Le Tellier, Confessor to Louis XIV, 272; his influence with the Duke of Maine, 349; had been named Confessor by Fénelon, *ib.*; insists on destruction of Port-Royal, 351; urges the King to a more general Jansenist persecution, *ib.*; urges the King to make his will, 352; under it would have much power, 353; neglects Louis on his death-bed, 355; exiled, 360; true author of the 'Unigenitus', 371.

Liège invested by Louis XIV, 263; relieved by William III, 264.

Lille taken by Louis XIV, 170; northern centre of defence for France, 213; besieged, 318; importance and history, *ib.*; its fall, 319; restored to France, 336.

Limerick, capitulation of, 256; Articles of, *ib.*

Linz taken by Belle-Isle, 410; forced to capitulate, 411.

Lionne, in Germany, makes League of the Rhine, 134; Foreign Minister of Louis XIV, 151; is heard at every court, 166; excites troubles in Poland, 170; favours Leibnitz's Eastern schemes, 181; his death, *ib.*

'Lit de justice,' held by Louis XVI, 484; character of it, 485.

Literature in France, 127, 128; loses freshness under Louis XIV, 211; revives in France under the Regent, 370; under Louis XV, 434, 463; its struggles with the Jesuits, 463.

Locke, John, on the state of France, 341; inspired Voltaire, 437.

Loire, state of the country on the, 341.

London, fracas in, between French and Spanish, 157; Treaty of, closes the Spanish war, 384.

Londonderry refuses to receive James II, 254.

Longueville, Duke of, commands the Weimar army, 69; arrested, 114.

Longueville, Duchess of, leads in Paris, 110; wins over Turenne, 112;

escapes to Holland, 114; again carries over Turenne, 115.

Lorges takes care of the Dauphin, 254; on the Rhine, 263.

Lorraine, Charles III, Duke of, to help the New Fronde, 117; joins Condé and Spain, 122; reinstated, 136; the price he pays, *ib.*; coerced by Louis XIV, 181; defeated at Zeinheim, 192; hopes to recover his Duchy, 194; on the Moselle, 196; attacks Trèves, 198; defeats Créquy, *ib.*

Lorraine, Charles IV, Duke of, takes Philipsburg, 199; hindered by Créquy, 201; difficulties as to his title, 203; drives Turks from Vienna, 217; takes Mainz, 253.

Lorraine, Leopold, Duke of, reinstated at Ryswick, 269.

Lorraine, Francis Stephen, Duke of, 401.

Lorraine, Charles of, 416.

Lorraine, danger to France from, 39; occupied by Louis XIII, 52; must soon fall to France, 192; and Bar, France obtains, 401.

Louis, Duke of Anjou; see Louis XV.

Louis of Baden, generalissimo of Leopold I, 296; takes Landau, 297; is master of Alsace, *ib.*; occupies the Black Forest, *ib.*; defeated at Friedlingen, *ib.*; at Stohofen, 300; takes Ulm and Augsburg, 301; is driven back, *ib.*; does not like Eugene, 302; joins Marlborough, 303; crosses the Rhine, 306; refuses to act with Marlborough, 307; to be held in check on the Rhine, 312.

Louis, the Dauphin, commands on the Rhine, 248.

Louis de Haro, Don, 130; negotiates Peace of the Pyrenees, 135.

Louis XIII, his weak hand, 1; stirred to resist the Catholic powers, 2; listens to the counsels of the Duke of Savoy, 5; bows before the force of circumstances, 8; irritated by Buckingham, 15; fanatical against Huguenots, 16; his character, 18; Chalais his favourite, 19; throws Ornano into prison, *ib.*; his jealous temper, 20; reluctant to make war

on La Rochelle, 25; had built Fort Louis, 26; amused by the siege, 27; returns to Paris, *ib.*; his ill-health, 28; his courage, 29; his hard heart, *ib.*; his triumphal entry into La Rochelle, *ib.*; sets forth for Italy, 33; successful there, 34; attacks rebels at Languedoc, 35; is heartless, *ib.*; sends Richelieu into Italy, 37; joins him there, 38; induced to recall Schomberg and La Force, 44; foils the two Queens in the Day of Dupes, 45, 46; plans for his deposition, 46; entirely in Richelieu's hands, *ib.*; gets rid of his mother, 47; makes Richelieu Duke and Peer, *ib.*; carries war into Lorraine, 48; establishes French Academy at Richelieu's suggestion, 49; is sometimes editor of the Gazette, *ib.*; declares the Duke of Lorraine a rebel, and occupies Lorraine, 52; scheme that he should be Emperor, 56; his court hostile to Richelieu, 58; his extreme claims, 60; reaches even to Imperial honours, *ib.*; is brave, 64; receives offers of help from Paris, *ib.*; marches out against the Spaniards, *ib.*; becomes a father, 66; nominates Father Joseph as Cardinal, 68; in bad health, 71; commands at siege of Perpignan, *ib.*; knows that his position depends on Richelieu, 72; makes it possible for Richelieu to outwit his enemies, *ib.*; sends Chavigny to him, *ib.*; joins him at Tarascon, *ib.*; places all power in his hands, *ib.*; returns to Paris, *ib.*; is ready to accept Mazarin as Richelieu's successor, 73; his remark on Richelieu's death, 76; is neither sorry nor glad, 84; declares that he will follow out his plans, *ib.*; his death, 85; children, *ib.*; his will set aside, *ib.*

Louis XIV, his birth, 66; the 'sun-monarch', 86 and note 1; is a feeble child, 95; what he learns from the defection of Holland, 97; hears De Retz preach, 108; is carried to Ruel, 109; brought back to Paris, 110; carried to S. Germain, *ib.*; a prisoner in Paris, 115; his majority proclaimed, 116; taken to Poitiers,

117; is invited to return to Paris, 118; does so, 119; receives Mazarin back as a father, *ib.*; closes the Parliament of Paris, 120; is absolute master of France, 121; his first campaign at Stenay, 124; his taste for siege-warfare, *ib.*; the writers of his age, 127; has more credit than he deserves in literature, 128, 129; comes to Calais, 133; enters Dunkirk, 134; the Lord Protector is his 'brother,' *ib.*; claims the Imperial crown, *ib.*; to marry Maria Theresa of Spain, 135; falls in love with Maria Mancini, *ib.*; abandons her, *ib.*; signs Treaty of the Pyrenees, 136; his apocryphal saying as to the Pyrenees, 137; accepts renunciation of Maria Theresa, *ib.*; marries her next year, 138; embarrassed by Mazarin, 139; who had neglected his education, *ib.*; receives sagacious advice at the end from him, 140; refuses Mazarin's fortune, *ib.*; begins a new era of his reign, 141; his long reign, 142; its significance, *ib.*; Mazarin had done all for him, 143; his affection for the Cardinal, *ib.*; placid and heartless, *ib.*; neglects the Infanta, *ib.*; his qualities, *ib.*; stupidity, 144; ignorance, *ib.*; no genius for war, *ib.*; had some of his mother's vigour, *ib.*; his 'Métier de Roi,' *ib.*; his Memoirs, *ib.*; his understood by Mazarin, 145; his character studied by Le Tellier, *ib.*; not yet understood by France, *ib.*; his new life, *ib.*, 146; will be supreme, *ib.*; his advice to Philip V, *ib.*; will have agents not ministers, 147; has a soul for routine and work, *ib.*; his diligence and self-consciousness, 148; personal appearance, *ib.*; 'best actor of majesty,' *ib.*; obstinacy, 149; his divine right, *ib.*; imitated Henry IV, *ib.*; his pompousness, *ib.*; Letters, *ib.*; never shone in war, 150; has no originality, *ib.*; loved details, *ib.*; shrank from strong men, *ib.*; his Council of Conscience, *ib.*; his vanity, *ib.*; loved flattery, *ib.*; is like his Versailles, 151; decides the administra-

tion, and gives it to agents, *ib.*; knows that Fouquet is a thief, 152; trusts Colbert, *ib.*; excludes Anne of Austria and Villeroy from the Council, *ib.*; hostile to young William of Orange, 153; and to De Retz and Jansenism, *ib.*; and to Huguenots, 154; is concerned for the Catholics at Dunkirk, *ib.*; the wrong type of ruler for France, *ib.*; gets rid of Fouquet, 155; makes a joke to and on him, *ib.*; is vexed at the slight sentence on him, 156; orders him to be imprisoned at Pinerolo, *ib.*; Colbert is his favourite agent, 157; his early triumphs and great schemes, 157, 158; feels for his people's burdens, *ib.*; sets himself to study finance, *ib.*; establishes a new Royal Council, *ib.*; works under Colbert, *ib.*; his large expenditure, 160; manages literature, 161; his pension-list, *ib.*; rage for splendid buildings, *ib.*; abolishes offices of Constable and Colonel-General, 162; his legislation faulty, *ib.*; keeps down noblesse, *ib.*; reduces power of Parliament of Paris, *ib.*; curbs the cities, 163; his brilliant court, *ib.*; is the sun-god, *ib.*; his motto, *ib.*; reluctant to help the Dutch, *ib.*; makes war on England, 164; and peace, *ib.*; his ill-faith, *ib.*; his reign turns on the Spanish Succession, 165; his renunciations, *ib.*; his agent in Spain, the Archbishop of Embrun, *ib.*; what he aims at, 166; claims 'jus devolutionis,' 167; his high claims, 169; goes to Amiens, *ib.*; wishes to advance to Brussels, *ib.*; his campaign of 1667, 170; allied with Charles II, *ib.*; his treaty with Leopold I, 170, 172; goes to Franche-Comté to receive its submission, 171; hears of the Triple Alliance, *ib.*; prepares for peace, *ib.*; makes Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 172; why he made it, *ib.*; his great ambition, 173; sets himself to break up the Alliance, 174; his anger against the Dutch, 175; reverses the ancient policy of France, *ib.*; negotiates for the

Imperial crown, 176; his dangerous minister Louvois, *ib.*; rise of William of Orange fatal to him, *ib.*; the princes contrasted, *ib.*; his attack on Holland helps to raise William of Orange, 177; who resists him to death, 178; sets himself to crush the Dutch, *ib.*; his progress through Flanders, *ib.*; cloaks mission of Henrietta Maria to England, *ib.*; agrees to Treaty of Dover, 179; his letter on death of Henrietta Maria, 180; dissolves the Triple Alliance, *ib.*; his German friends, *ib.*; seizes Nanci, 181; his taste for Oriental affairs, *ib.*; listens to Louvois and agrees on war, 182; has extinction of Huguenots at heart, *ib.*; miscalculates their strength, *ib.*; is ignorant and blunders, 183; his pedantic moralisings, *ib.*; dismisses Mdlle. de la Vallière, and takes Madame de Montespan, *ib.*; his passion for building, *ib.*; is offended with Colbert, *ib.*; marches north, *ib.*; his army, 184; his historian with him, *ib.*; seems to have an easy task before him, *ib.*; disposition of his army, *ib.*; Turenne with him at Sedan, *ib.*; why he agreed to the march down the Rhine, 185; his progress traced, *ib.*; Turenne's plan, *ib.*; passage of the Rhine, 186; the sensation at Paris, *ib.*; turns aside to take towns, 187; misses the point of the campaign, *ib.*; is completely in Louvois' hands, *ib.*; occupies three of the seven Provinces, 188; refuses Dutch offers, *ib.*; his terms, *ib.*; returns to Paris, 189; his title of Great, *ib.*; and note 1; besieges and takes Maestricht, 190; has completely broken up the old lines of European policy, 191; decides on recapture of Franche-Comté, 192; gives Turenne leave to act freely, 193; troubles the rear of his enemies, 196; sets forth to command the army of the north, *ib.*; is opposed by the Prince of Orange, *ib.*; forced to respect Turenne, 197; his army paralysed by Turenne's death, *ib.*;

returns to Paris, 198; takes Condé, 199; shrinks from a pitched battle with the Stattholder, *ib.*; returns to Versailles, *ib.*; regrets the hard terms he had offered at Utrecht, 201; desires peace, *ib.*; takes Valenciennes and Cambrai, *ib.*; displeased at Gaston's victory, *ib.*; angry at the marriage of William of Orange, 202; takes Ghent, 203; paralyses the English, *ib.*; supports the Fürstenberg party at Cologne, *ib.*; waives their restitution, *ib.*; asks Charles II to be mediator at Nimwegen, *ib.*; is helped by Amsterdam, 205; draws up terms of peace at Ghent, *ib.*; his great position after the war, 205; his risks in 1668 and grandeur in 1678, 208; his great armies, *ib.*; is 'Le Grand,' 209; his glories and adulation, *ib.*; his character suffers, *ib.*; his principles of government, 210; his preachers, *ib.*; fond of Molière, 211; patronises Boileau, *ib.*; his profusion, *ib.*; his selfishness, 212; his armies and schemes, *ib.*, 213; sets Vauban to fortify France, *ib.*; establishes his Chambers of Reunion, 214; receives submission of the Imperial towns of Alsace, 215; goes to Metz, *ib.*; enters Strasburg, 216; receives tidings of fall of Casale, 217; makes a little war on Spain in Luxemburg, *ib.*; his triumphs, *ib.*; the end of the 'apogee of his reign,' *ib.*; neglects Colbert, 218; falls under influence of Madame de Maintenon, *ib.*; is married to her, 219; listens to the farrier of Salon, 220; works under Madame de Maintenon's direction, 221; his character changes, *ib.*; a devotee, *ib.*; begins to persecute, *ib.*; opposed to Innocent XI, 222; claims the 'Regale,' *ib.*; opposes the Jansenists, *ib.*; sanctions the Convocation of the clergy in 1682, *ib.*; does not desire an independent Gallican Church, 223; hostile to the Huguenots, *ib.*; is as ignorant as a child, *ib.*; persecutes them, 224; contemplates revocation of Edict of Nantes, 225; his delusion as to

the extinction of the Huguenots, 226; revokes the Edict, *ib.*; receives congratulations, 227; how far to be excused, *ib.*; who advised him? *ib.*; cares more for political unity than for the Papacy, 230; becomes dimly aware of his blunder, 232, 233; loses the friendship of Brandenburg, 234; his schemes for the Imperial dignity ruined, 235; claims Lower Palatinate, *ib.*; the erection of his statue, Place des Victoires, 236; his illness, *ib.*; begins second period of his reign, *ib.*; cannot prefer a good to a bad minister or officer, 237; self-satisfied, *ib.*; attends to the wants of the small noblesse, *ib.*; sees Racine's Esther acted at S. Cyr, 238; has to attend to impending war, 239; interested in affairs at Cologne, *ib.*; supports Fürstenberg with troops, 240; uncertain as to his course, gathers troops, *ib.*; balances long, 244; takes Louvois' advice, *ib.*; the great blunder, 245; contrasts between him and William III, 246; misled by Louvois, 247; sends his army to the Eastern frontier, *ib.*; sees how affairs will go in England, 248, 249; the revolution there a new stage in European resistance to him, 250; treats James II with generosity, 252; does not flinch from the dangers before him, *ib.*; his difficulties in getting money, 253, 254; not cordial with his best soldiers, 254; his farewell to James II, *ib.*; sends him to Ireland, *ib.*; makes fresh efforts, 257; besieges and takes Mons, *ib.*; returns home, *ib.*; relieved by death of Louvois, 258; names Barbezieux in his room, 259; proposes to attack England and Holland only, *ib.*; trusts to accounts of disaffection in English navy, *ib.*; orders Tourville to attack, *ib.*, 260; takes Namur, 261; returns to Paris, *ib.*; had refused preferment to Eugene of Savoy, 262; makes offers of peace, 263; proposes to reduce Liège, *ib.*; shrinks from fighting a battle, *ib.*; returns to Versailles, 264; his plans for the year given up, *ib.*; holds out against

Europe, *ib.*; why his generals failed, 265; again sends James II forth, 266; gains over Victor Amadeus, *ib.*, 267; his moderation in negotiations, *ib.*; his secret hopes for the Spanish Succession, *ib.*; refuses to abandon James II, 268; his ambition seems to be curbed, *ib.*; is determined to keep Sirasburg, 269; builds New Breisach, *ib.*; refuses to let Huguenot refugees settle in Orange, *ib.*; signs peace of Ryswick, 268-270; his real views, 270; his medal on it, *ib.*; 'recule pour mieux sauter,' 271; the Spanish Succession question, clue to his reign, 272; his secret plans, *ib.*; aware of the whole intrigue, *ib.*; eager for the Spanish inheritance, 273; jealous of the Prince of Conti, *ib.*; supports him feebly, 274; his duplicity, 275; his treaty with Leopold in 1668, *ib.*; Leopold's feelings towards him changed, *ib.*; repudiates the renunciations, 277; chooses the Marquis d'Harcourt as envoy at Madrid, 278; it is a sagacious choice, *ib.*; had had the matter before his eyes for years, 279; never doubted about it, *ib.*; orders Tallard to sound William III as to a Partition-Treaty, 281; why? *ib.*, 281; signs the first Partition-Treaty, 283; regards the Archduke Charles as more formidable than the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, *ib.*; has been charged with death of latter, 284; signs second Partition-Treaty, *ib.*; grows in favour with Spanish grandees, *ib.*; gives command of army to Harcourt, 285; will he accept the Spanish Will? 286; what decided him, *ib.*; makes assurances of permanent severance of the Crowns, 287; approved of by England, *ib.*; entrusts Philip V to Harcourt, 288; repudiates his renunciation for the Duke of Anjou, *ib.*; gets full command over Spain, *ib.*; seems successful and is at peace, *ib.*; stands out as the most powerful prince in the world, 289; not so powerful at home as he seemed, 290; Fénelon's letter to

him, 291; has no feeling for his people, *ib.*; pursues Fénelon with his anger, *ib.*; burns his MSS, 292; his rash steps, *ib.*; supported by Elector of Bavaria, *ib.*; his rash steps alarm the Whigs, 293; endeavours to restore the Stuarts, *ib.*; recognises James III, *ib.*; substitutes Villeroy for Catinat, 294; the generals his mere agents, *ib.*; wastes money on Marly, *ib.*; value of Elector of Bavaria to him, 299; well pleased with the campaigns of 1703, 301; distressed by Huguenot war in Cevennes, *ib.*; sends Villars thither, 302; the battle of Blenheim his worst mishap, 306; promises to enrol Huguenot regiments, 307; seeks to make the war decisive in the Netherlands, 308; recalls Vendôme from Italy, 311; gives full powers to Marsin, *ib.*; his blind partiality for Villeroy, 312; no longer dares make war in name of Philip V, 313; his fortunes seem to wane on all sides, *ib.*; begins to treat for peace, 314; makes Treaty of Neutrality for Italy with Joseph I, *ib.*; sends an embassy to Charles XII, 315; is distrusted and disliked by him, *ib.*; is personally friendly to Villeroy, 316; makes great efforts for 1708, *ib.*; plans a descent in Scotland, *ib.*; sends Vendôme and Burgundy to the Netherlands, 317; his vexation, 319; falls in with Vendôme's views, *ib.*; is accused by France as author of her misery, *ib.*; issues disastrous edicts, *ib.*; is offended by the Parliament of Paris, *ib.*; has a debased coinage, 320; makes fresh endeavours for peace, *ib.*; shows firmness, dignity, and conciliation, *ib.*; his lofty resignation, *ib.*; refuses harsh terms of the allies, 321; appeals to his people, *ib.*; renews war, *ib.*; renews negotiations, 323; his offers, *ib.*; the allies ask more, *ib.*; his desperate straits, 324; cannot face the truth, *ib.*; the changes which save him come from England, 325; the Tories not against him, *ib.*; also helped by accession of Charles III

to the Imperial throne, 326; sees hopes of peace, 327; his negotiations with England, 328; his offer to Philip V, *ib.*; his character reappears in his grandson, 329; the terrible disasters in his family, *ib.*—331; does not like the Dauphin, 330; nor the Duke of Burgundy, *ib.*; is cheered by the Duchess of Burgundy, 331; cannot endure sight of Philip of Orleans, 333; makes truce with England, 334; his anger with English demand for a guarantee, *ib.*; signs Peace of Utrecht, 335; his sincere relief, *ib.*; letter to Madame de Maintenon, *ib.*, 336; his valets said to beg their bread, 343; is asked by Vauban to establish the Royal Tithe, *ib.*; cannot do so, 344; how he struggles through the war, *ib.*; declares himself master of all his subjects' property, 345; takes supervision of grain-hoarding, 346; does nothing and eats much, *ib.*; will not abate his expenditure, 347; sends his huntsmen to keep down the wolves, *ib.*; to what his glories had led France, 348; the new King of England had fought against him, *ib.*; suspected of desiring sudden war on England, *ib.*; at work on a new harbour at Mardyck, *ib.*; the gloom around him, 349; his attempt to change the dynasty, *ib.*; his persecution of Jansenism, *ib.*, 350; goes with the Jesuits, *ib.*; the glory of his life its coherence, *ib.*; overthrows Port Royal, *ib.*, 351; enters on a more general and underhand persecution, 351; his edict to legitimise the Duke of Maine and the Count of Toulouse, 352; makes his last will, *ib.*; its tenor, 353; does not believe that it will be observed, *ib.*; bids farewell to the stage of life, *ib.*; his dignity and nobler qualities in death, *ib.*; his sayings on his death-bed, 354; his parting from Madame de Maintenon, *ib.*; clings to her, and is deserted by her, *ib.*; his farewell to the Duke of Orleans, 355; neglected by those nearest him, *ib.*; his death, *ib.*; the relief

of France, *ib.*, 356; the results of his reign, 356, 357; Massillon's funeral oration on his death, 358; reaction against his reign, 359, 360; leaves France to one of two opposite parties, 363; his will read, *ib.*; set aside, 364; its contents, 367; did not believe that it would stand, *ib.*; his old system of government, 368; his belief in his own government, how deceived, *ib.*; theological unity the backbone of his system, 369.

Louis XV (as Duke of Anjou), his life in great danger, 331; Regency arranged for, 352, 353; address of Louis XIV to him, 354; succeeds to the throne, 355; arrangements for his education, 364; the King's will had placed him under the Duke of Maine, 367; believed not likely to live, 382; removed to Versailles by Dubois, 387; attains his majority in 1723, *ib.*; regrets death of Regent, 389; his character, *ib.*; rejects Infanta of Spain, 390; marries daughter of ex-King of Poland, *ib.*; mourns for Fleury, 413; resolves in future to have no First Minister, *ib.*; taken ill near Metz, 416; recovers, *ib.*; joins Marshal Saxe at Tournay, 417; takes Madame de Pompadour as his mistress, 422; his depravity, *ib.*; self-indulgence, 428; distaste for business, *ib.*; on 'the deluge after him,' 463; last years of, 466; takes new favourite, *ib.*; lives to see first Partition of Poland, 467; his death, *ib.*

Louis XVI, marries Marie Antoinette, 469; his character, *ib.*, 470; slave to the Queen, 470; is defeated by the folly of the noblesse, 471; his sincere desire for reform, 472; entrusts finance to Turgot, *ib.*; is staggered by his schemes, 473; recalls the Parliament of Paris, *ib.*; frightened by the 'Pacte de famine,' 474; dismisses Turgot, *ib.*; not anxious for war in America, 475; cannot stand up against the Court, 480; subject to the Queen, *ib.*; grows idle and careless, 481; despised

by the Court, *ib.*; calls Assembly of Notables, *ib.*; promises to convoke the States-General, 482; is almost effaced, 483; his position worse, *ib.*; his views to the Parliament, *ib.*; makes their session a 'lit de justice,' 484; banishes Philip of Orleans, *ib.*; takes reform into his own hands, *ib.*; popular ill-will against him, 485; his foreign policy equally unsuccessful, 486; believes in his own absolute authority, 487; his views as to the States-General, *ib.*; hard for him to go right, 488; concedes the double representation to the Tiers Etat, 489; loses command of the movement, 490; treats the Assembly foolishly, 492; his reign a prosperous time, 493; his good intentions taken amiss, *ib.*; his fortunes depend on Mirabeau, *ib.*; holds a royal session, 494; defeated by the Third Estate, *ib.*; his position very critical, 495; dismisses Necker, *ib.*; the war-party prevails at Court, *ib.*; his milder rule, 496; decides on fresh concessions, *ib.*; enters Paris, *ib.*; Bailly's address to him, *ib.*; his apparent reconciliation with the people, 497; his best interests opposed by the Queen, *ib.*; the absolute veto refused, 498; cannot command the storm, *ib.*; the mob at Versailles, *ib.*; is out hunting, *ib.*; is taken to Paris, *ib.*, 499; in virtual imprisonment in the Tuileries, *ib.*; receives assurances of respect, *ib.*; deprived of his right of making war, *ib.*; has a liberal civil list voted him, 500; his health suffers, *ib.*; is forced back into Paris, *ib.*; connected with Mirabeau, *ib.*; plans for his flight, *ib.*, 501; flight to Varennes, *ib.*; return to Paris, *ib.*; more strictly confined, *ib.*; supported by La Fayette, *ib.*; restored to his functions, 502; appears in the Assembly and accepts the Constitution, *ib.*; well received, *ib.*; deems himself lost, 503; willing to stand by the Constitution, *ib.*; refuses to sanction decrees against émigrés and clergy, *ib.*;

unwisdom around him, *ib.*; once more a prisoner, appeals to Germany, 504; Girondist insurrection invades him, *ib.*; refuses La Fayette's offers, 505; his kingship abolished on the 10th of August, 1792, *ib.*; takes refuge in the Assembly, *ib.*; removed to the Feuillants, 506; thence to the Temple, *ib.*; his royalty formally abolished, *ib.*

Louisiana granted to Law, 377, 378.

Louvois, son of Le Tellier, 150; reorganises army, 161; a danger to Louis XIV, 176; secured the rise of William of Orange, *ib.*; sets his mind on the Dutch war, 181; uses the Chamber of Poisons, 182; rises in power, 183; depresses his rival Colbert, *ib.*; his full command of Louis XIV, 187; advises him to reject Dutch proposals, 188; friend of Montespan, and opposed to Turenne, 197; commands French army at Illkirch, 216; abandons Madame de Montespan, 224; sets himself to punish Huguenots, *ib.*; invents the Dragonnades, *ib.*; his 'Conversion by Lodgings,' 225; pushes Louis XIV on to revoke Edict of Nantes, 227; urges attack on the Rhine, 244; cause of Louis XIV's errors, 246; always for the German war, 252; his minute on the Church plate, 253; death of, 258; suspicion of poison, *ib.*; his character and ambitions, *ib.*; last great minister of Louis XIV, 259.

Louvre, the, bears witness to Louis XIV, 161.

Lübeck, Peace of, 39.

Luçon, Richelieu is bishop of, 6.

Lutherans take their share in Thirty Years' War, 12.

Lutter, battle of, 22.

Lützen, battle of, 54; its effects, *ib.*

Luxemburg, Francis, Duke of, Marshal, occupies William of Orange on the Yssel, 186; drives off allies at S. Denis, 205; in Spanish Netherlands, 254; defeats Waldeck at Fleurus, 256; and again defeats

him at Leuze, 257; covers siege of Namur, 261; has to act on defensive, 262; wins battle of Steinkirke, *ib.*; wishes Louis XIV to fight a pitched battle, 263; wins battle of Neerwinden, 264; his indolence and exhaustion, *ib.*; his death, 265.

Luxemburg, cessions in, to France, 136; law of Succession in, 167, Luzzara, battle of, 296.

M.

'Mademoiselle' (daughter of Gaston of Orleans) begins her romantic career, 117; secures Condé's entry into Paris, 118; her Memoirs, 128.

Madrid, Philip V returns to, 310; is entered by Charles III, *ib.*; re-entered by Philip V, 314; Assiento of, 337.

Maestricht commands the Meuse, 185; is masked by the French, *ib.*; besieged in 1673, and taken, by Louis XIV, 190; besieged by William, 199; besieged by Marshal Saxe, 419.

Maillebois, French army unfortunate under, 419.

Magnac, at Friedlingen, 297.

Maine, Duke of, suspected of poisoning the royal family, 331; revolution attempted in his favour, 349; Edict for his legitimisation, 352; a friend to Madame de Maintenon, *ib.*; his character, *ib.*; to be guardian to Louis XV, 353; shows no sorrow at the King's death, 355; heads the Jesuit-party, 363; falls into insignificance, 364; is named on the Council of Regency, 367; loses rights of legitimisation, 370; imprisoned, 383; objects to war with Spain, 384.

Maintenon, Madame de, Françoise d'Aubigné, 218; her history, *ib.*; her character, 219; supplants Madame de Montespan, *ib.*; married to Louis XIV, *ib.*; not acknowledged as Queen, *ib.*; suspected of

a share in the story of the farrier from Salon, 220; her authority over Louis XIV, 221; her narrowness, *ib.*; her influences hostile to the Huguenots, 223; praises Revocation of Edict of Nantes, 227; her share of blame, *ib.*; has the Esther acted before the King, 238; dislikes Louvois, accused of poisoning him, 258; her complete ascendancy over Louis, 259; patronises the Duke of Harcourt, 288; opposed to Fénelon, 291; reconciled to the Duke of Burgundy, 331; her intrigues lead to the legitimisation of the bastards, 333; letter of Louis XIV to her, 335, 336; accused of trafficking in grain, 346; is mobbed in her carriage, *ib.*; can scarcely bear the dullness of Versailles, 349; her influences, *ib.*; urges the King to persecute, 351; protects Noailles, 352; forces Louis to make his will, *ib.*; her conduct at his deathbed, 354; withdraws to S. Cyr, *ib.*; her arrangements for herself approved, 364.

Maison du Roi, 387; fights well at Ramillies, 313.

Malaga, sea-fight off, 309.

Malesherbes, Minister of Interior, resigns, 474.

Malherbe, his influence on literature, 82.

Mallet du Pan, sent as secret envoy to Vienna, 504.

Malplaquet, battle of, 321-323.

Mancini, Maria, captivates Louis XIV, 135.

Mancini, Olympia, mother of Prince Eugene, 262.

Mandrin, a brigand, 433.

Mansfeld, Count, receives promises from La Vieuville, 11; has English troops, 12; in the Netherlands, *ib.*; ill supported against Ferdinand, 22; his defeat and death, *ib.*

Mantua, new questions in, 31, 32; occupied by Germans, 36; relieved by Vendôme, 296.

Manufactures of France, the, advance, 159.

Marchiennes, Prince Eugene's maga-

- zines at, 333; falls into Villars' hands, 334.
- Mardyck, new harbour building at, 348; works at, abandoned, 382.
- Marennnes, Richelieu's head-quarters at, 27.
- Maria, mother of Leopold I, retains rights on Spain, 277.
- Maria Anna of Bavaria married to the Dauphin Louis, 209.
- Maria Anna of Neuburg, Queen of Charles II, 279; hostile to Harcourt, 281; employs Harcourt to do her commissions, *ib.*; makes Charles II decline French offer of galleys against Moors, 282; chafes under dictation of the Harrachs, 282; hated by Spanish nobles, 283; makes overtures to Harcourt, 284.
- Maria Antonia, daughter of Leopold I, 275; renounces her claims to Spain, 277.
- Marie Leczinski, Queen, dies, 465.
- Maria Theresa of Spain, to marry Louis XIV, 135; her claims, 167.
- Maria Theresa, heiress of her father's states, 392, note; is the rival of Frederick the Great, 405; for her Charles VI makes the Pragmatic Sanction, 405; struggles for her rights, 410, 411; takes refuge in Hungary, 410; the Dutch vote a subsidy for, 411; cedes part of Silesia to Frederick the Great, 412; makes terms with Charles VII, the King of Sardinia, and Elector of Saxony, 414, 415; obtains Imperial crown for her husband, 418; makes peace with Frederick, *ib.*; is eager for peace, 476.
- Marie Antoinette, married to Louis XVI, 469; her influences, *ib.*; is omnipotent over Louis XVI, 470, 480; is proud and petty, 471; is mixed up with the 'Pacte de famine,' 473; reproaches Louis XVI, 474; is too strong for the King and Neckar, 479, 480; cannot bear serious people, 481; her gaities, *ib.*; slanders on her, *ib.*; attacks the Parliament of Paris and the Noblesse, 483; disliked by Philip of Orleans, 484; hated by the people, 485; persuaded to obtain dismissal of Brienne, *ib.*; the greatest hindrance to Louis XVI, 488; refuses to enter Paris with the King, 497; a centre of misfortune for him, *ib.*; brave and heroic, insists on going with him, 498; refuses to be separated, 499; Mirabeau's interview with her, 500; her flight with the King, 501; imprisoned with him, *ib.*; her party makes a coalition impossible, 502; how they blunder, 503; dislikes La Fayette, 505; desires to fight, *ib.*; a prisoner with the King in the Temple, 506.
- Margaret Theresa, daughter of Philip IV, 167, 277.
- Marillac, Marshal, in command in Italy, 44; recalled, *ib.*; executed, 48.
- Marine affairs, council of, 369.
- Marlborough, Duke of, as Churchill, serves under Turenne, 193; commands Dutch and Spaniards, 253; beats D'Humières, *ib.*; represents William III after his death, 296; makes successful campaign in Netherlands, 298; keeps upper hand, 299; makes his footing secure, *ib.*; takes Bonn, *ib.*; and Spanish Gelderland, *ib.*; his grand campaign, 302; plans it with Prince Eugene, *ib.*; leads the Triumvirate, *ib.*; his heroic moment, *ib.*, 303; skilful march to the Rhine, *ib.*; is going to teach the Germans how to beat the French, *ib.*; joins Louis of Baden at Ulm, *ib.*; storms the Schellenberg and takes Donauwörth, *ib.*; his affairs critical, *ib.*, 304; joined by Eugene, *ib.*; fights battle of Blenheim, 304-306; takes Trarbach, 306; his honours, *ib.*; threatens France from Trèves, *ib.*; foiled by inertness of Louis of Baden, 307; is checked by Villars, *ib.*; his nephew the Duke of Berwick, 308; opposed by Villeroy, 312; wins battle of Ramillies, *ib.*, 313; jealousies spring up against

- him, 314; visits Charles XII at Alt Ranzau, 315; dissuades him from helping France, *ib.*; wins battle of Oudenarde, 317, 318; wishes to penetrate into France, 318; is obliged to besiege Lille, *ib.*; takes it, 319; advises allies to make large demands, 321; cannot be bought by Torcy, *ib.*; threatens Mons, *ib.*; wins battle of Malplaquet, 322; disastrous effects of the victory, 323; still insists on harsh terms, *ib.*; attacks Vauban's defensive lines in the Netherlands, *ib.*; takes Douai, *ib.*; unpopular in England, 325; his position between parties, *ib.*; affected unfavourably by death of Joseph I, 326; his 'grand project,' 327; breaks French lines and takes Bouchain, *ib.*; his ignominious dismissal, 328; superseded in Netherlands by Duke of Ormond, 333.
- Marseilles, a free port, 159; is held in check, 163.
- Marsin, Count of, commands at Blenheim, 303-306; in Italy, 311; loses battle of Turin, *ib.*; killed, *ib.*
- Martinet, 161.
- Martinique, Jesuits in, 464.
- Mary of England marries William of Orange, 202; is the hope of Protestant England, 243; her death, 266.
- Mary dei Medici has a hand in the Peace of Monzon, 17; accomplice of the enemies of France, 23; instinctively takes the wrong side, 33; her apparent triumph in the Day of Dupes, 44-46; supported by the Duke of Guise, 45; inferior in skill to Catherine dei Medici, 46; obliged to be silent, 47; her flight to Brussels, *ib.*; is in London, 68; intrigues with Cinq Mars, 71; her party in power, 85.
- Masaniello, 109.
- Masham, Mrs., 326.
- Mask, Man in the Iron, was it Fouquet? 157.
- Massillon, his funeral sermon on Louis XIV, 358; vouches for Dubois' morals, 385; instructor of Louis XV in morals, 389.
- Maubeuge, La Fayette's victory at, 504.
- Maurepas, Count of, Minister of Louis XVI, 472.
- Maurice of Saxony; see Saxe, Marshal.
- Maurice of Nassau, his death, 12.
- Maximilian of Bavaria advanced, 3; negotiates with Richelieu, 11; persuaded by Father Joseph, 42; his fear of Wallenstein, *ib.*; detached from the Emperor, 90, 91.
- Maximilian Emanuel; see Bavaria, Elector of.
- Mazarin, meets Richelieu, 38; stops a battle at Casale, 43; his fortunes begin, *ib.*; steps into Father Joseph's place, 68; made a Cardinal, *ib.*; becomes guiding spirit of French affairs, 84; his character, *ib.*; his position difficult and critical, 85; his medal 'Prima Finium Propagatio,' 88; his triumph secured at Rocroy, *ib.*; overthrows the Importants, 89; marries Anne of Austria, *ib.*; lengthens out the Westphalian negotiations, 94; how he appeared to a German of the time, 96; his rule bad for France, 105; no Frenchman, *ib.*; escapes with the Court to Ruel, 109; after close of the Thirty Years' War can attend to home-politics, 110; proposes to carry out the violent ideas of Anne of Austria, *ib.*; the shaft of Parisian wits, 111; sends the three noble prisoners to Havre, 115; yields before the storm, *ib.*; releases the prisoners, *ib.*; withdraws to Brühl, *ib.*; sends advice to Anne, 116; returns in triumph, 117; buys off the Duke of Lorraine's adventurers, *ib.*; withdraws to Sedan, 118; soon returns, 119; inferior to Richelieu at home, 122; his ministry fatal to literature, 127; his diplomatic triumphs, 129; his envoy urges Cromwell to alliance, 130; is conciliatory, 131; sends Lionne to claim the Imperial crown for Louis XIV, 134; makes League of the Rhine, *ib.*; negotiates Peace of the Pyrenees, 135; his nieces, *ib.*; his

- embarrassment with Louis XIV, *ib.*; his life's work nearly over, 138; sees one more triumph, the Peace of Oliva, *ib.*; his great successes, *ib.*; contrasted with Richelieu, *ib.*; the virulent attacks on him, *ib.*; his character, 139; government, *ib.*; an embarrassment to Louis XIV, *ib.*; gives him good advice at the end, 140; his health despaired of, *ib.*; his colossal fortune, *ib.*; his nieces and their fortunes, *ib.*; his death, 141; understood Louis XIV, 145; the people rejoice at his death, *ib.*; the last great Cardinal-Minister, 146.
- Mazarinades, the, 111.
- Medals struck on Peace of Ryswick, 270.
- Méac defends Laudan, 297.
- Mello, Francis of, Governor of Netherlands, 86.
- Memoirs of Richelieu's day misleading, 8; they and their writers considered, 128.
- Mercoeur, Duke of, exiled, 89.
- Mercy takes Freiburg, and threatens Alsace, 90; defeated there, *ib.*; withdraws to the Danube, *ib.*; defeats Turenne at Mergentheim, *ib.*; killed at Nördlingen, *ib.*
- Methuen Treaty, the, 301.
- Metz, centre of defence for Lorraine, 213; Parliament of, 214; proposal to reduce, 307; foiled by supineness of Louis of Baden, *ib.*
- Mézerai, royal historian, 161.
- Milanese territory guaranteed to Austria, 338; occupied by Villars, 399.
- Milton's Sonnet on the Piedmontese Massacre, 131.
- Minden, battle of, 455.
- Ministers, age of enlightened, 465.
- Minorca, restored to England, 461.
- Mirabeau, Count, desires to name the Assembly the Representatives of the People, 491; his guiding principle, 492; on the royal veto, *ib.*; soul of the National Assembly, 493; did the Court buy him? *ib.*; treated ill by it, 494; teaches the Assembly
- to resist the Crown, *ib.*; shakes himself free from Philip of Orleans, 497; the Assembly acts against his advice, 499; his interview with Marie Antoinette, 500; his schemes, *ib.*; and death, 501.
- Mirandola taken by Eugene, 295.
- Mississippi scheme, the, 377.
- Molé, Matthew, makes the Peace of Ruel, 112, 113; Paris angry with him for it, *ib.*; Condé allied with him, 116.
- Molière flavours despotism of Louis XIV, 7; his finest pieces, 160; low on Colbert's list, 161; favourite at Court, 211.
- Molwitz, battle of, 409.
- Monarchy recovers its position in Europe, 153; loses ground in France, 359; the French, its final fall, 506.
- Mondelsheim, conference at, 302.
- Mons, hard pressed by French, 204; taken by Louis XIV, 257; by the allies, 322.
- Monseigneur, the title, 248.
- Montauban yields to Richelieu, 35, 36.
- Montcalm, in North America, 458; mortally wounded at Quebec, 459.
- Montecuculli, Imperial general, driven back by Turenne, 190; is watched by him, 191; out-manœuvres him, and takes Bonn, *ib.*; opposes Turenne, 196; besieges Saverne and Hagenau, 198.
- Montspan, Madame de, 178, 183, 192; takes place of La Vallière, 183; loses the royal favour, 218; her fatal patronage of Madame Scarron, *ib.*; retires from Court, 219.
- Montesquieu on Richelieu, 76; on Law's despotic tendencies, 378; his writings, &c., 435.
- Montferrat, 32; occupied by Spinola, 36.
- Montmélian not taken by France, 38.
- Montmorency in Languedoc, 27; occupies Saluzzo, 38; made a marshal, 46; revolts, 48; is defeated, taken, executed, *ib.*
- Montpellier, Treaty of, 17.
- Montreal surrenders to the English, 459.

- Monzon, Peace of, 8, 9, 17; reverses Richelieu's policy, 18.
- Moors, the, press Oran and Ceuta, 282.
- Motteville, Madame de, her Memoirs, 128.
- Mountain, the, 506.
- Münster, Bishop of, checked by Louis XIV, 164; allied with him, 185.
- Münster, one seat of congress for peace, 93; French envoys at, 94; Treaty of, 97.
- Munich, the Imperialists enter, 411.
- Muyden, not taken by the French, 187; its sluices save Holland, *ib.*, 189.
- N.
- Naarden taken by the French, 187.
- Namur taken by Louis XIV, 261; retaken by William III, 265.
- Nanci taken by the French, 52, 181.
- Nantes, Edict of, how regarded by Louis XIV, 225; its history, *ib.*; confirmed by Mazarin, *ib.*; Huguenots flourished under it, *ib.*, 226; revoked, 226.
- Naples, Don Carlos lands at, 400; ceded to Spain, 401.
- Napoleon's opinion of the passage of the Rhine, 187; watches the attack on the Tuileries, 507.
- Nassau, Count of, defeated by Tallard at Spier, 301.
- 'National Assembly,' the, 492; sits in the 'Jeu de Paume,' *ib.*; Mirabeau its soul, 493; its first collision with the Crown, 494; is victorious, *ib.*; frames a Constitution speedily, 497, 498; conquered by the Paris mob, 499; sweeps away powers of Noblesse and Clergy, *ib.*; vote Louis XVI a liberal civil list, 500; he attends its close, 502.
- National Convention, the, opens, 506; its composition, *ib.*; decrees abolition of royalty, *ib.*
- Navy, end of the French, 458.
- Necker, a Genevan banker, 474; his character and acts, *ib.*; publishes his 'Compte rendu,' 479; his consequent fall, *ib.*, 480; his recall, 485, 486; it is too late, 488; supports the popular demands, 489; provides no separate hall for the Third Estate, 491; tenders his resignation, 494; it is accepted, 495.
- Neerwinden, battle of, 264.
- Nemours, Duchess of, her Memoirs, 128.
- Netherlands, Law of Devolution in, 167; war in, 169, 170; state of, *ib.*; bad state of the French in, 295; in hands of Marlborough after Ramillies, 313; French welcomed in, 317; the Spanish, to go to Austria, 338; war in, 419.
- Neufchâtel, Prussian rights over, 337.
- 'Neufville, the charming,' i.e. Villeroy, 316.
- Neuss in hands of Louis XIV, 185.
- Neutrality Treaties, 449.
- Nevers, Duke of, his pedigree, 14.
- Newfoundland ceded to England, 336.
- Newton, Voltaire sees funeral of, 437.
- Nice, taken by the Franco-Spanish arms, 417.
- Nimwegen, negotiations at, 203; views of the parties at, 204; terms of Peace of, *ib.*; conditions of, 207, 208; Peace of, Louis carries out the advantages of, 212.
- Noailles, Cardinal, Archbishop of Paris, 385; friendly to Port Royal, 350, 351; protects Quesnel, 351; refuses the Constitution Unigenitus, *ib.*; attacked by the Jesuits, 352; a friend of Madame de Maintenon, *ib.*; comes forth from his obscurity, 360; head of Council of Conscience, 369; his appointment a great reaction, *ib.*
- Noailles, Anne Julie, Duke of, commands in Roussillon, 254; is ordered to push on in Spain, 264; has to raise siege of Barcelona, *ib.*; recalled, 265.
- Noailles, Adrian Maurice, Duke of, wishes the Councils to fail, 369; his plans for finance, 373; set over the finance-council, 374; his proposals, *ib.*; their failure, 375; leads an army into Flanders, 415.
- Noblesse, the, have no real power or nobleness, 112; miscalculate their strength, 113; gather round Condé,

ib.; arrest of their leaders, 114; their outbreak in the New Fronde, *ib.*, 115; leaders sent to Havre, *ib.*; sympathise with Condé and the Spaniards, 124; favour Jansenism, 126; are degraded, 210; the lesser, cherished by Madame de Maintenon, 237, 238; all lose political power and keep privilege, 344; steadily lose strength, 359; the Law Councils restore power to the, 369; cause of their corruption, 425; under Louis XVI, 471; their disastrous influences, *ib.*; had changed in origin, *ib.*; their position, 488; throughout France attacked by the peasants, 497; lay down their feudal rights, *ib.*; escape abroad, *ib.*, 500.

Nördlingen, battle of, 56; second battle of, 90.

North, Lord, tries to stamp down the American revolt, 475.

Northern affairs in retrospect, 395.

Northern Courts, the, 392; their influence on European politics, *ib.*

North Germany, the French in, 452.

Notables, Assembly of, at Fontainebleau, 16, 21; Assembly of, 481; treats Calonne as a traitor, 482; accepts proposed reforms, *ib.*

Nürnberg, lines of, 53.

Nymphenburg, Treaty of, 409.

Nystadt, Peace of, 395.

O.

Oléron, Isle of, taken by Soubise, 15, 17.

Oliva, Peace of, 138.

Orange, Prussia cedes her claims on, to France, 337.

Orange-party in Holland opposed to France, 414.

Oriental affairs attractive to Louis XIV, 181; Leibnitz on, *ib.*

Orleans, Philip, Duke of, suspected of poisoning his wife, 180; marries daughter of Elector Palatine, 181; attacks Spanish Netherlands, 191; invests S. Omer and defeats William at Cassel, 201; never again in command, *ib.*

Orleans, Philip II, Duke of; see Philip.

Orleans, Henrietta Maria, Duchess of, her death spreads fear of poisons, 182; her good influence lost to Louis, 183.

Orleans, wolves near, 347.

Orleans, New, named, 378.

Ormond, Duke of, defeats French in Vigo Bay, 298; in Netherlands, 333.

Ornano, Marshal, leads Gaston of Orleans, 19; his plot, *ib.*; in the Bastille, where he dies, *ib.*

Osnabrück, one seat of Congress for Peace, 93; Swedish envoys at, 94; Treaty of, 97.

Oudenarde, battle of, 317.

Outlaws, 432.

Oxenstjern, 55.

P.

'Pacte de famine,' the, 473; its effects, *ib.*; overthrows Turgot, 474; its influence in Paris, 485; effects of it, 488; fill all imaginations, 494.

Palaeologi, Duke of Nevers their descendant, 14.

Palais-Cardinal, the, 61; compared with Hampton Court, 81; its name changed to Palais Royal, 115.

Palatinate, claims of Louis XIV to the Lower, 235; falls into French hands, 248; the second ravaging of it, 253; claims of Louis XIV to it, abandoned, 269.

Palatine Electors, Table of the, 241.

Palatine Princes, the, 410.

Pamiers, Bishop of, resists Louis XIV, 222.

Papacy, not watched jealously under Louis XV, 360.

Paper-money, first beginnings of, 376.

Paris threatened by Spaniards, 64; her terror, *ib.*; rallies round Richelieu and La Force, *ib.*; Parliament of, resists Richelieu, 70; uneasy, 106; in insurrection, 108, 109; in state of frenzy, 110; hates Mazarin, 111; displeased at Peace of Ruel, 113; refuses to receive Condé, 117; the mobs support him, *ib.*; entered by him after battle of S. Denis, 118; in full revolt, *ib.*; divisions in, *ib.*; Parliament of, withdraws to Pontoise, *ib.*;

accepts an amnesty, *ib.*; treaty with Cromwell signed at, 133; delights in report of death of William III, 256; Parliament of, offers to help Louis XIV in enquiries as to grain-boarding, 319; peace-ministers at, 393; Peace of, consists of two treaties, 461; state of, a disgrace, 494; victorious over the monarchy, 495; insurgent, *ib.*; arms herself, *ib.*; Louis XVI received in, 496; acclaims him sovereign of the people, *ib.*; miserable and excited, 498; captures the King, *ib.*; conquers King and Assembly, 499; brings the King back, 500; Pétion elected mayor of, 503; mob of, overawes the Assembly, 504; tumult in, *ib.*, 505; victorious, *ib.*

Paris-Duverney, Joseph, and his brothers, 375.

Parliament of Paris submits to Richelieu, 47; resists him, 70; is forbidden to interfere, *ib.*; its ambitions, *ib.*; flattered by the appeal of Anne of Austria, 85; breaks out against Mazarin, 102; leads the Old Fronde, 103; ill-fitted for its part, *ib.*; misled by the action of the English Parliament, *ib.*; its history and character, *ib.*, 104; attacked by Anne of Austria, 106; its ambitious aims, 109; takes the lead, *ib.*; displeased with first Peace of Ruel, 113; is threatened by the nobles, *ib.*; makes terms with Anne, *ib.*; alarmed at the nobles, *ib.*, 114; deals with the Court, *ib.*; withdraws to Pontoise, 118; cringes to Mazarin, 119; Louis XIV closes its meetings, 120; its power reduced, 162; registers the renunciations of 1713, 335; its session to hear the will of Louis XIV, 363; recovers its rights, 370; resists Law's schemes, 378; helpless under Louis XV, 430; sides against the Jesuits, 464; arrested, 466; recalled from banishment, 473; opposes Turgot, 474; champion of privilege, 482; is popular, *ib.*; supports the cry for States-General, *ib.*; exiled to Troyes, *ib.*; defends privilege, 483; is recalled, *ib.*; the King's address to it, *ib.*; violent debate in, 484; overruled by a 'lit de jus-

tice,' *ib.*; Louis XVI desires to punish it, *ib.*; is supported by Paris, 485; sides with the privileged orders, 489; loses all popularity, *ib.*; suppressed, *ib.*

Parliamentary system, the Regent hopes for a, 372.

Parma, Duke of, Alberoni is agent to, 381.

Parma, Duchy of, Don Carlos declared heir to, 393; battle between French and Austrians near, 400; returns to the Emperor, 401.

Partition-Treaty between Leopold I and Louis XIV, 170; the first, 281; its object, from the French side, *ib.*, 282; signed at the Hague, 283; its terms, *ib.*; nullified by death of Joseph Ferdinand, *ib.*; a second, signed in London, 284; its terms, *ib.*; and results in Spain, *ib.*; very unpopular in England, 287.

Partition-treaties, 397.

Pascal defends Port Royal, 128; his Provincial Letters, *ib.*; philosophical leader of the Fronde, 129.

Passarowitz, Peace of, enables Austria to resist Spain, 383.

Passau falls to Elector of Bavaria, 303; taken by Belle-Isle, 410.

Paul of Gondi, Archbishop of Paris, 106.

Pays d'Élection, described, 371; Duke of Burgundy desires to convert them into Pays d'États, 372.

Pays d'États, their governments, to be spread over France, 360; described, 371, and note 1.

Peasantry, their state, 341, 342; their wretched clothing, 342; fall into a savage state, 346, 431, 432.

Péllisson, Court Historian in Dutch war, 184; is set over the Bank of Conversions, 224.

Pensionary, the Grand, 177.

People, the, their sufferings, 488.

Perleps, favourite of Queen of Spain, 283; her fall, 284.

Perpetual Edict, the, revoked, 188.

Perpignan, siege of, 71; falls, 73.

Perrault, chief architect of Louis XIV, 161.

Peter the Great, 394; his projects, &c., in retrospect, *ib.*, 395; his

atrocities in Sweden, *ib.*; is proclaimed Czar, *ib.*
 Pheasants, Isle of, in the Bidassoa, 135.
 Philip of Anjou (of Orleans), founds younger branch of Bourbons, 84.
 Philip, Duke of Orleans, replaces Vendôme in Italy, 31; hindered by Marsin, *ib.*; his undeserved mishaps, *ib.*; his new prominence, 329; the suspicions against him, 331; hated by Louis XIV, 333; renounces claims to Spanish crown, 334; Jesuits try to exclude him from power, 349; the King's dislike of him, 352, 353; named in the will Head of Council of Regency, 353; has Dubois at his right hand, 363, 365; his position at death of Louis XIV, *ib.*; his party, *ib.*; his protest against the will, 364; is declared Regent with full powers, *ib.*; his character, *ib.*, 365; sets himself to govern France, 365; his antipathy to Philip V, 366; his guiding lines of policy, *ib.*, 367; would have had no power under the will, 367; appoints his council, *ib.*; his new bureaux, 368; institutes the Seven Councils, 369; his idleness renders his plans abortive, *ib.*; is humane and beneficent, 370; orders the *Télémaque* to be published, *ib.*; releases the prisoners of the Jesuits, 371; wishes to restore Edict of Nantes, *ib.*; and to establish a real Parliamentary government, 372; opposed to severity, *ib.*; his 'little suppers,' *ib.*; has no true patriotism, *ib.*; tries the financial plans of Noailles, and the schemes of Law, 373; his difficulties not unlike those of Sully, 374; objects to the States-General, *ib.*; and to a bankruptcy, *ib.*; his associates shelter the financiers, 375; listens to Law, 376; makes him director-general of a royal bank, 377; his life threatened, 379; thinks of summoning the States-General, is dissuaded by Dubois, 380; more successful in foreign policy, 381; has to defend his right to the succession against Philip V, 382; makes terms with England and Holland, *ib.*; agrees to Triple Alliance, *ib.*;

despatches Dubois to England, 383; Spanish plot against his life, *ib.*; allows the Councils to be broken up, *ib.*; makes war on Spain, 384; protests against the 'lit de justice,' 484; banished to Villars-Cotterets, *ib.*; friendly to the Third Estate, 490; joins the National Assembly, 495; his plans thwarted, 496, 497; thwarts the King, 497; his faction foment troubles, 498.
 Philip III, of Spain, his weakness, 69; helps to ruin Spain, 83.
 Philip IV, of Spain, treats with France, 5; prepares to declare war on France, 31; deals with Cromwell in vain, 131; has an heir, 135; dies, 164; so makes succession-question imminent, *ib.*; his wives and children, 167; his daughter's renunciations, 277.
 Philip V, instructions of Louis XIV to, 146; as Duke of Anjou, French claimant for throne of Spain, 276; hopes of Louis XIV for him, 282; becomes popular in Spain, 284, 285; is favoured by Innocent XII, 285; is named heir to the kingdom by Charles II, 286; proclaimed King of Spain, 287; his character, *ib.*, 288; leaves France for Spain, 288; has his rights to the French crown secured, *ib.*; his reverence for his grandfather, *ib.*; goes to Italy to see a campaign, 296; home again, *ib.*; is helped by Duke of Berwick, 308; refuses to ratify Catalan fueros, 309; his fortunes wane, *ib.*; marches to besiege Barcelona, 310; his flight, *ib.*; his personal character saves his crown, 314; returns in triumph to Madrid, *ib.*; Louis XIV is asked to drive him out of Spain, 321; chooses to retain Spain and renounce French succession, 328, 329; his character, 329; renounces French throne, 334; recognised by Europe, 338; his antipathy for the Regent, 366; renews his claims to French throne, 382; opposed to the Regent, befriends the old Catholic party, *ib.*; angry with France for breach of marriage-contract, 393; besieges Gibraltar, *ib.*

Philipsburg to be garrisoned by France, 98; taken by Duke of Lorraine, 199; its value, *ib.*, 244; taken by the Dauphin, 248; besieged by French, 399; Marshal Berwick killed at, *ib.*; reduced by French, *ib.*
 Physiocrats, the, 434.
 Piacenza, Duchy of, Don Carlos declared heir to, 393; returns to the Emperor, 401.
 Picardy invaded by Spaniards, 64.
 Piccolomini invades Picardy, 64.
 Pinerolo taken by Richelieu, 38; secured to France, 44; retained by her, 137; Fouquet imprisoned at, 156.
 Pitt (Lord Chatham) has same aims with Frederick the Great, 450; becomes Prime Minister, *ib.*; interferes against the 'Family Pact,' 460; resigns office, *ib.*
 Place des Victoires, the statue of Louis XIV in the, 236.
 Poisoners, in France, 182; the general terror of, *ib.*
 Poland, election to crown of, 273; division of nobles, *ib.*; how settled, 274; crown of, struggle for, 396, 397; submits to Augustus III of Saxony, *ib.*; partition of, 467.
 Poles demand French help in choice of a king, 397.
 Polignac, the Abbé, secures for Conti a majority in Polish Diet, 274.
 Polignac, Cardinal, imprisoned, 383.
 Political relations, changes in, 393.
 Pombal, enemy of the Jesuits, 464.
 Pompadour, Madame de, age of, 422; character of, 423; rules France, 429; won over by Kaunitz, 447; takes part against the Jesuits, 464; dies, 466.
 Pondicherry, 418, 419.
 Pontchartrain, Louis, Count of, controller of finance, 237; as Chancellor friendly to Jansenists, 350.
 Population of France, diminishing, 342.
 Port-Mahon, taken by French, 450.
 Porto-Carrero, Cardinal, 279; goes over to French side, 282; at last makes Charles II sign a French will, 285, 286.

Portrait painting in the seventeenth century, 128.
 Port Royal, the Jansenists at, 129.
 Port Royal aux Champs, the ladies of, 350; their ejection, 351; destruction of the Abbey, *ib.*
 Portsmouth, Duchess of, 179.
 Portugal asserts her independence, 69; keeps Spain occupied, 164; king of, claims Spanish succession, 275; detached from French side, 301; effects of changes in, 308; her treaty with France at Utrecht, 337.
 Potato, introduction of the, 432.
 'Potato-war,' the, 476.
 Potier, Bishop of Beauvais, 85.
 Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI, the, 277, 392, *see note, ib.*; England, France, and Spain offer to guarantee, 394; guaranteed by France, 401.
 Prague, Peace of, 56; its effects, *ib.*; lengthens out the war, 93; taken by Chevert, 411; besieged by Austrians, 412; evacuated by French, *ib.*
 Preachers, the, under Louis XIV, 210, 211.
 Prestre John, 14, note 3.
 Pretender, the, to be removed from France, 336; still there, 348; England expects a sudden attack from him, *ib.*; to be excluded from France, 382; used by Alberoni to frighten England, 383.
 Printing press, the royal, 49, 61.
 Prior, poet and ambassador, 327, 328, 437.
 Privas taken by Louis XIII, 35.
 Privilege, noxious character of, 344.
 Prohibition, favourite policy of France, 21.
 Protestant succession of England guaranteed at Utrecht, 336.
 Protestantism set afoot again by Richelieu, 37.
 Provence quieted, 47; cities of, curbed by Louis XIV, 163.
 Provincial Letters, the, 128.
 Prussia, Prince Henry of, 453.
 Prussia, gets her start at Oliva, 138; her great career, 234; helped by the Revocation of Edict of Nantes, *ib.*; epoch of her advance, 290; her treaty with France at Utrecht, 337; gets

upper Gelderland, *ib.*; emerges as a new power in Europe, 339, 340; her treaties with Austria and Russia, 393, note; destined counterpoise of Russia, 396; makes terms with Austria, 411; career of, compared to that of France, 429.
Public opinion, force of, neglected in France, 359.
Pultawa, ruin of Charles XII at, 315.
Puritan soldiers in France decide the war, 133.
Pyrennes, Peace of the, signed, 136; its terms, *ib.*; the frontier of France, 137.

Q.

Quadruple alliance, the, 383; met by proposal of Louis XIV to marry the Infanta of Spain, 390.
Quantova, nickname of Madame de Montespan, 197.
Quebec, battle of, 459.
Querouaille, Madame de, 179.
Quesnay, social reformer, 434.
Quesnel, his book on the New Testament, 351; the Constitution Unigenitus issued against it, *ib.*; the ferment thereon, *ib.*
Quincampoix, Rue de, 378.

R.

Racine, begins to feel his wings, 160; 161; not high on Chapelain's list, 161; writes a Berenice for the Duchess of Orleans, 180; disliked at Court, 211; his Esther at S. Cyr, 238.
Ragotski, Prince of Transylvania, menaces Austria, 90.
Rambouillet, Hôtel de, 82.
Ramillies, battle of, 312, 313; decisive for the Netherlands, 313.
Rantzau, a prisoner, 89.
Rastadt, Treaty of, 335; Peace of, between Austria and France, 337.
Ratisbon. Diet of, 42; refuses to do the Emperor's bidding, 43; protests against war in Italy, *ib.*; brings about the first treaty of Cherasco, *ib.*
Ré, Isle of, taken by Soubise, 15, 17.

Reform, first attempt at, fails, 474.
Regale, the, 222.
Regency, the, a reaction against the past, 359, 360.
Regensburg, truce of, cedes Strasburg and Kehl to France, 216.
Regent, the, Duke of Orleans, grants Dubois the Archbishopric of Cambrai, 385; his indolence, 387; becomes First Minister on death of Dubois, *ib.*; dies four months after, 388; death of, marks new period, 389; mourned by Louis XV, *ib.*
Reign of Terror, the, begins, 506.
Religious opinions in France subordinate to political interests, 175.
Renunciations, the, 165; how Louis XIV gets clear of them, *ib.*
Representatives of the people, 491, 492.
Restitution, Edict of, 40.
Rethel, its chequered history, 115, note 1; is in the pathway of attack on Paris, 122; taken by the royal troops, 123.
Reunion, Chambers of, 214.
Revocation of Edict of Nantes, 226, sqq.; whose fault? 227; praised in France, *ib.*; blamed abroad, 230; the exodus, 231; effects of, 232-236.
Revolution of 1688, the, 248-250.
Revolution, the French, changes conditions of the political world, 362; its beginnings, 492, 505, 506.
Rheims, Archbishop of, his saying as to James II, 251.
Rheinfelden, battle of, 67.
Rhine-frontier, the, 59; occupied by France, 99; League of the, 134.
Rhine, princes on the, friendly to Louis XIV, 185; passage of the, 186; Turenne on the, 190, 191; army of, commanded by Marshal Berwick, reaches Strasburg, 398; reduces Philipsburg, 399; army of the, remnant of, returns under Belle-Isle, 412.
Richelieu, solves the great problem of French history, 1; called to counsels of Louis XIII, 6; his aims, *ib.*; early career, *ib.*; personal appearance, 7; character, *ib.*; what power had he at first? *ib.*, 8; his

Memoirs, *ib.*; his character difficult to draw, 8; his relation to Father Joseph, 9; periods of his career, *ib.*; wishes to remain in background, 10; the hopes respecting him, *ib.*; virtual head of Council, 11; resolves to attack the Austro-Spanish power, *ib.*; understands the gravity of the problem, 13; his plans and method, *ib.*; liked by Urban VIII, *ib.*; urged by Buckingham, 15; sees that war is too heavy for France, 16; aims at reducing Huguenots, *ib.*; grants them a hollow peace, 17; is in desperate straits, *ib.*; declares that he did not make the peace of Monzon, *ib.*; which reverses his policy, 18; his speculations on La Rochelle, *ib.*; supports proposal for Gaston's marriage, 19; plot against him, *ib.*; defeats it, *ib.*; rebukes the Queen, 20; has no pity, *ib.*; his project of reforms, 21; dealings with Notables of 1626, *ib.*; his power very limited, 22; manages siege of La Rochelle, 24; concentrates his energies on it, 26; is engineer and general, 27; would have followed Louis XIII to Paris, *ib.*; his enemies, *ib.*; determines to starve the place, 28; his mole, *ib.*; performs mass in La Rochelle, 29; grants it good terms, *ib.*; desires to make it a Bishopric, 30; turns towards foreign affairs, 31; is urged to relieve Casale, 32; sends Charnacé to North Germany, 33; marches for Italy, *ib.*; his prudence there, 34; makes peace with Savoy, *ib.*; relieves Casale, *ib.*; makes peace with England, *ib.*; reduces Languedoc, *ib.*; is contrasted with Louis XIII, *ib.*; takes Montauban, *ib.*; enters the town in triumph, 36; his power threatened in Italy, *ib.*; is summoned thither, 37; his state and splendour, *ib.*; his most triumphant period, *ib.*; his policy, *ib.*; a clerical soldier, 38; his equipment and success, *ib.*; replaces France in a position of vantage in Italy, 39; has still need to be wary, *ib.*; his policy, 40; compared with Wallenstein, *ib.*; is like a great

conjuror, 41; his skill at Ratisbon and with Gustavus Adolphus, *ib.*; Father Joseph his chief agent, 42; professes anger at first treaty of Cherasco, 43; secures Pinerolo by second treaty of Cherasco, 44, 48; his relations to Father Joseph, *ib.*; wins in the Day of Dupes, 44-46; gets rid of his enemies, and of the Queen Mother, 47; humbles the Parliament of Paris, *ib.*; made Duke and Peer, *ib.*; crushes all his foes, 48; removes unfriendly governors, 49; his great successes, *ib.*; his literary tastes, *ib.*; establishes the Royal Press, and the Academy, *ib.*; turns attention to foreign affairs, 50; what he does for Protestantism, 55; supports Heilbronn Union, *ib.*; secures Ehrenbreitstein, *ib.*; his power over fortune, 58; prepares quietly for war, 59; his pamphleteers, *ib.*; employs learned men, 60; his pretensions for France, *ib.*; renews his alliances, 61; his many occupations, *ib.*; his adherent, 'the Cardinal Valet,' 62; his coolness and courage in danger at Paris, 64; persists in the war, 65; his fortune and fortitude, 66; his affairs improve, *ib.*; dislikes Bernard's success in Alsace, 67; his difficulties, *ib.*, 68; loses Father Joseph, *ib.*; takes Mazarin into his place, *ib.*; wins over the 'Weimarian' army, 69; is relieved from the Count of Soissons, 70; his successes, *ib.*; opposition at home, *ib.*; attacks the Parliament of Paris, *ib.*; defeats the conspiracy of Cinq Mars, 71; his return to Paris, 73; his great triumphs, *ib.*; devoted friends at his death-bed, 74; his death, *ib.*; judgment of posterity on him, 75, 76; his public character and position, 77; results of his life, *ib.*; not a great statesman, 79, 80; mysterious and grand, *ib.*; his personal character, 81; likened to Wolsey, *ib.*; his will, *ib.*; doubtful patron of literature, 82; his artistic tastes, 83; true founder of the French absolute monarchy, *ib.*; Louis XIII neither sorry nor glad at his death, 84; his policy carried

- on, *ib.*; the reaction against him, 85; its failure, 86.
 Richelieu, Marshal, successful against Minorca, 450; defeats Hanoverians at Stade, 451; nicknamed *Père-la-Maraude*, *ib.*
 'Rigid Republicans' of Holland, the, 177.
 Ripperda; *see* 393, note.
 Robespierre guides insurrection of 10th August, 505.
 Rochambeau, Count, sails for the American Colonies, 478.
 Rochefort Memoirs, the, 8; on Richelieu, 80, 81.
 Rochefort, Marshal, 200.
 Rocroy, besieged by Mello, 86; battle of, 88.
 Rodney defeats French and Spaniards, and relieves Gibraltar, 477; defeats De Grasse, 479.
 Rohan, Duke of, leads Huguenots by land, 15; revolts in Languedoc, 25, 26, 31; makes independent terms with Spain, 34; yields to Richelieu, 35; in the Grisons and Valtelline, 62; skilful, *ib.*; left without supplies, 63; not liked by Richelieu, *ib.*
 Rohan, Cardinal, and the Diamond Necklace, 481.
 Roland commands Huguenots, 298.
 Rome, Louis XIV powerful at, 157.
 Rooke, Admiral, surprises Gibraltar, 308.
 Rosbach, battle of, 452.
 Roué, the name introduced, 372.
 Rouillé, peace-envoy at the Hague, 320.
 Rousseau, 431, 435; his influence on society, 439; has Turgot as a disciple, 472.
 Roussillon in French hands, 73; with Conflans, becomes French, 137.
 Royalty, threatened all over Europe, 101.
 Ruel, Peace of, 113; second Treaty of, *ib.*
 Russell, Admiral, thought favourable to James II, 259; wins battle of La Hogue, 260; guards the Channel against James II, 266.
 Russia, the Peace of Carlowitz her starting-point, 274; rises in importance, 395; sides with Austria, 411.
 Russian fleet commands the Baltic, 395.
 Ruvigny commands an Anglo-Portuguese army in Spain, 310.
 Ruyter, hope of the Dutch at sea, 184; defeated off Stromboli, 200; killed at battle of Catania, *ib.*; ruined by Spanish incompetence, *ib.*
 Ryswick, Peace of, negotiations for, 267, 268; its terms, *ib.*, 269; signed first by France, England, Holland, and Spain, 268; then by Emperor and Empire, 269; Voltaire wrongly denies its connection with Spanish succession-question, 272; Catholic stipulations of, remain in force, 338.

S.

- Saarbrück, battle of, 198.
 Sacheverel trial, the, 325.
 S. Cyr, dramas at, 238; Madame de Maintenon withdraws to, 354.
 S. Denis, battle of, 205.
 S. Germain, built by Louis XIV, 161; the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle really settled at, 174; Court of, kept up in the worst times, 348.
 S. James', peace-ministry at, 393.
 S. Jean de Losne, siege of, 65.
 S. Martin, in Isle of Ré, its siege and defence, 24.
 S. Maur, Congregation of, their literary labours, 61.
 Saint-Philippe, taken, 450.
 S. Pierre, Abbé of, political reformer, 434.
 S. Simon, Duke of, claims honour of inventing government by boards of nobles, 369, note.
 Saintes, Rodney defeats De Grasse off, 479.
 Salic Law, not in Spain, 165.
 Salmasius in Holland, 82.
 Salon in Provence, the farrier from, 219, 220.
 Saluzzo occupied by Montmorency, 38.
 Salvius, Swedish envoy, his letter to Mazarin, 94.
 Sandwich, Lord, 420.
 Saratoga, English mishap at, 475.
 Sardinia, Charles Emmanuel I, King of, makes terms with Maria Theresa, 415.
 Sardinia annexed to Savoy, 384.
 Satire, a great French weapon, 75.
 'Satisfaction,' the French and Swedish, 93.
 Savannah, repulse of D'Estaing at, 478.
 Savoy, Charles Emmanuel, Duke of, hostile to France, 27; wants Montferrat, 32.
 Savoy, Victor Amadeus II, Duke of, his defection ruins the Tyrolese campaign, 300; its effects, 301; loses all except Turin, 310; wins battle of Turin, 311; gets Montferrat, 312.
 Savoy, terms with, at Peace of Pyrenees, 137; makes treaty with France at Utrecht, 337; with Spain, *ib.*; Duke of, recognised as King, *ib.*; emerges as a new power in Europe, 339; occupied by Spaniards, 417.
 Saxe-Hildburghausen, Duke of, 452.
 Saxe, Marshal, Maurice, son of Augustus II of Saxony and Countess of Königsmark, 398; serves under Marshal Berwick, *ib.*; trained under Prince Eugène, *ib.*; candidate for Duchy of Courland, *ib.*; Prague taken by Chevert under him, 411; keeps way open for retreating French army, 412; marches into Flanders, 415; wins battle of Fontenoy, 417; takes Belgian towns, 419; defeats Charles of Lorraine at Rocoux, *ib.*; attempts to reduce Maestricht, *ib.*; takes Bergen-op-Zoom, *ib.*
 Saxony, House of, tries to make Polish Crown hereditary, 396; Augustus III of, elected King of, 397.
 Scarron, 138.
 Schellenberg, Elector of Bavaria defeated at the, 303.
 Schlegel on Richelieu, 76.
 Schomberg, Henry, Count of, relieves S. Martin and defeats Buckingham, 24; recalled, 44; the order reversed, *ib.*; defeats Montmorency, 48; drives Spaniards out of Languedoc, 65.
 Schomberg, Armand Frederick, Marshal, defeats Roussillon, 192; secures Cologne for the Imperialists, 248; killed at Battle of the Boyne, 256.
 Sciences, Academy of, founded, 157.
 Scotland, descent on, fails, 316; home of banking, 376.
 Secchia, battle of, 400.
 Seguier, Chancellor, 145; in Council of Regency, 85; aged and trusty, 152; Fouquet wishes to supplant him, 155.
 Ségur, 411.
 Seignelay, Marquis of, 237; urges attack on Holland, 244; warmly in favour of the restoration of James II, 252; pushes on preparations for invasion of Ireland, 254.
 Senef, battle of, 195.
 Seo d'Urgel, 257.
 Seven Years' War, close of, 461.
 Sévigné, Madame de, her letters, 128; the wit of the Fronde, 129; her feeling for Fouquet, 156; on death of Turenne, 197, 198.
 Sévres, allies' scouts at, 319.
 Sicilies, the two, pass over to Spain, 400.
 Sicily, ceded to Savoy with royal title, 327; recovered by Imperialists from Spain, 384.
 Sierk, Villars' camp at, 307.
 Silesia, seized by Frederick the Great, 407; its situation, 409.
 Silesian war, the first, 409; the second, 415.
 Simmern line, Electors Palatine of the, 241.
 Small-pox, the scourge of Kings, 326.
 Smyrna fleet, the, attacked by the English, 183.
 Sobieski, King of Poland, is French in feeling, 196; drives back the Turks, 217; his death, 273.
 Soissons, Count of, half traitorous, 64; deserts to the Austro-Spaniards, 69; his death, 70.
 Soissons, Congress of, 393.
 Soldier, condition of the common, in France, 462.
 Soubise, Benjamin of Rohan, Lord of, seizes Isle of Ré, 14, 15; and Oléron, *ib.*
 Soubise, Charles of Rohan, Lord of,

- commands French army, 452; his incapacity, 454.
- Sourdis, Archbishop of Bordeaux, clerical lieutenant to Richelieu, 24; captures the Iles S. Marguerite, 65; defeated and disgraced, 70.
- South Sea Company in England, 380; its effects compared with those of the Mississippi Company, 381; its evil effects mitigated, *ib.*
- Spain falling to pieces under Richelieu's handling, 77; makes peace with Holland, 97; weaker than France, 121; her soldiers degenerate, 122; tries to bribe Cromwell, 130; defeated in the Netherlands, 134; sues for peace, 135; what she loses by the Peace of the Pyrenees, 136; renounces claim on Alsace, 137; is slowly perishing, 164; neglects the Netherlands, 169, 170; protected by the Triple Alliance, 171; upheld by Protestantism, 175; makes secret arrangements against Louis XIV, 181; cannot tell the truth as to her real power, 200; petty war with, 217; peace with, *ib.*; claimants for her succession, 274; parties in, 279; must learn to lean on France, 286; infects her with weakness, *ib.*; entirely under power of Louis XIV, 288; war in, 308-310; seems likely to break up into her old divisions, 309; defeat of Charles III in, 314; war in, 324, 325; Philip V finally triumphs in, 325; her treaty with England at Utrecht, 337; her treaty with Savoy, 337; with Holland, *ib.*; her power much reduced, 338; great loser by the Peace, 339; a petty war in, *ib.*; aspires to independence from France, 359; the Quadruple Alliance against her, 383; war declared, 384; obtains the two Sicilies, 400.
- Spaniards, their roadways to the Netherlands, 3; driven out of the Valtelline, 13; willing to help La Rochelle against Richelieu, 18; cross the Pyrenees and threaten Guyenne, 63; invade Languedoc, 65; their fleet ruined by the Dutch, 69; their real weakness, *ib.*; their infantry ruined at Rocroy, 86.
- Spanish Succession-question; *see* Succession.
- Spier, battle of, 301.
- Spinola takes Breda, 12; occupies Montferrat, 36.
- Stade, battle of, 451.
- Staffarda, Battle of, 257.
- Stair, Lord, offers help to Dubois against the Duke of Maine, 366; commands Anglo-German army in Belgium, 413.
- Stanhope, defeated at Villa Viciosa, 325.
- Stanhope, Secretary, Lord, at the Hague with George I, 382.
- Stanislaus Leczinski, friend of Charles XII, 315.
- States-General, no great help to the people of France, 105; English ministers ask for their convocation, 334; how to be formed from local estates, 372; Regent has no wish for, 374; proposes to convoke them, 380; is dissuaded by Dubois, *ib.*; idea of a convocation of, arises, 482; called for by Nobles and Parliament, 483; Louis XVI on, *ib.*; what he proposed, 484, 485; consents to their convocation, 486; most reluctantly, 487; his views as to it, *ib.*, 488; elections to, *ib.*, 489; questions as to, 489; members of, *ib.*, 490; the Third Estate takes the lead, *ib.*, 491; how to be named? *ib.*; is called the 'National Assembly,' 492; and the 'Constituent Assembly,' *ib.*; *see* National Assembly.
- Stati degli Presidii, the, 401.
- Stattholderate, the, 177.
- Steinkirke, battle of, 262.
- Stenay taken by Louis XIV, 124.
- Stolhofen, lines of, 299; Louis of Baden in, 300; threatened by Tallard, 303; stormed by Villars, 315.
- Strasbourg, seized by Germans, 193; sees their retreat, 194; necessary for defence of Alsace, 213; becomes French, 215, 216; retained by France, 269, 338.
- Stromboli, sea-fight off, 200.

- Styrum threatens Villars' rear, 300, 301; defeated at Höchstett, 301.
- Succession-Question of Spain, becomes urgent, 164; pivot of French diplomacy, 165; clue to moderation of Louis XIV, 267; true motive of Peace of Ryswick, 270; clue to whole reign of Louis, 272; becomes very serious, 275; the claimants, *ib.*; table of them, 276; struggle lies between France and Austria, 279; how settled, 286; war of, 290, sqq.; how brought on, 292; its chief theatres, 295.
- Sully, Duke of, his aversion to Council of Finance, 369; his embarrassments compared with those of the Regency, 374.
- Sun-god, Louis XIV as, 163.
- Susa, Passo di, battle in the, 33; is taken, *ib.*
- Sweden, easy to be bought off, 174; detached from Holland, 180; 'College of Reunion' in, 214; under Charles XII, 394; cedes to Russia all her possessions on the Gulf of Finland, 395; holds Russia in check, 410.
- Swedes, the, desire peace, 65; renew friendship with French, 69; attack Brandenburg, 196.
- Swiss, the, rejoice at success of Bernard, 67; amused with offers of neutrality, 192; guard, defends the Bastille, 495, 496; overpowered, 505.
- Switzerland declared independent, 99; differences of, settled, 137.
- T.
- Taille, a hateful tax, how laid, 472.
- Tallard, French Minister at S. James', 281; sounds William III as to a Partition-treaty, *ib.*; his interview with William III, 287; occupies Trèves and Lorraine, 296; takes Old Breisach, 301; and Landau, *ib.*; joins Villeroy and threatens Stolhofen lines, 303; in command at Blenheim, 304-306; taken prisoner, 305.
- Tarascon, Richelieu at, 71; Louis XIII joins him there, 72.
- Tarragona besieged, 70.
- Taxation partially reduced by Richelieu, 78; afterwards augmented, *ib.*
- Télémaque, the, of Fénelon, 291; published, 370.
- Temple, Sir W., manages the Triple Alliance, 171.
- Temple, the royal family at the, 506.
- Tenth of August, the, 505.
- Teschen, Peace of, closes the 'Potato War,' 476.
- Tessé, Marshal, in Spain, 310.
- Thionville taken by Enghien, 88.
- Thirty Years' War, first period of, is ended, 3; changes character, 12; second period of, 22; its close, 36; enters on a new phase, 50; sketched, 50-57; is less religious and more political, 54; France a principal in it, 58 sqq.; French power in it grows stronger, 65; its fortunes in 1643-1645, 90, 91; end of, in Germany, 92; the long negotiations, 93-97; closed by Peace of Westphalia, 97-99; results of, 99, 100.
- Three Bishopricks, the, their dependencies, 213.
- Thurot, Admiral, his achievements, 457; and death, 458.
- Ticonderoga, French driven out of, 458.
- Tilly, John Tzerclaes, Count of, the Princes' general, 3; keeps Danes in check, 16; defeated at Breitenfeld, 51; his death, 52.
- Tippoo, 477.
- Tirol, the, invaded by Bavarians and French, 300; ejects them, *ib.*
- Toiras defends S. Martin, 24; is made a Marshal, 46.
- Toleration, how to be harmonised with national unity, 1; in England, 242, 243.
- Tollus, the, 186.
- Torcy, Marquis of, diplomatist and liar, 272; his ability as Foreign Secretary, 280; tries to bribe Marlborough, 321; on peace-offers from England, 327.
- Tories, dislike the war, 314; their fortunes rise, 323, 325; their accession to power, 326; their rule coming to an end, 337.

Torstensen overruns North Germany, 90; defeats Austrians at Jankow, *ib.*; retreats out of Austria, 91.
 Toulon invested by the allies, 316.
 Toulouse, Count of, 349; tries to recover Gibraltar, 309; wins a battle off Malaga, *ib.*; blockades Barcelona, 310; edict for his legitimisation, 352; deprived of it, 370.
 Tournay, siege of, 417.
 Tourville defeats Anglo-French fleet, 255; commands French navy, 259; ordered to fight, *ib.*; loses battle of La Hogue, 260.
 Trade revives under Fleury, 391.
 Trarbach on the Moselle, besieged by Belle-Isle, 398.
 Treatise of the Rights of the Queen, the, 166.
 Trent, Vendôme reaches, 300.
 Trèves, Elector of, friendly to France, 55, 56; imprisonment of, made a *casus belli*, 61.
 Trianon, the, built for Louis XIV, 161; the little, 481.
 Triple Alliance, the, 171; its effects, 172; Louis XIV sets himself to dissolve it, 174; its importance, *ib.*; the new, signed, 382.
 Triumphate, the, of 1703, 302.
 Tuileries, royal family virtually captives at the, 499; attacked by the mob, 504, 505; watched by Napoleon, 507.
 Turenne, Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne, Viscount of, begins life under the Stattholders, 66; successful against Charles of Lorraine, 67; on Richelieu, 76; Marshal of France, 89; compared with Condé, *ib.*; wins battle of Freiburg, 90; enters Swabia, *ib.*; defeated at Mergentheim, *ib.*; enters Bavaria, 92; ravages it thoroughly, *ib.*; won over to the Fronde, 112; alarms the Court, 113; has to escape into Germany, *ib.*; again takes arms against the Court, 115; threatens Vincennes, *ib.*; fails, *ib.*; with Spaniards, threatens Champagne, 116; won over, with Bouillon, *ib.*; commands royal troops, *ib.*; saves the Court from Condé, 117; defeats him at Étampes, *ib.*; ob-

serves Duke of Lorraine, *ib.*; catches Condé at S. Denis, *ib.*; escorts Mazarin back to Paris, 119; compared with Condé, 121; his ability, *ib.*; his advice adopted for defence of France, 123; defeats Spaniards, 124; his plans fail in 1656, *ib.*; commands six thousand Puritans, 133; defeats Don Juan and Condé at Gravelines, 134; advises Louis XIV in his Dutch war, 169; is against a march on Brussels, 170; is to command in Flanders, *ib.*; not eager for war, 171; in command, 184; at Sedan, *ib.*; his plan for invasion of Holland, 185; pushes on to Arnheim, 187; his advice not followed, *ib.*; told off to watch the Great Elector, *ib.*; his advice again rejected, 190; makes head against the Germans, *ib.*; is on the Rhine, *ib.*, 191; left unsupported by Louvois, *ib.*; sent to oppose Germans in Alsace, 192; attacks Franche Comté and reduces it, *ib.*; turns his attention to Germany, *ib.*, 193; defeats Imperialists at Sinzheim, *ib.*; wastes the Palatinate, *ib.*; challenged by the Elector Palatine, *ib.*; ordered to abandon Alsace, *ib.*; refuses, and is allowed to act for himself, *ib.*; wins battle of Engheim, *ib.*; observes enemy, 194; his great campaign, *ib.*; returns with full powers to the Rhine, 196; is opposed by Montecuculli, *ib.*; his death, 197; its effects on France, *ib.*, 198; his greatness, *ib.*
 Turgot, Louis XVI on him, 469; Finance Minister of Louis XVI, 472; his career and character, *ib.*; proposed reforms, 473; resistance to him, *ib.*; his dismissal, 474.
 Turin alone remains to Duke of Savoy, 310; battle of, 311; Marshal Villars dies at, 400.
 Turkheim, battle of, 194.
 Turks, 401; ready to annoy the Germans on the Danube, 196; besiege Vienna, 217; driven back, *ib.*; almost the only friends of France, 252; propose to invade Hungary, 400.
 Tuscany, 401.

U.

Unigenitus, the Constitution, issued against Jansenists, 351; not received by Noailles, *ib.*; its supporters, the 'Constitutionalists,' angry, 369; Le Tellier its true author, 371; its victims released, *ib.*
 United Provinces declared independent, 99.
 United States, birthday of the, 475; Independence of the, 479.
 Urban VIII, 6; opposed to Spain, *ib.*; does not resent loss of the Valtelline, 13; anxious for his temporal position, 14; supports French interests, 32; sends thanks to Richelieu for suppression of Huguenots, 35, 36; approves of alliance of France with Sweden, 41.
 Ushant, battle of, 476; critical for English sea-power, 477.
 Utrecht, taken by Louis XIV, 187; selected for a congress, 328; basis of negotiations at, *ib.*; congress opens, 329; negotiations at, hastened by battle of Denain, 334; Prince Eugene at, *ib.*; Peace of, signed, 335; the several treaties, 336 sqq.

V.

Valencia recognises Charles III, 309.
 Valenciennes taken by Louis XIV, 201.
 Valtelline, the, 9; seized by Spaniards, 3; importance of, 4; revolt in the, 5; supported by Federigo Borromeo and the Spaniards, *ib.*; roadway for Spain into the Tyrol, 11; recovered by Grisons and French, 13; placed under the Grisons, 17.
 Van Beuningen offends Louis XIV, 175.
 Van Galen, Bishop of Münster, 180.
 Varennes, flight to, 501; its failure, *ib.*
 Vauban, to direct sieges in Dutch war, 184; set to fortify France, 212, 213; takes Luxemburg, 217; at Mons, 257; at Namur, 261; his career over, 311; his 'Dixme Royal,' *ib.*; in disgrace, 324; his account of France, 342, 343; his remedy of a *Dixme Royal*, 343, 344; refused by Louis, 344; adopted by Desmarests, *ib.*; his remark on the peasants' clothing, 345.
 Vaux, the fête at, 155.
 Vendôme, Duke of, 'César Monsieur,' 19; punished, *ib.*
 Vendôme, Louis, Duke of, exiled, 89.
 Vendôme, Louis Joseph, Duke of, his origin, 265; character, *ib.*; takes Villeroy's place, 295; his character, 296; his skill in relieving Mantua, *ib.*; enters the Tirol, and reaches Trent, 300; has to retire, *ib.*; commands in Italy, 310; defeats Austrians at Cassano, *ib.*; is recalled to supersede Villeroy, 311; commands with the Duke of Burgundy, 317; cannot work with him, *ib.*; loses battle of Oudenarde, *ib.*, 318; is trusted by Louis XIV, 319; commands for Philip V, 325; defeats English and allies at Villa Viciosa, *ib.*; advances Alberoni, 381.
 Venice allied with Richelieu, 13; mediates for peace, 65.
 Vergennes, Foreign Minister, arranges Peace of Teschen, 476.
 Versailles, a 'favourite without merit,' 151; built for Louis XIV, 161; the works at, 212; waterworks for, 239; abandoned, *ib.*; Louis XV removed to, 389; Cardinal Dubois dies at, *ib.*; Treaty of, 449; Peace of, 480; its terms, *ib.*; besieged by Paris mob, 498.
 Veto, the absolute, 492.
 Vézelay district, condition of, as seen by Vauban, 342.
 Victor Amadeus I, Duke of Savoy, sent to make peace, 33; succeeds, 34; does not help the French, 62, 63.
 Victor Amadeus II, Duke of Savoy, is defeated at Staffarda, 257; fails at Pinerolo and Marsiglia, 264; is detached from the League, 266; his terms, *ib.*, 267.
 Vienna, threatened by French and Bavarians, 303; Congress at, 400; its terms favourable for France, 401; Treaty of, *ib.*; menaced, 411.

Vigo Bay, battle of, 298.
 Villafranca, taken by French and Spanish armies, 417.
 Villa Viciosa, battle of, 325.
 Villars, Marshal, free-spoken, 295; on the French army, *ib.*; commands under Catinat, 297; his conduct at Friedlingen, *ib.*, 298; is made a marshal, 298; crosses the Rhine, 299; joins Elector of Bavaria at Dülmen, *ib.*; wishes to push on to Vienna, 300; obliged to hold Danube valley, *ib.*; sent to reduce the Camisards, 302; had quarrelled with Elector of Bavaria, *ib.*; represses Cévennes' insurrection, 307; sent to check Marlborough, *ib.*; takes Trèves, and marches to the Rhine, *ib.*; has to send part of his army to Villeroy, 308; to check Louis of Baden on the Rhine, 312; commands on the Rhine, 315; takes Stolhofen lines, *ib.*; sent to Netherlands, 321; loses battle of Malplaquet, 322; defends Cambrai and Arras, 323; opposed to Marlborough, 327; wins battle of Denain, 333, 334; returns to Paris, 334; at Rastadt, 335; commands French in Italy, 399; spoils child of Courts, *ib.*; occupies the Milanese territory, *ib.*; Charles Emmanuel deals behind his back with Imperialists, *ib.*; throws up his command, 310; seized with illness at Turin, and dies there, *ib.*; last of Louis XIV's generals, *ib.*
 Villeroy excluded from the Council, 152; succeeds Luxembourg, 265; supersedes Catinat, 294; defeated at Chiari, *ib.*; made prisoner at Cremona, 295; misled by Marlborough, 303; marches after him, *ib.*; threatens Liège, 307; strengthened with part of Villars' army, 308; pitted against Marlborough, 312; loses battle of Ramillies, *ib.*, 313; is recalled at last, 316; named guardian to Louis XV, 353; protests against war with Spain, 384; banished by Cardinal Dubois, 387.
 Voltaire, 434, 435; shakes the state, 7; unhistoric character of his *Siecle de Louis XIV*, 326; his first efforts

date from the Regency, 370; account of, 435; visits England, 437; his works, 438; influences of, 439; his saying as to his times, 463; resists the Jesuits, 464.

W.

Wake, Archbishop, interested in union of English and Gallican Churches, 370; his letter-writers, 378.
 Walcourt, battle of, 253.
 Waldeck, Prince of, joins Churchill, 253; defeated at Fleurus, 356; punished at Leuze by Luxemburg, 257.
 Wales, Prince of, birth of, 242.
 Wallenstein, the Emperor's general, 3; begins his great career, 15, 16; his position and power, 22; becomes Duke of Mecklenburg, *ib.*; his power and pride, 31; remains in the North, 36; ready to invade France, 39; chief instrument in Ferdinand's hands, 40; his manners and unpopularity, *ib.*; less powerful and secure than Richelieu, *ib.*; his aims, 41; and titles, *ib.*; sacrificed by Ferdinand, 42, 43; retires to Bohemia, *ib.*; reappointed by Ferdinand, 52; his struggle with Gustavus, *ib.*, 53; defeated at Lützen, 54; his schemes, 55, 56; death, 56.
 Walpole, Sir Robert, 407, 408; has the Marquise de Prie in his pay, 390; his prosperity at an end, 411.
 Walpole, Sir Horace, his opinion as to the importance of Russia, 445.
 War, Council of, 369; a general, imminent, 393.
 Warsaw, Stanislaus Leczinski escapes from, 397.
 Washington takes Boston, 475; appeals to France for help, 478; supported by De Grasse, *ib.*; achieves the reduction of Lord Cornwallis at York Town, 479.
 'Weimarian' army, the, won for France, 69; commanded by Duke of Longueville, *ib.*
 Weissenburg, Stanislaus Leczinski settles at, 397.
 West India Company, the French, 160.

Westphalia, Peace of, long negotiations before, 93-97; the terms of peace, 97-99; results of, 99, 100; a new starting-point for France, 101.
 Whigs, the, lose strength, 325; their blunders, *ib.*; and overthrow, 326.
 William of Orange, head of land-party in Holland, 153; his rise secured by Louvois, 176; the opposite of Louis XIV, *ib.*; represents the Stattholderate-party, 177; his marriage, *ib.*; his character, *ib.*; his heroism, 178; his party weak, 184; ordered behind the Yssel, 185; his raw troops, *ib.*; made Stattholder by the Grand Pensionary, 188; did he encourage the mob to murder the De Witts? 189; makes skilful use of time, 190; makes alliances against Louis, *ib.*; champion of the Empire and Spain, 191; opposed by Condé, *ib.*; joins Montecuculli and takes Bonn, *ib.*; again opposed to Condé, 192, 195; defeated at Senef, 195; takes Grave, *ib.*; offers battle to Louis XIV, 199; fails to cut off the Duke of Orleans, *ib.*; fails to take Maestricht, *ib.*; opposed to peace, 201; defeated at Cassel, *ib.*; goes to England, 202; marries the Princess Mary, *ib.*; the effects of it, *ib.*, 203; fights battle of S. Denis, 205; opposes the Peace of Nimwegen, 207; strengthened by Revocation of Edict of Nantes, 234; his cool and daring schemes, 236; his eyes fixed on England, 242; receives the invitation to come over, 243; is to be a mediator, *ib.*; his contradictory position, 243; his patience and prudence, 244; his 'aut nunc aut nunquam,' 245; is not appreciated by Louis XIV, *ib.*; his greatness, 246; contrasted with Louis XIV, *ib.*; Massillon's judgment on him, *ib.*; completes his preparations, 248; sails and lands at Torbay, 249; undertakes the government of England, *ib.*; receives the crown, 250; his accession begins a new epoch, *ib.*; the 'little Lord of

Breda' becomes the 'great King of England,' 251; feels bound to quiet Ireland, 255; his vigorous steps, *ib.*; wins battle of the Boyne, 256; report of his death, *ib.*; fails to relieve Namur, 261; loses battle of Steenkirk, 262; stronger than ever, 263; relieves Liège, 264; retakes Namur, 265; his greatest feat of war, 266; effect on him of Queen Mary's death, *ib.*; lends his castle at Ryswick for a congress, 267; undertakes to bring Germany over to peace, 268; is recognised by Louis XIV, *ib.*; persuades the Germans to come in, 269; his medal on the Peace of Ryswick, 270; supports the Partition-scheme for Spain, 275; duped by Louis XIV, *ib.*; sounded by Tallard as to a partition-treaty, 281; signs it, 283; opposes further claims of Louis XIV, 284; ready to go to war, 286; not supported by England at first, 287; his scorn at Louis' bad faith, *ib.*; strengthened by blunders of Louis XIV, 293; signs the Grand Alliance, *ib.*; his death, 296; does not change course of affairs, *ib.*

Winter of 1709, why so terrible, 345.
 Wolfe, General, 458; destroys French power in Canada, 459; his death, *ib.*
 Wolsey likened to Richelieu, 81.
 Wolves abound in Auvergne, 347.
 Women, their influence on French history baneful, 19; in the Fronde troubles, 114.

Worms, League of, 414, 415.
 Wrangel, with Swedes, join Turenne, 92.

Y.

York-Town, capitulation of, 479.

Z.

Zenta, Prince Eugene's victory at, 274.
 Zusaarshausen, battle of, 92.

ALBION
VIRGINIA
JUL 24 1936

JUL 24 1936

[illegible]

0026052776

K641

(1)

944.02

K641

(5)

**BRITTLER DO NOT
PHOTOCOPY.**